COLLECTIONS OF TRAVELS

THROUGH

TURKY into PERSIA, and the EAST-INDIES.

Giving an Account of the

Present State of those Countries.

AS ALSO

A Full RELATION of the Five Years WARS, between *Aureng-Zebe* and his Brothers in their Father's Life-time, about the Succession. And a Voyage made by the Great Mogol (*Aureng-Zebe*) with his Army from *Dehli* to *Lahor*, from *Lahor* to *Bember*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, by the Mogols, call'd, *The Paradise of the Indies*.

TOGETHER

With a Relation of the Kingdom of JAPAN and TUNKIN, and of their particular Manners and Trade.

To which is added

A New Description of the GRAND SEIGNIOR'S SERAGLIO, And also of all the Kingdoms that encompass the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas.

BEING

The TRAVELS of Monsieur TAVERNIER BERNIER, and other great Men: Adorned with many Copper Plates.

The Second Volume.

LONDON,

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M. DC. LXXXIV.

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO Mr. H. Ouldinburgh, FROM Monſieur DE MONCEAUX:

Giving a Character of the BOOK here Engliſhed, *and its* AUTHOR.

VIrtue ſometimes is no leſs intereſſed than Affection: Both, Sir, are glad to receive from time to time pledges mutually anſwering for thoſe that have united themſelves in a cloſe correſpondence. Yours indeed ſhould demand of me ſuch, as might be a ſecurity to you for the advance you have been pleaſed to make me of your Friendſhip. But ſince at preſent I have nothing worth preſenting you with; and yet am unwilling to give you any leiſure to be diffident of my realneſs, or to repent for having ſo eaſily given me a ſhare in your eſteem, I here ſend you a *Relation* of *Indoſtan*, in which you will find ſuch conſiderable Occurrences, as will make you confeſs, I could not convey to you a more acceptable Preſent, and that Monſieur *Bernier*, who hath written it, is a very Gallant Man, and of a mould, I wiſh all Travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of *Unſetledneſs* than *Curioſity*, with a deſign to *ſee* Towns and Countries rather than to *know* their Inhabitants and Productions; and we ſtay not long enough in a place, to inform our ſelves well of the Government, Policy, Intereſts and Manners of its People. Monſieur *Bernier*, after he had benefitted himſelf for the ſpace of many years by the converſe of the famous *Gaſſendi*, ſeen him expire in his arms, ſucceeded him in his Knowledge, and inherited his Opinions and Diſcoveries, embarqued for *Ægypt*, ſtay'd above a whole year at *Cairo*, and then took the occaſion of ſome *Indian* Veſſels, that Trade in the Ports of the *Red Sea*, to paſs to *Suratte*; and after Twelve years abode at the Court of the *Great Mogol*, is at laſt come to ſeek his reſt in his native Countrey, there to give an Accompt of his Obſervations and Diſcoveries, and to pour out into the boſom of *France*, what he had amaſſed in *India*.

Sir, I ſhall ſay nothing to you of his Adventures, which you will find in the Relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the

greedineſs of the Curious, who prefer their ſatisfaction to his quiet, and do already perſecute him to have the ſequel of this Hiſtory. Neither ſhall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the Neighbourhood of *Mecca*; nor of his prudent Conduct, which made him merit the eſteem of his Generous *Fazelcan*, who ſince is become the firſt Miniſter of that Great Empire, whom he taught the principal Languages of *Europe*, after he had Tranſlated for him the whole Philoſophy of *Gaſſendi* in *Latin*, and whoſe leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a ſelect number of our beſt *European* Books, thereby to ſupply the loſs he ſhould ſuffer of his Perſon. This, at leaſt, I can aſſure you of, *that* never a Traveller went from home more capable to obſerve, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; *that* I knew him at *Conſtantinople*, and in ſome Towns of *Greece*, of ſo excellent a Conduct, that I propoſed him to my ſelf for a Pattern in the Deſign I then had, to carry my Curioſity as far as the place where the Sun riſeth; *that* I have often drowned in the ſweetneſs of his entertainment the bitterneſſes, which elſe I muſt have ſwallowed all alone, in ſuch irkſome and unpleaſant paſſages, as are thoſe of *Aſia*.

Sir, You will do me a pleaſure to let me know the ſentiment, your Illuſtrious *Society* hath of this Piece. Their Approbation begets much emulation among the Intelligent, who all have no other Ambition than to pleaſe them. I my ſelf muſt avow to you, that if I thought I could merit ſo much, I ſhould not ſo ſtifly oppoſe, as I do, the Publication of the Obſervations and Notes I have made in the *Levant*. I ſhould ſuffer my Friends to take them out of my Cabinet, where from the ſlight value I have for them, they are like to lye impriſoned, except the *King* my Maſter, by whoſe Order I undertook thoſe Voyages, ſhould abſolutely command me to ſet them at liberty, and to let them take their courſe in the world. Mean time, Sir, you will oblige me, to aſſure thoſe *Great Men*, who this day compoſe the moſt knowing Company on Earth, of the Veneration I have for the Oracles that come from their Mouth, and that I prefer their *Lyceum* before that of *Athens*; and laſtly, that of all their Admirers there is none, that hath a greater Concern for their Glory, than

Paris, July 16. 1670. *De* MONCEAUX.

THE

The HEADS of the Principal Contents of this HISTORY.

Added by the *Engliſh* Interpreter.

1. *WHat depth of Policy and Craft was uſed by* Aureng-Zebe, *the* Heros *in this Hiſtory, and the Third of the Four Sons of* Chah-Jehan *the* Great Mogol, *to ſupplant all his Brothers, and to ſettle himſelf in the Throne: And how the firſt Foundation thereof was laid by the* Viſier *of the King of* Golconda, *and the ſickneſs of* Chah-Jehan *the Father of* Aureng-Zebe.

2. *A mixture of Love-Intrigues, practiſed by the Princeſs* Begum-Saheb, *one of the two Daughters of the* Great Mogol, Chah-Jehan.

3. *How* Aureng-Zebe *having overcome all his Brothers, did ſecure his Father and others, whom he had cauſe to be jealous of.*

4. *How the Neighbours of the Empire of* Mogol *demeaned themſelves towards the new Emperour,* Aureng-Zebe; *and what Embaſſies were diſpatched to him, firſt by the* Usbec-Tartars (*where a deſcription of that Country and People*;) *then the* Dutch *of* Suratte; *as alſo from* Mecca, *from* Arabia Felix, *from* Ethiopia *and* Perſia; *together with an Account of their reſpective Inſtructions, Receptions, Entertainments and Diſmiſſions; particularly of that of the* Hollanders, *ſecuring and improving their Trade by this their Embaſſie.*

5. Aureng-Zebe's *ſingular prudence, and indefatigable pains, in managing the Government himſelf; and how he treated him that endeavoured to perſwade him to take his eaſe and pleaſure, now he was eſtabliſhed.*

6. Aureng-Zebe's *diſtaſte againſt his Favourite-Siſter,* Rauchenara-Begum, *occaſioned by ſome Love-Cabals.*

7. *His great Care in appointing a Governour and Tutor to his Third Son* Sultan Ekbar.

8. *With what wiſdom and ſeverity* Aureng-Zebe *received and treated his Pedantick Tutor, who expected to be made a great Lord for his former ſervice; together with a Model for the ſutable Education of a Great Prince, preſcribed by* Aureng-Zebe *on this occaſion.*

9. *In what credit* Judiciary Aſtrology *is over all* Aſia.

10. *How the Kings of* India *make themſelves Heirs of all the Eſtate of thoſe that dye in their ſervice.*

11. *Of the Reciprocal Appearance of Kindneſſes between* Aureng-Zebe *and his Impriſon'd Father and Siſter.*

12. *What paſs'd between* Aureng-Zebe *and* Emir-Jemla, *who had laid the firſt Ground-work to* Aureng-Zebe's *Greatneſs.*

13. *What in theſe Revolutions was tranſacted about the Bay of* Bengale *and the Heathen Kingdom of* Rakan.

14. *How* Aureng-Zebe *carried himſelf towards his two Eldeſt Sons,* Sultan Mahmoud *and* Sultan Mahum: *And how, for a Trial of the Obedience and Courage of the latter, he commanded him to kill a certain Lion, that did great miſchief in the Country; together with the ſucceſs thereof.*

5. *Divers Particulars, ſhewing the Intereſt between* Indoſtan *and* Perſia, *ſuppoſed by this Author to be unknown, or at leaſt not well known hitherto.*

6. *How generouſly* Aureng-Zebe *recompenſed thoſe that had faithfully ſerved him in theſe Revolutions.*

17. *Some*

17. *Some Account of that ſmall Kingdom of* Kachimere, *or* Caſſimere, *repreſented as the Paradice of the* Indies; *concerning which the Author affirms, that he hath a particular Hiſtory of it in the* Perſian *Tongue.*

18. *A conſiderable Relation of* Suratte's *being ſtrangely ſurpriz'd and plunder'd, by a ſtout Rebel of* Viſapour; *and how the* Engliſh *and* Dutch *ſaved themſelves and their Treaſure in this bold Enterprize.*

19. *A particular Account both of the former and preſent State of the whole Peninſule of* Indoſtan; *the occaſion of its Diviſion into divers Sovereignties, and the ſeveral Arts uſed to maintain themſelves one againſt another; particularly of the preſent Government and State of the Kingdoms of* Golkonda *and* Viſapour, *and the Intereſts in reference to the* Great Mogol.

20. *Of the Extent of* Indoſtan, *and the Trade which the* Engliſh, Portugueſes, *and* Hollanders, *have in that Empire; as alſo of the vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver, circulated through the World, and conveyed into* Indoſtan, *and there ſwallowed up, as in an Abyſs.*

21. *Of the many Nations, which in that vaſt Extent of Country cannot be well kept in ſubjection by the* Great Mogol.

22. *Of the* Great Mogol's *Religion, which is* Mahumetan, *of the* Turkiſh, *not* Perſian *Sect.*

23. *Of his* Militia, *both in the Field and about his Perſon; and how the ſame is provided for, employed, punctually paid, and carefully diſtributed in ſeveral places.*

24. *Of the* Omrahs, *that is, the Great Lords of* Indoſtan; *their ſeveral Qualities, Offices, Attendants.*

25. *The Artillery of the* Mogol, *great and ſmall, very conſiderable.*

26. *Of his Stables of Horſes, Elephants, Camels, Mules,* &c.

27. *Of his* Seraglio.

28. *Of his vaſt Revenues and Expences.*

29. *What Prince may be ſaid to be truly Rich.*

30. *An important State-Queſtion Debated,* viz. *Whether it be more expedient for the Prince and People, that the Prince be the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Countrey over which he Reigns, yea or no?*

THE

The Heads of the Chief Contents of the *Third Tome*, being the *Continuation* of the *Great Mogols* Hiſtory.

AN Accurate Deſcription of the two famous Cities of Indoſtan, Dehli *and* Agra, p. 1. *and* 91. *and a Compariſon betwixt them and* Paris, p. 92. *together with divers particulars interſperſed up and down, diſcovering the* Court *and* Genius *of the* Mogols *and* Indians; *as alſo the Effects of the Chriſtian Miſſionaries in thoſe parts, with ſome ſtrictures and reflections upon the indiſcretion and ſcandalouſneſs of ſome of them.* p. 92.

An ample and very punctual Narrative of the Superſtitions, ſtrange Faſhions and Doctrines of the Native Indians, *or Gentiles of* Indoſtan; *manifeſting, that there are no Opinions ſo extravagant and ſo ridiculous, which the Spirit of Man is not capable of*, p. 96. *The odd Belief and behaviour of that People concerning* Eclipſes, ib. *The abominable Impoſtures of their Prieſts*, p. 98. *Divers very notable Relations of the* Banian *Women burning themſelves alive with the Corpſes of their dead Husbands*, ib. *and of others of them, ſuffering themſelves to be buried in the ground alive up to the very Neck*, p. 101. *The variety and abundance of Religious and Monkiſh Men among thoſe Heathens, together with their extraordinary Strictures and cruel Auſterities exerciſed upon themſelves*, p. 102. *The reputed Saints, and many Enthuſiaſts that are amongſt them*, ib. *The Books of Law and Sciences received there*, p. 104. *Their Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls*, ibid. *Of the Creation, Preſervation and Deſtruction of the World*, p. 150. *Of a kind of Trinity, and ſtrange Incarnation ſaid to be believed by them*, 105. *as alſo of an odd Manifeſtation of the third perſon of their Trinity*, p. 106. *The Language of the* Brachmans, *altogether different from the common* Indian, p. 107. *together with its pretended extraordinary Antiquity*, ibid. *Their Philoſophers, conſtituting chiefly ſix different Sects*, ibid. *Whereof ſome approach to the* Epicurean *principles; others reduce all to* Matter *and* Form; *others to* Four Elements; *others to* Light *and* Darkneſs, *&c.* ibid. *Their Method of* Phyſick *very different from ours; and what Principles 'tis grounded upon*, p. 108. *and how ſucceſsful*, ibid. *Their Ignorance in* Anatomy, ibid. *Their Extravagant Tenets in* Aſtronomy, ibid. *and in* Geography, p. 109. *A Deſcription of that famous School of all the* Indian *Gentility at* Banares, ibid. *Their* Chronology, *making the World in effect Eternal*, ibid. *Their Opinion concerning* Plants *and* Animals, *importing, that the Seeds of both thoſe kinds are not form'd anew, but were contriv'd in the Firſt production of the World; as alſo, that they are (not only potentially, but) actually the very entire Plant and Animal*, p. 110. *Their Doctrine about the* Soul *of the World, and Creation*, ibid.

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A De-

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A Memorandum *for perfecting the* Map *of* Indoſtan, *and for knowing the Revenue of the* Great Mogol. p. 146.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Late Revolution OF THE DOMINIONS OF THE GREAT MOGOL.

THE deſire of ſeeing the World having made me Travel into *Paleſtina* and *Egypt*, would not let me ſtop there; it put me upon a reſolution to ſee the *Red Sea* from one end to the other. I went from *Grand Cairo*, after I had ſtaid there above a year; and in two and thirty hours, going the *Caravan*-pace, I arrived at *Suez*, where I Embarked in a Gally, which in ſeventeen days carry'd me, always in ſight of Land, to the Port of *Gidda*, which is half a days Journey from *Mecca*. There I was conſtrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promiſe which the *Beig* of the *Red Sea* had made me) to go aſhore on that pretended Holy Land of *Mahomet*, where a Chriſtian, that is not a Slave, dares not ſet his foot. I ſtaid there four and thirty days; and then I Embarked in a ſmall Veſſel, which in fifteen days carried me along the Coaſt of *Arabia the Happy* to *Moka*, near the Streight of *Babel-mandel*. I reſolved to paſs thence to the Iſle of *Maſowa* and *Arkiko*, to get as far as *Gouder*, the Capital Town of the Countrey of *Alebech*, or the Kingdom of *Æthiopia*; but I received certain information, that, ſince the *Portugueſes* had been killed there by the intrigue of the Queen-Mother, or expelled, together with the Jeſuit Patriarch, whom they had brought thither from *Goa*, the *Roman* Catholicks were not ſafe there; a poor Capuchin having loſt his head at *Suaken*, for having attempted to enter into that Kingdom: That indeed, by going under the name of a *Greek*, or an *Armenian*, I did not run ſo great hazard, and that even the King himſelf, when he ſhould know, that I could do him ſervice, would give me Land to Till by Slaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to Marry, as they had lately done a certain Frier, who had paſſed there under the name of a *Greek* Phyſitian; and that they would never ſuffer me to come away again.

Theſe conſiderations, among others, induced me to change my reſolution. I went aboard of an *Indian* Veſſel; I paſſed thoſe Streights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at *Suratte* in *Indoſtan*, the Empire of the *Great Mogol*, in the Year 1655. There I found, that he who then Reigned there, was call'd *Chah-Jehan*, that is to ſay, King of the World; who, according to the Hiſtory of that Countrey, was Son of *Jehan-Guyre*, which ſignifieth Conqueror of the World, Grandchild of *Ekbar*, which is Great, and that thus aſcending by *Houmayons*, or the Fortunate, Father of *Ekbar*, and his other Predeceſſors, he was the *Tenth* of thoſe that were deſcended from that *Timur-Lengue*, which ſignifieth the *Lame Prince*, commonly and corruptly call'd *Tamerlan*, ſo renowned for his Conqueſts; who married his near Kinſwoman, the only Daughter of the Prince of

the Nations of *Great Tartary*, call'd *Mogols*, who have left and communicated their Name to the Strangers, that now govern *Indoſtan*, the Countrey of the *Indians*, though thoſe that are employ'd in publick Charges and Offices, and even thoſe that are liſted in the *Militia*, be not all of the Race of the *Mogols*, but Strangers, and Nations gather'd out of all Countries, moſt of them *Perſians*, ſome *Arabians*, and ſome *Turks*. For, to be eſteem'd a *Mogol*, 'tis enough to be a Stranger white of Face, and a *Mahumetan*; in diſtinction as well to the *Indians*, who are brown, and *Pagans*, as to the *Chriſtians* of *Europe*, who are call'd *Franguis*.

I found alſo at my arrival, *that* this King of the World, *Chah-Jehan*, of above ſeventy years of Age, had four Sons and two Daughters; *that*, ſome years ſince, he had made theſe four Sons Vice-Kings or Governors of four of his moſt conſiderable Provinces or Kingdoms; *that* it was almoſt a year that he was fallen into a great ſickneſs, whence it was believed he would never recover: Which had occaſioned a great diviſion among theſe four Brothers (all laying claim to the Empire) and had kindled among them a War which laſted about five years, and which I deſign here to deſcribe, having been preſent at ſome of the moſt conſiderable Actions, and entertained for the ſpace of eight years at that Court, where Fortune and the ſmall ſtock of Money (left me after divers Encounters with Robbers, and the Expences of a Voyage of ſix and forty days from *Suratte* to *Agra* and *Debli*, the Capital Towns of that Empire) obliged me to take a Salary from the *Grand Mogol* in the quality of a Phyſitian, and a little after from *Danechmend-Kan*, the moſt knowing Man of *Aſia*, who had been *Bakchis*, or Great Maſter of the Horſe, and was one of the moſt powerful and the moſt conſiderable *Omrahs* or Lords of that Court.

The *Eldeſt* of theſe four Sons of *Chah-Jehan* was call'd *Dara*, that is *Darius*. The *Second* was call'd *Sultan-Sujah*, that is, the Valiant Prince. The name of the *Third* was *Aurenge-Zebe*, which ſignifies the Ornament of the Throne. That of the *Fourth* was *Morad-Bakche*, as if you ſhould ſay, Deſire accompliſhed. Of the two Daughters, the eldeſt was call'd *Begum-Saheb*, that is, the Miſtreſs Princeſs; and the youngeſt *Rauchenara-Begum*, which is as much as Bright Princeſs, or the Splendor of Princeſſes.

'Tis the Cuſtom of the Countrey, to give ſuch Names to their Princes and Princeſſes. Thus the Wife of *Chah-Jehan*, ſo renown'd for her Beauty, and for having a Tomb, which much more deſerved to be reckon'd among the Wonders of the World, than thoſe unſhapen Maſſes, and thoſe heaps of Stones in *Egypt*, was called *Tage-Mehalle*, that is to ſay, the Crown of the *Seraglio*; and the Wife of *Jehan-Guyre*, who hath ſo long govern'd the State, whilſt her Husband minded nothing but Drinking and Divertiſements, was firſt called *Nour-Mehalle*, and afterwards, *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, the Light of the *Seraglio*, the Light of the *World*. The reaſon, why they give ſuch kind of Names to the Great Ones, and not Names from their Land or Dominion (as is uſual in *Europe*) is, becauſe all the Land being the Kings, there are no Marquiſates, Earldoms and Dutchies, of which the Grandees might bear their Names; all conſiſts in Penſions either of Land or ready Money, which the King giveth, increaſeth, retrencheth, and takes away, as ſeems good unto him: And 'tis even for this reaſon, that the *Omrahs* have alſo no other but ſuch Names; one (*for example*) being called *Raz-Audaze-Kan*, *i. e.* a Thunderer; another, *Safe Cheken-Kan*, a Breaker of Ranks; a third, *Bare-Audaze-Kan*, a Man of Lightening; others, *Dianet-Kan*, or *Danechmend-Kan*, or *Fazel-Kan*, *i. e.* the Faithful Lord, the Intelligent, the Perfect, and the like.

Dara, the Eldeſt Son, wanted not good Qualities. He was Gallant in Converſation, Witty in Repartees, exceeding Civil and Liberal, but entertained too good an Opinion of his perſon, eſteeming himſelf alone capable of all, and thinking it ſcarce poſſible that any Body was able to give him counſel; inſomuch, that he would give reproachful Names to thoſe who pretended to adviſe him in any thing; whereby it came to paſs, that even thoſe, who were moſt affectionate to him, were ſhie to diſcover to him the moſt ſecret Intrigues of his Brothers. Beſides, he was apt to be tranſported with paſſion, to menace, to injure, to affront, even the greateſt *Omrahs* or Lords; but all paſſed over like a flaſh of light. Though he was a *Mahumetan*, and publickly expreſſed in the ordinary Exerciſes of Religion to be ſo, yet, in private, he was Heathen with the Heathen, and Chriſtian with the Chriſtians. He had conſtantly about him of thoſe Heathen Doctors, to whom he gave very conſiderable Penſions, and who (as was ſaid) had inſtilled into him Opinions contrary to the Religion of the Land; of which I may touch ſomething hereafter, when I ſhall come to ſpeak of the Religion of the *Indians*

or

or *Gentiles*. He alſo hearkened of late very willingly to the Reverend Father *Buzee* a Jeſuit, and began very well to reliſh what he ſuggeſted. Yet there are ſome who ſay, that at the bottom he was void of all Religion, and that whatever he pretended in it, was only for curioſity, or, as others ſay, out of policy, to make himſelf beloved by the Chriſtians, who are pretty numerous in his Artillery; but above all, to gain the Affection of the *Rajas*, or Soveraign Gentiles, that were Tributary to the Empire, and to make them of his party upon occaſion. Mean time, this hath not much furthered his Affairs, on the contrary, it will appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory, that the pretence uſed by *Aureng-Zebe*, his third Brother, to cut off his head, was, that he was turned *Kafer*, that is to ſay, an Infidel, of no Religion, an Idolater.

Sultan Sujah, the ſecond Brother, was much of the humor of *Dara*, but he was more cloſe and more ſetled, and had better conduct and dexterity. He was fit to manage an Intrigue well, and he made, under-hand, Friends, by the force of Preſents, which he heaped upon the great *Omrahs*, and principally upon the moſt powerful *Rajas*, as *Jeſſomſeigne*, and ſome others; but he did ſomewhat too much indulge his pleaſures, in entertaining an extraordinary number of Women, among whom when he was, he ſpent whole days and nights in drinking, ſinging, and dancing. He made them Preſents of very rich Apparel; and he encreaſed or leſſened their Penſions according as the fancy took him: By which kind of life his Affairs did languiſh, and the Affections of many of his People cooled. He caſt himſelf into the Religion of the *Perſians*, although *Chah-Jehan*, his Father, and all his Brothers, were of the *Turkiſh*. 'Tis known that *Mahumetaniſm* is divided into ſeveral Sects, which made that famous *Check-Sady*, Author of the *Gouliſtan*, ſay in Verſe, which is to this effect in Proſe; *I am a Dervich Drinker, I ſeem to be without Religion, and I am known of ſixty two Sects.* But of all thoſe Sects there are two principal ones, whoſe Partiſans are mortal Enemies to one another. The *one* is that of the *Turks*, whom the *Perſians* call *Oſmantous*, that is, Sectators of *Oſman*; they believing that 'tis he that was the true and lawful Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, the Great Caliph or Soveraign Prieſt, to whom alone it did appertain to interpret the *Alcoran*, aud to decide the Controverſies to be met with in the Law. The *other* is that of the *Perſians*, whom the *Turks* call *Chias*, *Rafezys*, *Aly-Merdans*, that is, Sectaries, Hereticks, Partiſans of *Aly*, becauſe they believe, contrary to the belief of the *Turks*, that this Succeſſion and Pontifical Authority, which I juſt now intimated, was due only to *Aly* the Son-in law of *Mahomet*. It was by reaſon of State that *Sultan Sujah* had embraced this latter Sect, conſidering that all the *Perſians* being *Chias*, and moſt of them, or their Children, having the greateſt power at the Court of *Mogol*, and holding the moſt important Places of the Empire, he had moſt reaſon to hope, that, when occaſion ſerved, they would all take his part.

Aureng-Zebe, the third Brother, had not that Gallantry, nor ſurprizing Preſence of *Dara*, he appeared more ſerious and melancholy, and was indeed much more judicious, underſtanding the World very well, and knowing whom to chuſe for his ſervice and purpoſe, and where to beſtow his favour and bounty moſt for his intereſt. He was reſerved, crafty, and exceedingly verſed in diſſembling, inſomuch that for a long while he made profeſſion to be *Fakire*, that is, Poor, *Dervich*, or Devout, renouncing the World, and feigning not to pretend at all to the Crown, but to deſire to paſs his life in Prayer, and other Devotions. In the mean time he failed not to make a Party at Court, eſpecially when he was made Vice-King of *Decan*; but he did it with ſo much dexterity, art, and ſecreſie, that it could hardly be perceived. He alſo had the skill to maintain himſelf in the affection of *Chah-Jehan* his Father, who although he much loved *Dara*, could yet not forbear to ſhew that he eſteemed *Aureng-Zebe*, and judged him capable to Reign; which cauſed jealouſie enough in *Dara*, who began to find it, inſomuch that he could not hold from ſaying ſometimes to his Friends in private, *Of all my Brothers I apprehend only this Nemazi*, that is, this *Bigot*, this great Praying-man.

Morad-Bakche, the youngeſt of all, was the leaſt dextrous, and the leaſt judicious. He cared for nothing but mirth and paſtime, to drink, hunt, and ſhoot. Yet he had ſome good qualities, for he was very civil and liberal; he gloried in it, that he kept nothing ſecret; he deſpiſed *Cabals*; and he bragg'd openly, that he truſted only in his Arm and Sword: In ſhort, he was very Brave, and if this Bravery had been accompanied with ſome conduct, he would have carried the Bell from all his Brothers, and been King of *Indoſtan*, as will appear in what is to follow.

Concerning the two Daughters, the Eldeſt, *Begum-Saheb*, was very beautiful, and a great

great Wit, passionately beloved of her Father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuse, that, according to the determination of his *Mullahs*, or Doctors of his Law, it was permitted a Man to eat of the fruit of the Tree he had planted. He had so great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his safety, and to have an eye to all what came to his Table: And she knew perfectly to manage his humor, and even in the most weighty Affairs to bend him as she pleased. She was exceedingly enriched by great Pensions, and by costly Presents, which she received from all Parts, for such Negotiations as she employed her self in about her Father: And she made also great Expences, being of a very liberal and generous disposition. She stuck entirely to *Dara*, her eldest Brother, espoused cordially his part, and declared openly for him; which contributed not a little to make the Affairs of *Dara* prosper, and to keep him in the affection of his Father; for she supported him in all things, and advertised him of all occurrences: Yet that was not so much, because he was the eldest Son, and she the eldest Daughter (as the People believed) as because he had promised her, that as soon as he should come to the Crown, he would marry her; which is altogether extraordinary, and almost never practised in *Indostan*.

I shall not scruple to relate here some of the *Amours* of this Princess, although shut up in a *Seraglio*, and well kept, like other Women. Neither shall I apprehend, that I may be thought to prepare matter for a Romancer; for they are not *Amours* like ours, followed by Gallant and *Comical* Adventures, but attended with Events dreadful and *Tragical*.

Now 'tis reported, that this Princess found means to let a young Gallant enter the *Seraglio*, who was of no great Quality, but proper, and of a good Meen. But among such a number of jealous and envious persons, she could not carry on her business so privily, but she was discover'd. *Chah-Jehan*, her Father, was soon advertised of it, and resolved to surprize her, under the pretence of giving her a Visit, as he used to do. The Princess seeing him come unexpected, had no more time than to hide this unfortunate Lover in one of the great Chaudrons made to Bath in; which yet could not be so done, but that *Chah-Jehan* suspected it. Mean time he quarrelled not with his Daughter, but entertained her a pretty while, as he was wont to do; and at length told her, that he found her in a careless and less neat posture; that it was convenient she should wash her self, and bath oftner; commanding presently, with somewhat a stern countenance, that forthwith a Fire should be made under that Chaudron, and he would not part thence, before the Eunuchs had brought him word, that that unhappy Man was dispatched. Some time after she took other measures, she chose for her *Kane-saman*, that is, her Steward, a certain *Persian* called *Nazerkan*, who was a young *Omrah*, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole Court; a Man of Courage and Ambition, the Darling of all, insomuch that *Chah-Hestkan*, Uncle of *Aureng-Zebe*, proposed to marry him to the Princess: But *Chah-Jehan* received that Proposition very ill, and besides, when he was informed of some of the secret Intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid himself of *Nazerkan*. He therefore presented to him, as 'twere to do him honour, a *Betele*, which he could not refuse to chew presently, after the custom of the Countrey. *Betele* is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little chalk of Sea-Cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermilion colour, and the breath sweet and pleasing. This young Lord thought of nothing less than being poysoned: He went away from the Company very jocund and content, into his *Paleky*; but the Drug was so strong, that before he could come to his house, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so handsom and spiritual as *Begum-Saheb*, but she was not less cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleasures no more than her Sister. But she addicted her self wholly to *Aureng-Zebe*, and consequently declared her self an Enemy to *Begum-Saheb* and *Dara*. This was the cause, that she had no great Riches, nor any considerable share in the Affairs of the State: Nevertheless as she was in the *Seraglio*, and wanted no Wit and Spies, she could not but discover many important matters, of which she gave secret advertisement to *Aureng Zebe*.

Chah-Jehan, some years before the Troubles, finding himself charged with these four Princes, all come to Age, all Married, all pretending to the Crown, Enemies to one another, and each of them making secretly a Party, was perplexed enough, as to what was fittest for him to do, fearing danger to his own person, and foreseeing what afterwards

wards befell him: For, to ſhut them up in *Goualeor*, which is a Fortreſs where the Princes are ordinarily kept cloſe, and which is held impregnable, it being ſituated upon an inacceſſible Rock, and having within it ſelf good water, and proviſion enough for a Gariſon; *that* was not ſo eatie a thing. They were too potent already, each of them having a Princely Train. And again, he could not handſomly remove them far off, without giving them ſome Government fit for their Birth; wherein he apprehended they would Cantonize themſelves, and become little independent Kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheleſs, fearing leſt they ſhould cut one anothers Throat before his Eyes, if he kept them ſtill at Court, he at laſt concluded to ſend them away. And ſo he ſent *Sultan Sujah*, his ſecond Son, into the Kingdom of *Bengale*; his third, *Aureng-Zebe*, into *Decan*; and the youngeſt, *Morad-Bakche*, to *Guzaratte*; giving to *Dara*, the eldeſt, *Cabal* and *Multan*. The three firſt went away very well content with their Government, and there they acted each the Soveraign, and retained all the Revenues of their reſpective Countries, entertaining great Troops, under the pretence of bridling their Subjects and Neighbours. As to *Dara*, becauſe the eldeſt, and deſigned to the Crown, he ſtirred not from the Court; which that he ſhould not do, ſeemed alſo to be the intention of *Chah-Jehan*, who entertained him in the hopes of ſucceeding him after his death. He even permitted then, that Orders were iſſued out by him, and that he might ſit in a kind of Throne, beneath his, among the *Omrahs*; ſo that it ſeemed, as if there were two Kings together. But as 'tis very difficult for two Soveraigns to agree, *Chah-Jehan*, though *Dara* ſhew'd him great obſervance and affection, always harbour'd ſome diffidence, fearing above all things the *Morſel*; and beſides, for as much as he knew the parts of *Aureng-Zebe*, and thought him more capable to Reign than any of the reſt, he had always (as they ſay) ſome particular correſpondence with him.

This it is, what I thought fit to premiſe concerning theſe four Princes, and their Father *Chah-Jehan*, becauſe 'tis neceſſary for the underſtanding of all that follows. I eſteem'd alſo, that I was not to forget thoſe two Princeſſes, as having been the moſt conſiderable Actors in the Tragedy; the Women in the *Indies* taking very often, as well as at *Conſtantinople*, and in many other places, the beſt part in the moſt important Tranſactions, though men take ſeldom notice of it, and trouble their heads of ſeeking for other cauſes.

But to deliver this Hiſtory with clearneſs, we muſt riſe ſomewhat higher, and relate what paſſed, ſome time before the Troubles, between *Aureng-Zebe*, the King of *Golkonda*, and his Viſier *Emir-Jemla*; becauſe this will diſcover to us the character and temper of *Aureng-Zebe*, who is to be the *Heros* of this Piece, and the King of the *Indies*. Let us then ſee, after what manner *Emir-Jemla* proceeded, to lay the firſt foundation of the Royalty of *Aureng Zebe*.

During the time that *Aureng-Zebe* was in *Decan*, the King of *Golkonda* had for his Viſier and General of his Armies this *Emir-Jemla*, who was a *Perſian* by Nation, and very famous in the *Indies*. He was not a man of great Extraction, but beaten in Buſineſs, a perſon of excellent parts, and a great Captain. He had the wit of amaſſing great Treaſures, not only by the adminiſtration of the affairs of this opulent Kingdom, but alſo by Navigation and Trade, ſending Ships into very many Parts, and cauſing the Diamond Mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people diſcourſed almoſt of nothing but of the Riches of *Emir-Jemla*, and of the plenty of his Diamonds, which were not reckon'd but by Sacks. He had alſo the skill to render himſelf very potent and conſiderable, entertaining, beſides the Armies of the King, very good Troops for his particular, and above all a very good Artillery, with abundance of *Franguys* or Chriſtians to manage it. In a word, he grew ſo rich, and ſo puiſſant, eſpecially after he had found a way to enter into the Kingdom of *Karnates*, and to pillage all the ancient Churches of the Idols of that Countrey, that the King of *Golkonda* became jealous of it, and prepared himſelf to unſaddle him; and that the more, becauſe he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had uſed too great familiarity with the Queen his Mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he diſcover'd nothing of his deſign to any, having patience, and waiting 'till *Emir* came to the Court, for he was then in the Kingdom of *Karnates* with his Army. But one day, when more particular News was brought him of what had paſſed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to diſſemble any longer, but was tranſported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces: Whereof *Emir* was ſoon made acquainted, having at the Court abundance of his Wives Kindred, and all his

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neareſt Relations and beſt Friends poſſeſſing the principal Offices. The King's Mother alſo, who did not hate him, had ſpeedy information of the ſame. Which obliged *Emir*, without delay, to write to his only Son, *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, who then was about the King, requiring him to do the beſt he could to withdraw with all ſpeed from the Court, under ſome pretence of Hunting, or the like, and to come and join with him. *Mahmet Emir-Kan* failed not to attempt divers ways; but, the King cauſing him to be narrowly obſerved, none of them all would ſucceed. This very much perplexed *Emir*, and made him take a ſtrange reſolution, which caſt the King in great danger to loſe his Crown and Life; ſo true 'tis, that *he who knows not to Diſſemble, knows not how to Reign.* He writ to *Aureng-Zebe*, who was then in *Daulet-Abad*, the Capital of *Decan*, about fifteen or ſixteen days Journey from *Golkonda*, giving him to underſtand, *that* the King of *Golkonda* did intend to ruine him and his Family, notwithſtanding the ſignal Services he had done him, as all the World knew; which was an unexampled Injuſtice and Ingratitude; *that* this neceſſitated him to take his refuge to him, and to intreat him, that he would receive him into his protection; *that*, for the reſt, if he would follow his advice, and confide in him, he would ſo diſpoſe Affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and Kingdom of *Golkonda*. This thing he made very eaſie, uſing the following Diſcourſe: You need but take four or five thouſand Horſe, of the beſt of your Army, and to march with Expedition to *Golkonda*, ſpreading a rumor by the way, that 'tis an Ambaſſador of *Chah-Jehan* that goes in haſte, about conſiderable matters, to ſpeak with the King at *Bag-nagar*. The *Dabir*, who is he that is firſt to be addreſſed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allied to me, and my creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to march with Expedition, and I will ſo order it, that without making you known, you ſhall come to the Gates of *Bag-nagar*; and when the King ſhall come out to receive the Letters, according to cuſtom, you may eaſily ſeize on him, and afterwards of all his Family, and do with him what ſhall ſeem good to you; in regard that his houſe of *Bag-nagar*, where he commonly reſides, is unwalled and unfortified. He added, *that* he would make this Enterpriſe upon his own charges, offering him fifty thouſand *Roupies* a day (which is about five and twenty thouſand Crowns) during the whole time of the March.

Aureng-Zebe, who looked only for ſome ſuch occaſion, had no mind at all to loſe ſo fair an one. He ſoon undertook the Expedition, and did ſo fortunately manage his Enterpriſe, that he arrived at *Bag-nagar*, without being otherwiſe known than as an Ambaſſador of *Chah-Jehan*. The King of *Golkonda* being advertiſed of the arrival of this pretended Ambaſſador, came forth into a Garden, according to cuſtom, received him with honour, and having unfortunately put himſelf into the hands of his Enemy, ten or twelve Slaves, *Gurgis*, were ready to fall upon and to ſeize his perſon, as had been projected; but that a certain *Omrah*, touched with tenderneſs, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the Party, and a creature of *Emir*, *Doth not your Majeſty ſee that this is* Aureng-Zebe? *Away, or you are taken.* Whereat the King being affrighted, ſlips away, and gets haſtily on horſeback, riding with all his might to the Fortreſs of *Golkonda*, which is but a ſhort League from thence.

Aureng-Zebe ſeeing he was defeated in his deſign, yet was not therefore diſcompoſed; but ſeized at the ſame time on the Royal Houſe, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there; yet ſending to the King all his Wives (which over all the *Indies* is very religiouſly obſerved) and goeth to beſiege him in his Fortreſs. But as the Siege, for want of having brought along all Neceſſaries, held on long, and laſted above two months, he received order from *Chah-Jehan* to raiſe it, and to retire into *Decan* again; ſo that, although the Fortreſs was reduced to Extremities, for want of Victuals and Ammunition of War, he found himſelf obliged to abandon his Enterpriſe. He knew very well, that it was *Dara* and *Begum* that had induced *Chah-Jehan* to ſend theſe Orders, from the apprehenſion they entertained, that he would become too powerful; but in the mean time he never diſcover'd any reſentment of it, ſaying only, that he ought to obey the Orders of his Father. Yet he withdrew not, without cauſing under-hand payment to be made to him of all the Charges of his Expedition: Beſides, he married his Son *Sultan Mahmond* to the eldeſt Daughter of that King, with a promiſe, that he would make him his Succeſſor, cauſing him alſo to give him for a Dowry the Fortreſs and the Appurtenances of *Bamguyre*. He alſo made the King conſent, that all the Silver Money that ſhould be Coined for the future in that Kingdom, ſhould bear on one ſide the Arms of *Chah-Jehan*; and that *Emir-Jemla* ſhould withdraw with his whole Family, all his Goods, Troops, and Artillery.

Theſe

These two great Men were not long together, but they framed great designs: On the way they besieged and took *Bider*, one of the strongest and most important Places of *Visapour*; and thence they went to *Daulet-Abad*, where they contracted so intimate a friendship together, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not live without seeing *Emir* twice a day, nor *Emir* without seeing *Aureng-Zebe*. Their Union began to cause a new Face in all the Affairs of those Parts, and laid the first foundations of the Royalty of *Aureng-Zebe*.

This Prince having used the Art to make himself to be called to the Court divers times, went with great and rich Presents to *Agra* to *Chah-Jehan*, presenting him his service, and inducing him to make War against the King of *Golkonda*, and him of *Visapour*, and against the *Portugals*. At first he presented to him that great Diamond, which is esteem'd matchless; giving him to understand, that the precious stones of *Golkanda* were quite other things, than those Rocks of *Kandahar*; that *there* it was, where the War ought to be made, to get the possession thereof, and to go as far as *Cape-Comory*. *Chah-Jehan*, whether it were that he was dazled by the Diamonds of *Emir*, or whether he thought it fit, as some believe he did, to have an Army in the Field, somewhat to restrain *Dara*, whom he found active in making himself potent, and who with insolence had ill treated the Visier *Sadullah-Kan* (whom *Chah-Jehan* passionately loved, and considered as the greatest Statesman that had been in the *Indies*) causing him even to be made away with Poison, as a Man not of his Party, but inclined to *Sultan Sujah*; or rather, because he found him too powerful, and in a condition to be the Umpire of the Crown, if *Chah-Jehan* should decease; or lastly, because being neither *Persian*, nor of *Persian* Extraction, but an *Indian*, there were not wanting envious persons, who spread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous Troops of *Patans*, very gallant men, and well paid, with a design to make himself King, or his Son; or at least to expel the *Mogols*, and to restore to the Throne the Nation of the *Patans*, of whom he had taken his Wife. However it be, *Chah-Jehan* resolved to send an Army towards *Decan*, under the conduct of *Emir-Jemla*.

Dara, who saw the consequence of this Affair, and that the sending of Troops for those Parts, was to give strength to *Aureng-Zebe*, opposed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheless, when he saw that *Chah-Jehan* was resolute for it, he at last thought it best to consent; but with this condition, that *Aureng-Zebe* should keep in *Daulet-Abad*, as Governor only of the Countrey, without medling at all in the War, or pretending to govern the Army; that *Emir* should be the absolute General, who for a pledge of his Fidelity was to leave his whole Family at the Court. *Emir* strugled enough within himself, whether he should agree to this last condition, but when *Chah-Jehan* desir'd him to give that satisfaction to *Dara*, and promised him, that after a little while he would send him back his Wife and Children, he consented, and marched into *Decan* towards *Aureng-Zebe* with a very gallant Army, and without any stop entred into *Visapour*, where he besieged a strong place called *Kaliane*.

The Affairs of *Indostan* were in that condition, as I have been relating, when *Chah-Jahan* fell dangerously sick, I shall not speak here of his sickness, much less relate the particulars of it. I shall only say this, that it was little suitable to a man of above Seventy years of Age, who should rather think on preserving his strength, than to ruine it, as he did. This sickness did soon alarm and trouble all *Indostan*. Mighty Armies were levied in *Dehly* and *Agra*, the Capitals of the Empire. *Sultan Sujah* did the like in *Bengale*, and *Aureng-Zebe* in *Decan*, and *Morad-Bakche* in *Guzaratte*: All four assembled to themselves their Allies and Friends; all four write, promise, and form divers Intrigues. *Dara* having surprised some of their Letters, shew'd them to *Chah-Jehan*, and made great noise about them; and his Sister *Begum* failed not to make use of this occasion, to animate the King against them. But *Chah-Jehan* was diffident of *Dara*, and fearing to be poisoned, gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his Table. 'Twas also said, that he wrote to *Aureng-Zebe*; and that *Dara* being advertised thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the distemper of *Chah-Jehan* lingred, and 'twas bruited every where, that he was dead. Whereupon the whole Court was disorder'd, the whole Town alarm'd, the Shops for many days shut up; and the four Sons of the King made openly great Preparations, each for himself: And to say truth, it was not without reason, that they all made ready for War; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of Quarter, that there was no other way, than to vanquish or die, to be King or undone,

undone, and that he that ſhould be Conqueror would rid himſelf of all the reſt, as formerly *Chah-Jehan* had done of his Brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great Treaſures in that rich Kingdom of *Bengale*, ruining ſome of the *Rajas* or petty Kings that are in thoſe Parts, and drawing great Sums from others, took the Field firſt of all with a puiſſant Army, and in the confidence he had of all the *Perſian Omrahs*, for the Sect of whom he had declared himſelf, he boldly marched towards *Agra*, giving out openly, that *Chah-Jehan* was dead, that *Dara* had poiſon'd him, that he would revenge the death of his Father, and, in a word, that he would be King. *Dara* deſired *Chah-Jehan* to write himſelf to him, and to forbid him to advance further; which he did, aſſuring him, that his ſickneſs was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having Friends at Court, who aſſured him that the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan* was mortal, he diſſembled, and ceaſed not to advance, ſaying ſtill, that he knew very well *Chah-Jehan* was dead; and if he ſhould be alive, he was deſirous to come and kiſs his feet, and to receive his Commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the ſame time, taketh the Field alſo in *Decan*, maketh a great noiſe, and prepareth to march towards *Agra*. The ſame prohibition was made to him alſo, as well from *Chah-Jehan*, as from *Dara*, who threaten'd him. But he diſſembleth, for the ſame reaſon that *Sultan Sujah* had done, and giveth the like anſwer. Mean time, finding that his Treaſure was low, and his Soldiery very inconſiderable, he deviſed two Artifices, which ſucceeded admirably well; the one, in regard of *Morad-Bakche*; the other, in reſpect of *Emir-Jemla*. To *Morad-Bakche* he writes with ſpeed a very fair Letter, importing, *that* he had always been his true and intimate Friend; *that*, as for himſelf, he laid no claim at all to the Crown; *that* he might remember, he had all his life-time made profeſſion of a *Fakire*, but that *Dara* was a perſon incapable to govern a Kingdom; *that* he was a *Kafer*, an Idolater, and hated of all the greateſt *Omrahs*; that *Sultan Sujah* was a *Rafezy*, an Heretick, and by conſequence an Enemy to *Indoſtan*, and unworthy of the Crown: So that, in a word, there was none but he (*Morad-Bakche*) that could reaſonably pretend to the Succeſſion; *that* the Crown did expect him; *that* the whole Court, which was not ignorant of his Valor, would be for him; and *that* for his particular, if he would promiſe him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in ſome corner or other of his Empire, there to ſerve God the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to aſſiſt him with his Counſel and Friends, and to put into his hands his whole Army, to fight *Dara* and *Sultan Sujah*; that in the mean time he ſent him an Hundred thouſand *Rupies* (which make about Fifty thouſand Crowns of our money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendſhip; and *that* he would adviſe him to come with all poſſible ſpeed to ſeize on the Caſtle of *Suratte*, where he knew to be the Treaſure of the Land.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich, nor too powerful, received with much joy this Propoſition of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the Hundred thouſand *Rupies* ſent by him; and ſhew'd *Aureng-Zebe*'s Letter to every body, thereby to oblige the Flower of that Country to take up Arms for him, and the ſubſtantial Merchants to lend him the more willingly ſuch Sums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earneſt to act the King, made large promiſes to all, and, in ſhort, did ſo well, that he ſet a good Army on foot, of whom he ſingled out ſome Three thouſand, who, under the conduct of *Chah-Abas*, one of his Eunuchs, but a valiant man, ſhould go to beſiege *Suratte*.

Aureng-Zebe ſent his eldeſt Son, *Sultan Mahmoud* (him whom he had married to the Daughter of the King of *Golkonda*) to *Emir-Jemla*, who was yet employed in the ſiege of *Kaliane*, to perſwade him to come to him to *Daulet-Abad*, pretending to have matter of the greateſt importance to communicate to him. *Emir*, who ſoon ſuſpected his intentions, excuſed himſelf, ſaying openly, that *Chah-Jehan* was not dead, *that* he had freſh News of his being alive, and *that* beſides, all his Family being at *Agra* in the hands of *Dara*, he could by no means aſſiſt *Aureng-Zebe*, nor declare himſelf for him. Whereupon *Sultan Mahmoud* return'd to *Daulet-Abad*, without effecting any thing, and very much diſſatisfied with *Emir*. But *Aureng-Zebe* loſt no courage for all that, but ſent the ſecond time to *Emir*, yet not *Sultan Mahmoud*, but *Sultan Mazum* his ſecond Son, who preſented to him his Fathers Letter, and handled him with that dexterity, ſweetneſs, and proteſtation of friendſhip, that it was not poſſible to reſiſt him. *Emir* therefore preſſed the ſiege of *Kaliane*, forced the beſieged to ſurrender upon compoſition, took the

choice

choice of his Army, and with all diligence went away with *Sultan Mazum*. At his arrival, *Aureng-Zebe* courted him in the higheſt degree, treating him no otherwiſe than with the name of *Baba* and *Babagy*, that is, Father, Lord-Father; and after an hundred Embraces, he took him ſomewhat aſide, and told him (according to what I could learn from perſons who knew of it) *That it was not juſt, that having his Family at the Court, he ſhould adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that, after all, there was nothing ſo difficult but an Expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore,* ſaid he, *to propoſe to you a Deſign, which at firſt will poſſibly ſurpriſe you; but, ſince you apprehend the danger of your Wife and Children that are in Hoſtage, the beſt way of providing for their ſecurity would be, to ſuffer me to ſeize on your perſon, and to put you in Priſon. It is out of doubt, that all the World will believe it done in earneſt: For who would imagine, that ſuch a perſon as you would be content to let your ſelf be laid in Priſon? In the interim, I could make uſe of part of your Army, and of your Artillery, as you ſhall judge moſt proper and convenient: You alſo could furniſh me with a Sum of money, as you have frequently offered it; and beſides, methinks I might tempt Fortune further, and we might together take our meaſures, to ſee in what manner I had beſt to demean my ſelf; if you would alſo permit, that I might cauſe you to be tranſported into the Fortreſs of* Daulet-Abad, *where you ſhould be Maſter; and that there I might have you kept by my own Son,* Sultan Mazum, *or* Sultan Mahmoud; *this would yet better palliate the matter, and I ſee not, what* Dara *could juſtly ſay of it, nor how he could reaſonably treat your Wife and Children ill.*

Emir, whether it were by reaſon of the friendſhip he had ſworn to *Aureng-Zebe*, or for the great promiſes made to him, or the apprehenſion he had, of ſeeing near him *Sultan Mazum*, who ſtood by, very penſive and well armed, and *Sultan Mahmoud*, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the ſolicitation of his Brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his foot, as if he would have hit him; whatever of theſe Conſiderations might induce him, conſented to all what *Aureng-Zebe* deſired, and approved of the Expedient to ſuffer himſelf to be impriſon'd; ſo that *Aureng-Zebe* being no ſooner gone, but the great Maſter of the Artillery was ſeen to approach with ſome fierceneſs to *Emir*, and to command him in the name of *Aureng-Zebe* to follow him, locking him up in a Chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilſt all the Soldiery that *Aureng-Zebe* had thereabout, went to their Arms. The report of the detention of *Emir-Jemla* was no ſooner ſpread, but a great Tumult aroſe; and thoſe, whom he had brought along with him, although aſtoniſh'd, yet put themſelves into a poſture of reſcuing him, and with their Swords drawn ran to force the Guards, and the Gate of his Priſon, which was eaſie for them to do: For *Aureng-Zebe* had not with him ſufficient Troops to make good ſo bold an Enterpriſe, the only name of *Emir-Jemla* made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all theſe Commotions were preſently calmed, *by* the intimations that were given to the chief Officers of *Emir*'s Army, and *by* the preſence of *Aureng-Zebe*, who there appeared very reſolute with his two Sons, and ſpoke now to one, then to another; and at laſt *by* Promiſes and Preſents, liberally beſtowed on thoſe that were concerned. So that all the Troops of *Emir*, and even moſt of thoſe of *Chah-Jehan*, ſeeing things troubled, and being without their General, and believing *Chah-Jehan* to be dead, or, at beſt, deſperately ſick; conſidering alſo the ample promiſes made to them of augmenting their Stipend, and of giving them at that very time three months Advance, ſoon liſted themſelves under *Aureng-Zebe*; who having ſeized on all the Equipage of *Emir*, even his very Camels and Tents, took the Field, reſolved to march to the Siege of *Suratte*, and to haſten the taking it in; where *Morad-Bakſhe* was exceedingly embarraſſed, becauſe that his beſt Troops were employed there, and that he found more reſiſtance in that place than he imagined. But *Aureng-Zebe*, after ſome days March, was informed, that the Governor had ſurrendred the Place; for which he ſent Congratulations to *Morad-Bakſhe*, acquainting him withal of his Tranſactions with *Emir-Jemla*, and aſſuring him, *that* he had Forces and Money enough, and very good intelligence at the Court; *that* nothing was wanting; *that* he was directly going to *Brampour* and *Agra*; *that* he had expected him on the way, and therefore deſired him to join with him.

'Tis true, that *Morad-Bakſhe* found not ſo much money in the Fortreſs of *Suratte* as he had imagined, whether it were that really there was not ſo much as was reported, or whether the Governor had diverted a part of it, as ſome believed: Yet notwithſtanding that little he found there was uſeful to him, to pay the Soldiers that had liſted

themſelves in hopes of the advantages, they ſhould make of the imagined vaſt Treaſure of *Suratte*. 'Tis not leſs true, that he had no greater reaſon to boaſt of the taking of this Place, in regard there was not any Regular Fortification about it; and yet his Army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the *Hollanders*, who furniſhed them with the Invention of Springing a Mine, which ruining a great ſide of the Wall, caſt the beſieged into ſuch a Conſternation, that it made them immediately ſurrender. The reduction of this Town did much advance his Deſign, Fame proclaiming immediately throughout theſe Countreys, that *Morad-Bakche* had taken *Suratte*; that he had ſprung a Mine, which ſounded very big among the *Indians*, who as yet do little underſtand that practice; and that there he had found a vaſt Treaſure. Notwithſtanding this great noiſe, and all the firſt advantages, joyned to all thoſe frequent Letters and great Promiſes of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Eunuch, *Chah-Abas*, a Man of good Senſe, of a great Heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the Service of his Maſter, was not of opinion, that *Morad-Bakche* ſhould ſo much tye himſelf in Intereſt to *Aureng-Zebe*, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but adviſed, that he ſhould amuſe him with words, and let him advance alone towards *Agra*; that in the mean time there would come certain News of the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan*; that he ſhould firſt ſee what Channel Affairs would run in; that he ſhould Fortifie *Suratte*, as a very good Poſt, able to render him Maſter of a very large and rich Countrey; and that perhaps in time he might ſeize *Brampour*, which is a very conſiderable Paſſage of a River, and as 'twere a Bar of *Decan*. But the continual Letters and Proteſtations of *Aureng-Zebe*, joyned to the ſmall Forces, Artillery, and Treaſure of *Morad-Bakche*, blinded with an exceſſive ambition to Reign, made him regardleſs of all other conſiderations; ſo that he went away from *Amadevad*, abandoned *Guzaratte*, and took his way through the Woods and Mountains, with all Expedition, to be at the Rendez-vouz, where *Aureng-Zebe* had looked for him theſe two or three days.

Great Solemnities of Joy were made at the conjunction of the two Armies, the Princes viſited one another, *Aureng-Zebe* made a hundred Proteſtations and no leſs Promiſes to *Morad-Bakche*, aſſured him afreſh, and ſolemnly, of his not caring for the Crown, as alſo of his being there for no other end than to aſſiſt him againſt *Dara*, their Common Enemy, and to place him in the Throne, which expected him.

Upon this Enterview, and confirmation of Friendſhip, both Armies marched together, *Aureng-Zebe* continuing always, during the March, in the Proteſtations of Friendſhip, and in his Courtſhip to *Morad-Bakche*, treating him never otherwiſe, whether in publick or private, but with the Title of *Hazaret*, that is, King and Majeſty: So that *Morad-Bakche* was fully perſwaded, that *Aureng-Zebe* meant ſincerely, from an exceſs of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without Ceremony, ſuffered the ſubmiſſions and reſpects he ſhewed him; inſtead of remembring what had lately paſſed at *Golkonda*, and of conſidering, that he, who had thus hazarded himſelf with ſo much boldneſs to uſurp a Kingdom, was not of a temper to live and dye a *Fakire*.

Theſe two Armies thus joyned made a Body conſiderable enough; which begot a great noiſe at Court, and gave cauſe of thoughtfulneſs, not only to *Dara*, but to *Chah-Jehan* himſelf, who knew the great parts and ſubtle Conduct of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the Courage of *Morad-Bakche*; and who foreſaw wery well, that a fire was a kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpoſe to write Letters upon Letters, ſignifying that he was well, and giving Order that they ſhould turn back to their reſpective Governments, and expreſſing alſo, that he would forget all that had paſſed hitherto. All his Letters were not able to hinder their Advance; and as the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan* did ſtill paſs for mortal, there being no perſons wanting to bring and ſpread ſuch News, they ſtill continued to diſſemble, giving out, that they were *Letters* counterfeited by *Dara*; that *Chah-Jehan* was dead indeed; but that, in caſe he were alive, they would go to kiſs his Feet, and deliver him from the hands of *Dara*.

What then ſhould *Chah-Jehan*, this unfortunate King, do, who ſeeth, that his Sons have no regard to his Orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards *Agra* in the head of their Armies, and who in this conjuncture finds himſelf ſick to boot in the hands of *Dara*, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but War; who prepareth for it with all imaginable earneſtneſs, and with all the marks of an enraged reſentment againſt his Brothers; but what could he do in this extremity? He is conſtrained to abandon to them his Treaſures, and to leave them to their diſpoſal. He is forced to ſend for his old and moſt truſty Captains, whom he knows for the moſt part to be not

very

very affectionate to *Dara*; he muſt command them to fight for *Dara*, againſt his own Blood, his own Children, and thoſe, for whom he hath more eſteem than for *Dara*; he is obliged forthwith to ſend an Army againſt *Sultan Sujah*, becauſe 'tis he that is moſt advanced; and he is to ſend another againſt *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, who no leſs are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldeſt Son of *Dara*, a young Prince of about five and twenty years of Age, very proper of Body, and of good Parts and Conduct, generous, liberal, and univerſally beloved, eſpecially of *Chah-Jehan*, who had already enriched him, and who conſidered *him* rather for his Succeſſor than *Dara*, was he, that was made General of this Army againſt *Sujah*. Nevertheleſs *Chah-Jehan*, who wiſhed much rather, that *Sujah* were returned to *Bengale*, than that the matter ſhould be tryed by a bloody Combat, which could not be but very Tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of loſing one or other of his Sons, gave him for Companion an Ancient *Raja*, called *Jeſſeigne*, who is at preſent one of the powerfulleſt and richeſt *Rajahs* of all *Indoſtan*, and one of the ableſt in the whole Kingdom, with a ſecret Order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable; as alſo to endeavour by all means to induce *Sujah* to retire, and to reſerve his Forces for a better occaſion; that is to ſay, after they ſhould have ſeen the event of the ſickneſs of *Chah-Jehan*, and the ſucceſs of *Aureng-Zebe*, and of *Morad-Bakche*. But this young Prince, *Soliman Chekouh*, full of heat and Courage, breathing after nothing but to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action, and *Sultan Sujah* fearing leſt *Aureng-Zebe* gaining a Battle ſhould firſt make himſelf Maſter of the Capital Towns of the Empire, *Agra* and *Dehly*; it was impoſſible for the *Raja Jeſſeigne* to keep them from a Combat. The two Armies are no ſooner in ſight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving ſome Vollies of Cannon. I ſhall not relate the particulars of this Fight, for, beſides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious, in the ſequel of this Hiſtory we ſhall be obliged to deſcribe more conſiderable ones, by which the Reader will be able to judge of this. 'Tis ſufficient to know in general, that the firſt onſet was very ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but that at length *Soliman Chekouh* did urge *Sujah* with that force and vigour that he diſordered him, and made him fly: So that if *Jeſſeigne*, and the *Patan Delil-kan*, who was one of the firſt Captains and a valiant Man, but an intimate friend of the *Raja*, and did not act but being moved by him, had ſeconded him in good earneſt, 'tis thought that the whole Army of *Sujah* would have been defeated, and himſelf in danger of being taken: But that was not the deſign of the *Raja* to deſtroy him, no more than it was that of *Chah-Jehan*, who had given him order to the contrary. Thus then had *Sujah* time to retreat, and that without loſing any conſiderable number of his Men; yet becauſe *Soliman Chekouh* kept the field, and brought away ſome pieces of Artillery, it was preſently bruited at Court, that *Sujah* had been totally overthrown. This Defeat purchaſed great reputation to *Soliman Chekouh*, leſſened much the eſteem of *Sultan Sujah*, and cooled exceedingly all the *Perſians* that had an inclination for him.

After that ſome days were ſpent in the purſuit of *Sujah*, the Prince *Soliman Chekouh*, who every day received News from the Court, and who learned that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Backche* did approach with great reſolution, well knowing, that his Father *Dara* had no great ſtock of Prudence, but good ſtore of ſecret Enemies, reſolved to quit the purſuit of *Sultan Sujah*, and with all ſpeed to return to *Agra*, where in all appearance *Dara* was to give Battel againſt *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*. This was the beſt counſel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, *Aureng-Zebe* would not have had the Advantage; and 'tis even believed, he would never have hazarded the Combat, the Party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of *Dara* did not permit it.

Whilſt all that was thus tranſacted towards *Elabas*, which is the place where the *Gemna* is joyned to *Ganges*; the Scene was very different on the ſide of *Agra*. At the Court they were much ſurpriſed to hear, that *Aureng-Zebe* had paſſed the River of *Brampour*, and all the other paſſages that were moſt difficult between the Mountains; ſo that with all haſt they ſent away ſome Troops to diſpute with him the paſſage of the River *Eugenes*, whilſt the whole Army was making ready. For which purpoſe there were choſen two of the moſt conſiderable and the moſt powerful of the Kingdom to command it; the one was *Kaſem-Kan*, a Renowned Captain and very affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, but one that had no great inclination to *Dara*, and who went not but to oblige *Chah-Jehan*, whom he ſaw in the hands of *Dara*: The other was *Jeſſomſeigne*, a

potent *Raja*, not inferior to *Jeſſeigne*, and Son-in-law to that *Raja Rana*, who was at the time of *Ekbar* ſo puiſſant, as if he had been the Emperor of the *Raja*'s. *Dara* at their farewel expreſſed to them great kindneſs, and preſented them nobly; but *Chah-Jehan* took his time, before their departure, to charge them in ſecret, as he had done the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, when he went away in the Expedition againſt *Sultan Sujah* with *Soliman Chekouh*. Neither were they wanting, in their March, to ſend ſeveral times to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, to perſwade them to turn back: But this was in vain; their Envoys came not again, and the Army advanced with that diligence, that they ſaw it much ſooner than they thought upon a riſing ground, not far remote from the River.

It being then Summer, and the ſeaſon of the greateſt heats, the River was fordable; which was the cauſe, that at the ſame time *Kaſem-kan* and the *Raja* prepared themſelves to give Battel; beſides that, they ſoon knew the reſolution of *Aureng-Zebe*, that he would force them, ſince that, although his Army was not all come up, he gave them ſome Vollies of Cannon; his deſign being to amuſe them, fearing leſt they themſelves ſhould paſs the River, not only to prevent his paſſage, but alſo to hinder his Army from repoſing, and from taking an advantageous poſt; which was indeed in great diſorder, and ſo tired by their March, and ſo faint by the heat, that if at the very firſt it had been aſſaulted, and kept from paſſing the Water, it would doubtleſs have been routed without much reſiſtance. [I was not by in this firſt Encounter, but thus it was generally diſcourſed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our *Frenchmen*, who ſerved *Aureng-Zebe* in the Artillery.] But they were content to ſtay at the River-ſide, to keep *Aureng-Zebe* from paſſing it, according to the Order they had received.

After that *Aureng-Zebe* had let his Army reſt two or three days, and by amuſing the Enemy, had fitted it to paſs the River, he made his whole Artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under the favour of the Cannon they ſhould paſs the River. *Kaſem-Kan* and the *Raja*, on their part, diſcharged theirs alſo, and did what they could to repulſe the Enemy, and to keep him from paſſing. The Combat was ſharp enough at firſt, and very obſtinately maintained by the extraordinary Valour of *Jeſſomſeigne*. For as to *Kaſem-Kan*, although a great Captain, and a ſtout Man, he gave no great proof of his Valour in this occaſion; yea, ſome accuſe him of Treachery, charging him that he had in the night cauſed the Bullets and Powder to be hid under the Sand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three diſcharges. However it be, the Combat for all that was, as I ſaid, very reſolutely carried on, and the Paſſage long diſputed. There were Rocks in the Bed of the River, which did much embaraſs, and the Banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up. But at laſt, *Morad-Backche* caſt himſelf into the water with ſo much reſolution and force, and ſhewed ſo much valour and boldneſs, that there was no reſiſting of him. He paſſed over, and with him a good part of the Army, which made *Kaſem-Kan* to give back, and caſt *Jeſſomſeigne* into great danger of his Perſon. For by and by he found the whole Body of the Enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary reſolution of his *Ragipous*, who almoſt all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occaſion, by this, that after he had diſengaged himſelf as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to *Agra*, becauſe of the great loſs he had ſuffered, of ſeven or eight thouſand *Ragipous* he had but five or ſix hundred of them remaining.

Theſe *Ragipous*, who take their name from the *Rajas*, that is to ſay, the Children of the *Rajas*, are from Father to Son ſuch Men as make the Sword their Profeſſion. The *Rajas*, whoſe Subjects they are, do aſſign them Lands for their ſubſiſtence, on condition to be always ready to go to War when ſummoned. So that one might ſay, that they were a ſort of Pagan Nobles, if the *Rajas* gave them their Lands in propriety for them and their Children. They are great takers of *Opium*; and I have ſometimes wondred at the quantity I have ſeen them take: They accuſtom themſelves to it from their youth. On the day of Battel they double the Doſe, this Drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them inſenſible of danger; inſomuch that they caſt themſelves into the Combate like ſo many furious Beaſts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of their *Raja*, when he ſtands to it. They want nothing but Order, Reſolution they have enough. 'Tis a pleaſure thus to ſee them, with the fume of *Opium* in their Head to embrace one another, when the Battel is to begin, and to give their mutual Farewels, as men reſolved

ved to dye. And that they do for this reaſon; that the *Great Mogol*, though a *Mahumetan*, and by conſequence an Enemy of the Heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of *Rajas* in his ſervice, whom he conſiders as his other *Omrahs*, and imploys in his Armies as if they were *Muhumetans*.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception, which the Daughter of the *Rana* gave to her Husband *Jeſſomſeigne*, after his defeat and flight. When ſhe heard that he was nigh, and had underſtood what had paſſed in the Battel; that he had fought with all poſſible courage; that he had but four or five hundred Men left; and that at laſt, not being able to reſiſt any longer the Enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: She, in ſtead of ſending one to receive him, and to condole him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to ſhut the Gates of the Caſtle, and not to let this infamous Man enter; that he was not her Husband; that ſhe would never ſee him; that the Son-in-law of the Great *Rana*, could not have ſo low a Soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into ſo Illuſtrious an Houſe, he was to imitate the Virtue of it; and, in a word, that he was either to vanquiſh, or to dye. A moment after ſhe was of another humour; ſhe commands a Pile of Wood to be laid, that ſhe might burn her ſelf, that they abus'd her; that her Husband muſt needs be dead; that it could not be otherwiſe. And a little while after this, ſhe was ſeen to change her countenance, to fall into paſſion, and to break out into a thouſand reproaches againſt him. In ſhort, ſhe remained thus tranſported eight or nine days, without being able to reſolve to ſee her Husband, 'till at laſt her Mother coming in, brought her in ſome degree to her ſelf, and comforted her, aſſuring her, that as ſoon as the *Raja* had but a little refreſh'd himſelf, he would raiſe another Army, to fight *Aureng-Zebe*, and repair his Honour at any rate.

By which ſtory one may ſee a pattern of the Courage of the Women in that Countrey: To which I could add ſomething I have ſeen ſome of them do, who burned themſelves alive after the death of their Husbands; but we muſt reſerve this Diſcourſe for another place, where I ſhall alſo ſhew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepoſſeſſion, cuſtom, hope, and the point of honour, *&c.* may not make Men do or ſuffer.

Dara having underſtood what had paſſed at *Eugenes*, fell into that choler againſt *Kaſem Kan*, that it was thought he would have cut off his Head, if he had been upon the place. He was alſo tranſported againſt *Emir-Jemla*, as the Perſon that was the firſt and principal cauſe of the Misfortune, and who had furniſh'd *Aureng-Zebe* with Men, Money, and Cannon. He is ready to kill his Son *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, and will ſend his Wife and Daughter to *Baſar*, or the Market-place of proſtituted Women; and 'tis paſt doubt, that he would have done ſome ſuch thing, if *Chah-Jehan*, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the exceſs of his paſſion, in remonſtrating to him, that *Emir-Jemla* had not ſo little conduct, nor ſo great a friendſhip for *Aureng-Zebe*, as to hazard, and in a manner to ſacrifice his Family, for the advancing of his Intereſt; that *Aureng-Zebe* muſt needs have gulled and enſnared him, by his uſual artifice and cunning.

As for *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, the happy ſucceſs of this firſt Encounter did ſo ſwell their hearts, and gave ſuch Courage to their whole Army, that henceforth they believed themſelves invincible, and capable to compaſs any thing. Beſides, *Aureng-Zebe*, the more to animate his Soldiers, bragged openly, that he had Thirty thouſand *Mogols* at his devotion in the Army of *Dara*; and there was ſomething in it, as appeared by the ſequel. *Morad-Bakche* was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence. But *Aureng-Zebe* repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary the Army ſhould refreſh themſelves for ſome time upon the Banks of this ſweet River; that in the mean time he would write to all his Friends, and get a full and certain information of the ſtate of the Court, and of the condition of all Affairs. So that he marched not towards *Agra*, 'till he had reſted ſome days, and after that he marched but ſlowly, to inform himſelf of all, and to take his time and meaſures.

Concerning *Chah-Jehan*, when he plainly ſaw the reſolution of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, and that there was no hope left to make them turn back, he was in ſuch a perplexity, that he knew not what to reſolve, and foreſeeing ſome great calamity, he would fain have hindred the laſt deciſive Battel, for which he ſaw *Dara* preparing himſelf with great eagerneſs. But what could he do to oppoſe it? He was yet too weak of his ſickneſs, and ſaw himſelf ſtill in the hands of *Dara*, whom, as I have ſaid, he truſted not much: So that he found himſelf obliged to acquieſce in his Will, and to commit

mit to him all the Forces of the Empire, and to command all Captains to obey him. Immediately all was in Arms: I know not, whether there was ever a more gallant Army seen in *Indostan.* 'Tis said, that there were little less than an Hundred thousand Horse, and Twenty thousand Foot, with Four thousand pieces of Cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of Servants, Followers, Victuallers, whom Historians, methinks, do often put into the number of the Combatants, when they speak of those formidable Armies of Three or four hundred thousand men, of which their Books are full. Though this Army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng-Zebe* had, in which there were no more than Thirty Five or Forty thousand men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksom march, during the height of the Heats; and but a small number of Cannon, in respect of that of *Dara.* Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any Body that presaged well for *Dara*, all knowing, that most of the chief *Omrahs* had no affection for him, and that all the good Soldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son. And 'twas for this reason, that the most prudent and the most faithful of his Friends, and *Chah-Jehan* himself, counselled him, not to hazard a Battel: *Chah-Jehan* offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the Field himself, and be carried before *Aureng-Zebe*, to interpose; which was looked upon as a very good Expedient for Peace, and for accommodating the Affairs of *Chah-Jehan.* For 'tis certain, that *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, would never have had the boldness to fight against their own Father; and if they should have attempted it, they would have smarted for it, because, besides that the match was not equal, and all the great *Omrahs* were so affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, that they would not have failed to fight resolutely, if they had seen him in the head of the Army; besides this, I say, the Captains themselves of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*, bore great affection and respect to this Prince, whose Creatures they most were; and the whole Army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have presumed to draw his Sword against him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised *Dara*, that if he would not hearken to this Expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but delay, 'till *Soliman Chekouh*, who made all haste to join, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest Soldiers with him. But *Dara* would never hearken to any Proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give Battel presently, and to go against *Aureng-Zebe* in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own Honour and particular Interest, if he could have commanded Fortune, and made things succeed as he contrived them. For the Considerations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to discover) were some such as these:

He looked upon himself as Master of the person of *Chah-Jehan*; that he could dispose of him as he pleased; that he was also Possessor of all the Treasures and Forces of the Empire; that *Sultan Sujah* was half ruined; that his two other Brothers, with a weak and tired Army, were come to cast themselves into his hands; that, if he gained the Battel, they could not escape him; that he should all at once be absolute Master, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wishes, so as no body could contradict him in any thing, or dispute the Crown with him. Whereas if *Chah-Jehan* should take the Field, all Affairs would be accommodated, his Brothers would return to their Governments, *Chah-Jehan*, who began to recover his health, would resume the Government as before, and all things would return into their first Channel: That, if he should stay for *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son, *Chah-Jehan* might take some design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with *Aureng-Zebe*; that whatever he could do for gaining the Victory, the Reputation which *Soliman Chekouh* had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection of *Chah-Jehan*, and of the greatest part of the *Omrahs?* What did he know, whether he would keep any modesty, or any respect for him, and whither his Ambition might not carry him?

These Considerations made *Dara* resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his Point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole Army to take the Field, and thereupon came to take leave of *Chah-Jehan*, who was in the Fortress

treſs of *Agra*. This good old Man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withal failed not to repreſent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, *Dara*, ſince thou art reſolved to follow thine own Will, Go, God bleſs thee, but remember well theſe few words: *If thou loſeſt the Battel, take heed of ever coming into my Preſence.* But this made no great impreſſion upon him; he goeth forth briskly, taketh Horſe, and ſeizeth on the Paſſage of the River *Tchembel*, which is about twenty miles from *Agra*; where he fortified himſelf, expecting his Enemy. But the ſubtile and crafty *Fakire*, who wanted no good Spies, and People that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the Paſſage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himſelf near it, ſo that from the Camp of *Dara* one might diſcover his Tents. But what doth he in the mean time? He inveigles a certain Rebel of *Raja*, called *Chempet*, preſents him richly, and promiſeth him a thouſand fine things, if he would let him paſs thorough his Territories, that ſo he might go with ſpeed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the River might be paſſed on foot with eaſe. *Chempet* agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himſelf attend him, and ſhew him the way through the Woods and Hills of his Countrey. *Aureng-Zebe* raiſed his Camp the ſame night, without any noiſe, leaving ſome of his Tents to amuſe *Dara*, and marching night and day, made ſuch haſte, that he was almoſt as ſoon on the other ſide of the River, as *Dara* could have notice of it. Which obliged *Dara* to abandon the River there, and to leave all his Fortifications, and to follow his Enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards *Agra*, to gain the River of *Gemna*, and there without trouble, and at his eaſe, to enjoy the water, to fortifie, and to fix himſelf well, and ſo to expect *Dara*. The place where he encamped is but five Leagues from *Agra*, it was formerly called *Samonguer*, and now *Fateabad*, which is to ſay, *Place of Victory*. A little while after, *Dara* alſo came to encamp there, nigh the Bank of the ſame River, between *Agra*, and the Army of *Aureng-Zebe*.

The two Armies were there between three and four days in ſight of one another, without fighting. Mean time *Chah-Jehan* wrote ſeveral Letters to *Dara*, that *Soliman Chekouh* was not far off; that he ſhould not precipitate; that he ſhould come near *Agra*, and chuſe an advantageous place to fortifie himſelf 'till he came. But *Dara* anſwered, that before three days were paſſed, he would bring to him *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* tyed hand and foot, to do with them what he ſhould think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his Army in Battel-Array.

He placed in the Front all his Cannon, cauſing them to be tyed the one to the other with Chains, to ſhut the paſſage to the Cavalry. Behind theſe Peeces of Cannon, he placed alſo front-wiſe a great number of light Camels, on the forepart of the Bodies, whereof they faſten a ſmall Peece, of the bigneſs of a double Muſquet; a Man ſitting on the hind-part of the Camel, being able to charge and diſcharge without lighting. Behind theſe Camels ſtood the greateſt part of the Muſqueteers. Of the reſt of the Army, which chiefly conſiſted in Cavalry, furniſh'd with Bows and Arrows, (as ordinarily are the *Mogols*, that is, at preſent, White Men, Mahumetans, ſtrangers, as *Perſians*, *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Usbecks*;) or with a Sword, and a kind of Halt-pike, as commonly are the *Ragipous*: Of all theſe, I ſay, there were made three different Bodies. The right Wing was committed to *Calil-ullah-Kan*, with thirty thouſand *Mogols* under his Command; for he was made Great *Bakchis*, that is, Great Maſter of the Cavalry, in the place of *Danechmend-Kan*, that was afterwards my *Agah*, who voluntarily reſigned this Office, ſeeing that he was not well-beloved of *Dara*, for having always highly maintained againſt him the Intereſt and Authority of *Chah Jehan*. The left Wing was given to *Ruſtam-Kan Dakny*, a very renowned and very valiant Captain, together with the *Raja Chatreſale*, and the *Raja Kamſeigne Routlé*.

On the other ſide, *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche* put alſo their Army almoſt into the ſame Order; except that in the midſt of the Troops of ſome *Omrahs*, they had hid ſome ſmall Field-Peeces, which was, as was ſaid, after the Way and Art of *Emir-Jemla*, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made uſe of any more Art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there ſome Men caſting *Bannes*, which is a kind of Granado faſtened to a ſtick, that may be caſt very far through the Cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth Horſes, and even hurts and kills ſometimes.

All this Cavalry turns about very eaſily, and they draw their Arrows with marvellous ſwift-

ſwiftneſs; one Man being able to draw ſix of them, before a Muſqueteer can twice diſcharge his Muſquet. The ſame Cavalry keeps alſo very cloſe in ſeveral Troops under their reſpective Officers, eſpecially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I ſee not, that this way of putting an Army in Array, is any great matter, in compariſon of our Armies, when in good order.

All things being thus diſpoſed, the Artillery began to play on both ſides; for 'tis always the Cannon that makes the prelude amongſt *them*; and the Arrows were now ſeen to fly through the Air, when unexpectedly there hapned to fall a Storm of Rain, ſo violent, that it interrupted the Combat. The Rain ceaſing, the Cannon began afreſh to roar; and then it was that *Dara* appeared, who being mounted upon a proud Elephant of *Ceilan*, commanded that an Onſet ſhould be made on all ſides; and himſelf advanced into the midſt of the Body of the Cavalry, directly towards the Enemies Artillery, who received him warmly, kill'd ſtore of Men about him, and put into diſorder, not only the main Body which he commanded, but alſo the other Bodies of the Cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe he was ſeen to keep firm upon his Elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was obſerved to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make ſigns with his hands to advance and follow him, this diſorder ſoon ceaſed, every one returning his Rank, and advancing in the ſame place with *Dara*. But he could not reach the Enemy, without receiving another Volley of Cannon-ſhot, which cauſed a ſecond and great diſorder in his Men, and made a good part of them recoil; yet he, without any change in his Countenance, ſtood to it, encouraging his Troops, and gave ſtill ſigns, that they ſhould follow him, and advance with ſpeed without any loſs of time. Thus preſſing vigorouſly forward, he forced the Enemies Artillery, broke the Chains, entred into their Camp, and made a Rout in their Camels and Infantry, and in every thing he met with on that ſide; opening alſo a good paſſage to the Cavalry that followed him. Then it was, that the Enemies Cavalry facing him, a ſore Combat began. A ſhowre of Arrows filled the Air from both ſides, *Dara* himſelf putting his hand to that work: But, to ſay truth, theſe Arrows do but little Execution; more of them are loſt in the Air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The firſt diſcharges of Arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their Sables, *peſle meſle*, and the Combat was ſtoutly maintained on both ſides. *Dara* is ſtill ſeen to continue firm on his Elephant, encouraging, making a noiſe, and giving ſigns on all ſides; and at laſt advancing with ſo much reſolution and force, againſt all that oppoſed him in his March, that he overthrew the Cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Aureng-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted alſo on an Elephant, ſeeing this great diſorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it; but to no purpoſe. He made the main Body of his beſt Cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head againſt *Dara*; but it was not long before this Body alſo was forced to give back, and to retreat in great diſorder, whatever *Aureng-Zebe* could ſay or do to hinder it. Mean time let us take notice of his courage and reſolution: He ſaw that almoſt the whole Body of his Army was diſordered, and in a flying poſture, inſomuch that he had not a thouſand Men about him that kept their ſtanding; (ſome told me, that there were ſcarce five hundred:) He ſaw, that *Dara*, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would ruſh in upon him: Yet, for all this, he loſt no courage, and was ſo far from being ſtruck with fear, or from retreating, that he ſtood firmly to it, and called by name moſt of his Captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodahé*, (theſe are his own words,) that is. *Courage my old Friends, God is:* What hope is there in flying? Know you not, where is our *Decan*? *Kodahé*, *Kodahé*, *God is*, *God is*. And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing leſs than running away, he commanded before them all (oh ſtrange extremity!) that forthwith Chains ſhould be faſtned to the feet of his Elephant; and was going to faſten them in good earneſt, but that they all declared their courage and reſolution, to live and dye with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was yet at a good diſtance from him, and though the difficulty of the way embaraſſed and retarded him much; he meeting alſo with ſome reſiſtance, even from theſe diſordered Horſe of the Enemy, that covered all high and low places where he was to march. And this Encounter with *Aureng-Zebe* was looked upon as *the* thing, that was to aſſure *Dara* of the

the Victory, and to decide the Battel. And doubtleſs, he would have overcome all theſe difficulties, and *Aureng-Zebe*, with the ſmall number left him, would not have been able to bid head to this Victorious Army, if *Dara* had known how to profit of the prize he had in his hands. But here he failed; of which I ſhall now ſhew the occaſion, and how thereby the Scale was turned to *Aureng-Zebe*'s advantage.

Dara perceived that his left Wing was in great diſorder, and he was informed, that *Ruſtam-Kan* and *Chatreſale* were killed; that *Ramſeigne Routlé* had too far advanced, that he had indeed forced the Enemy, and made way through the midſt of them; but that now he was ſurrounded every way, and in very great danger. This it was, which made *Dara* deſiſt from his deſign of making directly towards *Aureng-Zebe*, that he might go to ſuccour his left Wing. There at firſt the Battel was alſo very ſharp, but *Dara* at laſt carried it, forcing and routing all, yet ſo, as that there ſtill remained ſomething that reſiſted and ſtopped him. Mean time, *Ramſeigne Routlé* fought with ſo much courage and vigour as was poſſible. He wounded *Morad-Bakche*, and came ſo near him, that he began to cut the Girdles of his Elephant, to make him fall down; but the valour and good fortune of *Morad-Bakche* gave not time enough for it. In ſhort, never any Man fought and defended himſelf more bravely, than *Morad-Bakche* did on this occaſion: All wounded as he was, and preſſed by the *Ragipous* of *Ramſeigne Routlé*, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the leaſt, but knew ſo well to take his time, that although he was, beſides defending himſelf, to cover with his ſhield a Son of his, but of ſeven or eight years of Age, who was ſitting on his ſide, he made an Arrow-ſhot ſo luckily at *Ramſeigne Routlé*, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara ſoon heard the ſad News of this Accident; but at the ſame time he underſtood alſo, that *Morad-Bakche* was in very great danger; the *Ragipous* fighting furiouſly, and like Lions, to revenge the death of their Maſter. And though he ſaw, on that ſide the way was very difficult, and that he ſtill found ſome ſmall Body oppoſing and retarding him; yet he was determined to ruſh through to *Morad-Bakche*: And doubtleſs this was the beſt he could do, and that, which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his buſineſs thoroughly with *Aureng-Zebe*. But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather, one of the blackeſt Treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greateſt overſight that was ever committed, did cauſe the entire loſs and ruin of *Dara*.

Calil-ullah-Kan (he that commanded the thirty thouſand *Mogols*, which made the right Wing, and were alone able to defeat the whole Army of *Aureng-Zebe*) did, whilſt *Dara* and his left Wing fought with ſo much courage and ſucceſs, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned in the fray, not permitting any one of his Horſemen to ſhoot an Arrow, with a pretence, that they were for a Reſerve, and that he had expreſs Order not to fight but in the laſt extremity. But the true cauſe was, that he reſerved in his breaſt the rancour of an old Affront, done him by *Dara*, when he commanded him to be ſtruck. But after all, this Treachery would have done no great miſchief, if this infamous Man had contented himſelf with this firſt Effect of his Reſentment: Behold, how far he carried his rage, and revengefulneſs! He cut himſelf off from his main Body, and taking only a few men with him, rid with all poſſible ſpeed towards *Dara*, at the ſame time when he was turning to fall on *Morad-Bakche*, and being come ſo near as to make himſelf be heard, cryed out with all his force; *Mohbareek-bad*, *Hazaret*, *Salamet*, *Elhamdul-ella*; God ſave your Majeſty, you have obtained the Victory; what will you do any longer upon your Elephant? Is it not enough, that you have expoſed your ſelf ſo long? if the leaſt of thoſe ſhots, that have been made into your *Dais*, had reached your Perſon, what would have become of us? Are there Traitors wanting in this Army? In the Name of God come down quickly and take Horſe. What remains more to be done, than to purſue theſe Run-aways. Let us do ſo, nor let us ſuffer that they ſhoulde eſcape our hands!

If *Dara* had had wit enough to diſcover the cheat, and to conſider upon a ſudden the conſequences of his not appearing any more upon the Elephant, and being no more ſeen by the whole Army, always eying him, or rather, if he had preſently commanded to cut off the Head of this Paraſitical Traitor, he had been Maſter of all. But the good Prince ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by theſe ſweet words: He hearkned to this advice, as if it had been very true and very ſincere; he deſcended from his Elephant,

and took Horſe. But I know not whether there paſſed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the Treachery of *Calil ullah-Kan*, and repented himſelf extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he ſeeketh, he asketh where he is; he faith, he is a Traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious Villain is by this time at a good diſtance; the occaſion is loſt. Would it be believed, that as ſoon as the Army perceived *Dara* to be no more upon the Elephant, they imagined that there was Treaſon, that *Dara* was killed; and all were ſtruck with ſuch a terror, that every one thought on nothing, but how to eſcape the hands of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to ſave himſelf? What ſhall I ſay? All the Army diſbands and flyeth. A ſudden and ſtrange revolution! He that ſaw himſelf juſt now Victorious, finds himſelf in a few moments vanquiſhed, abandoned, and obliged to fly himſelf to ſave his life. *Aureng-Zebe*, by holding out firm a quarter of an hour upon his Elephant, ſeeth the Crown of *Indoſtan* upon his Head; and *Dara* for having come down a little too ſoon, ſeeth himſelf precipitated from the Throne, and the moſt unfortunate Prince of the World. Thus Fortune taketh pleaſure, to make the gain or loſs of a Battel, and the deciſion of a great Empire, depend upon a nothing.

Theſe great and prodigious Armies, 'tis true, do ſometimes great things; but when once terror ſeiſeth, and diſorder comes among them, what means of ſtopping the Commotion? 'Tis like a great River broke through its Dams; it muſt overrun all, without a Remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I conſider the condition of ſuch Armies, deſtitute of good order, and marching like flocks of Sheep, I perſwade my ſelf, that, if in theſe parts one might ſee an Army of five and twenty thouſand men, of thoſe old Troops of *Flanders*, under the conduct of *Monſieur le Prince*, or *Monſieur de Turenne*, I doubt not at all, but they would trample under foot all thoſe Armies, how numerous ſoever they were. And this it is, that now maketh me not find it any longer ſtrange or incredible, what we are told of ten thouſand *Greeks*; and of fifty thouſand Men of *Alexander*, overcoming ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand Men of *Darius*; (if it be true, that there were ſo many, and that the Hiſtorian did not reckon the Servants, and all thoſe numbers of Men, which were to follow the Army, to furniſh it with Forrage, Cattle, Corn, and all other neceſſaries.) Bear only the firſt brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do; and behold, they are all aſtoniſhed: Or, do like *Alexander*, ſet vigorouſly upon one place, if that hold not out, (which will be very hard for them to do) you may be ſure the work is done; all the reſt preſently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by ſuch a wonderful ſucceſs, is not wanting to turn every ſtone, to employ skill, dexterity, ſubtilty, craft, courage, to profit by all the Advantages, which ſo favourable an occaſion puts into his hands. *Calil-ullah-Kan* is preſently with him, offering him his Service, and all the Troops he could be Maſter of. He, on his ſide, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgments, nor a thouſand fair Promiſes: But he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him preſently and preſented him to *Morad-Bakche*, who, as we may eaſily think, received him with open Arms; *Aureng-Zebe* in the mean time congratulating and praiſing *Morad-Bakche*, for having fought ſo valiantly, and aſcribing to him all the honour of the Victory; treating him with the title of King and Majeſty before *Calil-ullah-Kan*, giving him uncommon reſpect, and doing ſubmiſſions to him becoming a Subject and Servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himſelf, he writeth round about to all the *Omrahs*, making ſure to day of one, and next day of another. *Chah-beſt-Kan*, his Uncle, the great and old Enemy of *Dara*, by reaſon of an Affront he had received from him, did the ſame for him on his part; and as he is the Perſon who writeth beſt and ſubtilleſt of the Empire of *Indoſtan*, ſo he contributed not a little by his Cabals to the advancement of the Affairs of *Aureng-Zebe*, making ſtrong Parties every where againſt *Dara*.

In the mean time let us ſtill obſerve the artifice and diſſimulation of *Aureng-Zebe*. Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiſeth, is for himſelf, or in his own Name; he hath ſtill (forſooth) the deſign of living as a *Fakire*: all is for *Morad-Bakche*, 'tis he that commands; *Aureng-Zebe* doth nothing; 'tis *Morad-Bakche* doth all, 'tis he that is deſigned to be King.

As for the unhappy *Dara*, he comes with all ſpeed to *Agra*, in a deſperate condition, and not daring to go ſee *Chah-Jehan*, remembring, doubtleſs, thoſe ſevere words which he

let

let fall, when he took leave of him before the Battel, *viz.* That he ſhould remember not to come before him, if he were overcome. Yet, for all that, the good old Father ſent ſecretly a truſty Eunuch to him, to comfort him, to aſſure him of the continuance of his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonſtrate to him, that the caſe was not yet deſperate, conſidering that there was a good Army with *Soliman Chekouh*, his Son, that he ſhould go to *Debli*, where he ſhould find a thouſand Horſe in the Royal Stables; and *that* the Governor of the Fortreſs had Order to furniſh him with Money and Elephants; for the reſt, *that* he ſhould not go further than he needs muſt; *that* he would often write to him: And laſtly, *that* he very well knew how to find out and chaſtiſe *Aurenge-Zebe*.

I have been informed, that *Dara* was then in ſuch a confuſion, and ſunk ſo low, that he had not the power to anſwer a word to the Eunuch, nor the courage to ſend any one to *Chah-Jehan*; but that, after having ſent ſeveral times to *Begum-Saheb*, his Siſter, he went away at midnight, taking with him his Wife, his Daughters, and his Grandchild *Sepe-Chekouh*; and that (which is almoſt incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred perſons. Let us leave him in his Voyage to *Debli*, and ſtay at *Agra*, to conſider the dexterity and craft, wherewith *Aureng-Zebe* proceeded to manage Affairs.

He well knew, that *Dara*, and thoſe of his Party, could yet place ſome hopes in the victorious Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, and therefore he reſolved to take it from him, or to make it uſeleſs to him. To this end, he wrote Letters upon Letters to the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, and to *Delil-Kan*, who were the chief Heads of the Army of *Soliman Chekouh*, telling them, that there was no hope left for *Dara* and his Party; that he had loſt the Battel; that his whole Army had ſubmitted to him; that all had abandon'd him; that he was fled alone towards *Debli*; that he could never eſcape him, and that Orders were diſtributed every where to ſeize on him. And as for *Chah-Jehan*, that he was in a condition hopeleſs of recovery; that they ſhould take good care of what they had to do; and if they were Men of underſtanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his Friends, they ſhould ſeize on *Soliman Chekouh*, and bring him to him.

Jeſſeigne found himſelf perplexed enough, what he ſhould do, ſtill much apprehending *Chah-Jehan* and *Dara*, and more, to lay hands upon a Royal Perſon, well knowing, that ſome miſchief might therefore fall on him, ſooner or later, even from *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf. Beſides, he knew that *Soliman Chekouh* had too much courage to let himſelf be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending of himſelf. Behold therefore, what he at laſt reſolved! After having taken counſel with *Delil-Kan*, his great Friend, and after they had renewed to one another the Oath of mutual Fidelity, he went directly to the Tent of *Soliman Chekouh*, who with great impatience expected him, (for he alſo had heard the News of the Defeat of *Dara* his father) and had already divers times ſent for him. To him he frankly diſcovered all things, ſhewed him the Letter of *Aureng-Zebe*, told him what courſe was beſt for him to take, repreſented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reaſon he ſhould truſt in *Delil-Kan*, or in *Daoud-Kan*, or in the reſt of his Army; but that, as ſoon as he could, he ſhould gain the Mountains of *Serenaguer*; that that was the beſt Expedient he could take; that the *Raja* of that Countrey being in unacceſſible places, and not apprehending *Aureng-Zebe*, would doubtleſs receive him gladly; and; for the reſt, he would ſoon ſee how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the Mountains, when he ſhould think good.

The young Prince underſtood well enough by this kind of diſcourſe, that there was no ground to truſt henceforth in this *Raja*, and that there was no more ſafety for his Perſon; and that the rather, becauſe he knew that *Delil-Kan* was altogether devoted to him, and he ſaw well enough, that there was a neceſſity to take this courſe ſuggeſted. Whereupon he ſoon commanded, that his Baggage ſhould be put up to march towards the Mountains. Some of his moſt affectionate Friends, as a good number of *Manſeb-Dars*, of *Sajeds*, and others, put themſelves in order to attend him; the reſt of the Army, altogether aſtoniſhed, remain'd with the *Raja*. But that, which was very mean for a great *Raja*, and a very ſordid barbarouſneſs, was, that he and *Delil-Kan* ſent under hand ſome to fall upon his Baggage, who alſo took other things, and among them an Elephant laden with Rupies of Gold, which cauſed a great diſorder among thoſe ſmall Troops that followed him; and which was an occaſion, that many of them

return'd and abandon'd him; and invited alſo the Country-people to ſet upon his Men, pillaging them, and even killing ſome of them: Yet he made a ſhift to gain the Mountains, with his Wife and Children, where the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* received him with all the honour and civilities he could deſire, aſſuring him, that he was in ſafety, as much as if he were King of that Countrey, and that he would protect and aſſiſt him with all his Forces. In the mean time, behold what hapned on *Agra*'s ſide.

Three or four days after the Battel of *Samonguer*, the Victorious *Aureng-Zebe*, together with *Morad-Bakche*, came directly to the Gate of the Town into a Garden, which may be a little League diſtant from the Fortreſs, and ſent from thence an able Eunuch, and one of thoſe whom he moſt confided in, to *Chah-Jehan*, to ſalute him with a thouſand fair Proteſtations of his affection and ſubmiſſion; that he was exceedingly ſorry for what had paſſed, and for having been obliged, by reaſon of the ambition and evil deſigns of *Dara*, to proceed to all thoſe extremities; that, for the reſt, he rejoyced extremely to hear, that he began to find himſelf better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his Commands. *Chah-Jehan* was not wanting to expreſs to the Eunuch much ſatisfaction, as to the proceedings of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to receive the Submiſſions of this Son with all poſſible appearances of joy; though he ſaw very well, that matters had been carried too far, and ſufficiently knew the reſerved and crafty humour of *Aureng-Zebe*, and his ſecret paſſion for Reigning; and that therefore he was not much to be truſted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithſtanding he ſuffers himſelf to be circumvented, and inſtead of playing the ſureſt Chart, *by* uſing his utmoſt power, *by* ſtirring, *by* appearing, *by* cauſing himſelf to be carried through the Town, and *by* aſſembling all his *Omrahs*, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to outwit *Aureng-Zebe*, him that was his Crafts-Maſter, and attempts to draw him into a ſnare, wherein he will be found taken himſelf. He then ſends alſo an Eunuch to this Son, to let him know, that he well underſtood the ill conduct, and even the incapacity of *Dara*; that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had and expreſſed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and laſtly, that he ſhould come to ſee him, and to adviſe with him what was fit to be done in theſe diſorders; and that he paſſionately wiſhed to embrace him.

Aureng-Zebe, on his ſide, ſaw alſo well enough, that he was not to truſt too much to the words of *Chah-Jehan*, knowing eſpecially, that *Begum-Saheb*, his Enemy as well as Siſter, was night and day about him, and that 'twas very probable, he acted nothing but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he ſhould come into the Fortreſs, he might be ſeized on, and ill-treated; as it was ſaid, that the reſolution was indeed taken to do ſo, and ſeveral of thoſe luſty *Tartarian* Women, which ſerve in the *Seraglio*, were armed to ſet upon him as ſoon as he ſhould enter. Whatever it be, he would never hazard himſelf, and yet ſpread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to ſee his Father *Chah-Jehan*. But when the day was come, he put it off till another, and ſo he delayed it from day to day, without ever making the Viſit. In the mean time he continued his ſecret Negotiations and Cabals, and ſounded the mind of all the greateſt *Omrahs*, ſo far, that at laſt, after he had well and cloſely laid his Deſign, and politickly diſpoſed all things for the ſucceſs thereof, all were amazed to ſee, that one day, when he had ſent *Sultan Mahmoud*, his eldeſt Son, to the Fortreſs, under a pretence of ſeeing *Chah-Jehan* in his name; this young Prince, bold and undertaking, falls preſently on the Guards that were at the Gate, and vigorouſly driveth all before him, whilſt a great number of Men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themſelves Maſters of the Walls.

If ever a man was aſtoniſhed, *Chah-Jehan* was, ſeeing that he was fallen into the ſnare which he had prepared for others, that himſelf was impriſoned and *Aurenge-Zebe* Maſter of the Fortreſs. 'Tis ſaid, that he preſently ſent to ſound the mind of *Sultan Mahmoud*, promiſing him upon his Crown and upon the *Alcoran*, that if he would be faithful to him, and ſerve him in this conjuncture, he would make him King; that he ſhould come preſently to ſee him within, and not loſe this occaſion: Beſides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the bleſſings of Heaven, and an immortal Glory; in regard it would be ſaid for ever, that *Sultan Mahmoud* had delivered *Chah-Jehan* his Grandfather out of Priſon.

And certainly, if *Sultan Mahmoud* had been reſolute enough to give this ſtroke, and *Chah-Jehan* could have come abroad to ſhew himſelf to the Town, and to take the Field,

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no man doubts, but all his great *Omrahs* would have followed him; nor would *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf have had the boldneſs nor the ſavageneſs to fight againſt his own Father in Perſon, eſpecially ſince he muſt have apprehended, that all the world would have abandon'd him, and poſſibly *Morad-Bakche* himſelf. And 'tis indeed the great fault which *Chah-Jehan* is obſerved to have committed after the Battel, and the flight of *Dara*, not to have come out of the Fortreſs. But yet I have converſed with many, who maintained that *Chah-Jehan* did prudently in it. For this hath been a queſtion much agitated among the Politicians, and there are no reaſons wanting to countenance the Sentiment of the latter ſort; who alſo add, that Men almoſt always judge of things by the Event; that often very fooliſh Enterpriſes have been obſerved to ſucceed, and which therefore are approved by all; that if *Chah-Jehan* had proſpered in his deſign, he would have been eſteemed the moſt prudent and the moſt able Man in the World; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old Man, that ſuffer'd himſelf to be led by a Woman, his Daughter *Begum*, which was blinded by her paſſion, and had the vanity to believe, that *Aureng-Zebe* would come to ſee her, that the Bird of it ſelf would fly into the Cage, or at leaſt, that he would never be ſo bold as to attempt the ſeiſure of the Fortreſs, nor have the power to do ſo. Theſe ſame Reaſoners maintaining alſo ſtifly, that the greateſt fault that *Sultan Mahmoud* could poſſibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occaſion to aſſure himſelf of the Crown, by the rareſt and the moſt generous Action that ever was, to put his Grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himſelf Right and Juſtice, as the Soveraign Umpire of Affairs; whereas, as things now ſtand, he muſt one day go and dye in *Goualeor*. But *Sultan Mahmoud* (whether it was that he feared his Grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he ſhould be himſelf detained within, or that he durſt not play tricks with his Father *Aureng-Zebe*) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the Apartment of *Chah-Jehan*, anſwering very cloſely, that he had no order from his Father to go and ſee him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the Keys of all the Gates of the Fortreſs, that ſo he might come with all ſafety to kiſs the Feet of his Majeſty. There paſſed almoſt two whole days before he could reſolve to ſurrender the Keys; during which time, *Sultan Mahmoud* ſtaid there, unalterable in his reſolutions, keeping himſelf upon his Guard night and day, with all his Troops about him; till at length *Chah-Jehan*, ſeeing that all his people that were upon the Guard at the little Gate, little by little disbanded, and that there was no more ſafety on his ſide, gave him the Keys, with an order to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, that he ſhould come preſently if he were wiſe, and that he had moſt important things to diſcourſe with him about. But *Aureng-Zebe* was too cunning to commit ſo groſs a fault: On the contrary, he made his Eunuch *Etbarkan* Governor of the Fortreſs, who preſently ſhut up *Chah-Jehan*, together with *Begum-Saheb*, and all his Women; cauſing divers Gates to be walled up, that ſo he might not be able to write or ſpeak to any body, nor go forth out of his Apartment without permiſſion.

Aureng-Zebe in the mean time writ to him a little Note, which he ſhewed to every body before he ſealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expreſſions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithſtanding thoſe great proteſtations of eſteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of *Dara*, he had, for all that, ſent to *Dara* two Elephants charged with Rupies of Gold, to raiſe him again, and to re-commence the War; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that impriſoned him, but *Dara*, and that he might thank him for it, as the cauſe of all theſe misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very firſt day to him, and paid him all the moſt dutiful reſpects he could have looked for from a good Son: That, for the reſt, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as ſoon as he ſhould have diſenabled *Dara* from executing his evil deſigns, he would come himſelf and open the Gates to him.

I have heard it ſaid concerning this Note, that *Chah-Jehan* in very deed, the ſame night that *Dara* departed, had ſent to him theſe Elephants laden with Rupies of Gold, and that it was *Rauchenara-Begum* that found a way to diſcover it to *Aureng-Zebe*; as ſhe alſo had detected to him that Plot, which was laid againſt him with thoſe *Tartarian* Women; and that *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf had intercepted ſome Letters of *Chah-Jehan* to *Dara*.

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I have converſed with others, that maintain there is no ſuch thing, and that this Writing, which *Aureng-Zebe* ſhewed to all, was only to caſt Sand into the Eyes of the People, and to labour, in ſome degree, to juſtifie himſelf in ſo ſtrange an action, and to devolve the Cauſe of it upon *Chah-Jehan* and *Dara*, as if he had been forced to ſuch proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to diſcover. However it be, as ſoon as *Chah-Jehan* was ſhut up, almoſt all the *Omrahs* were in a manner neceſſitated to go and make their Court to *Aureng-Zebe* and *Morad-Bakche*; and (which is almoſt incredible) there was not one that had the Courage to ſtir, or to attempt the leaſt in the behalf of his King, and for him that had made them what they were, and raiſed them from the duſt, and perhaps from ſlavery it ſelf (which is ordinary enough in that Court) to advance them to Riches and Honour. Yet ſome few there are, as *Dancchmend-Kan*, and ſome others, that took no ſide; but all the reſt declared for *Aureng-Zebe*.

'Tis notwithſtanding to be noted what I ſaid, that they were neceſſitated to do what they did. For 'tis not in the *Indies*, as in *France*, or other States of *Chriſtendom*, where the Grandees and Nobles have large Poſſeſſions of Land, and great Revenues, which enables them for a while to ſubſiſt of themſelves. There they have nothing but Penſions (as I have already touched above) which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an inſtant; ſo that they ſhall be conſidered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus aſſured himſelf of *Chah-Jehan*, and of all the *Omrahs*, took what Sums of Money he thought fit out of the Treaſury; and then having left *Chah-heſt-Kan*, his Uncle, Governor of the Town, he went away with *Morad-Bakche* to purſue *Dara*.

The day that the Army was to march out of *Agra* the particular Friends of *Morad-Bakche*, eſpecially his Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, who knew, that the exceſs of civility and reſpect is ordinarily a ſign of impoſture, counſelled him, that ſince he was King, and every body treated him with the Title of Majeſty, and *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf acknowledged him for ſuch, he ſhould let him go to purſue *Dara*, and ſtay himſelf with his Troops about *Agra* and *Dehli*. If he had followed this counſel, 'tis certain, that he would have embaraſſed *Aureng-Zebe* not a little; but 'twas fatal, that he ſhould neglect ſo good advice: *Aureng-Zebe* is too fortunate; *Morad-Bakche* entirely confideth in his promiſes, and in the Oaths of Fidelity they had ſworn to one another upon the Alcoran. They went away together, and went with the ſame pace towards *Dehli*.

When they were come to *Maturas*, three or four ſmall days Journey from *Agra*, the friends of *Morad-Bakche*, who perceived ſomething, endeavoured again to perſwade him, that he ſhould beware; aſſuring him that *Aureng-Zebe* had evil deſigns, and that beyond all doubt ſome miſchief was upon the Anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at leaſt, he ſhould go to ſee him; that it would be much better to prevent this ſtroke the ſooneſt it might be; that he was only to forbear going to viſit him that day, excuſing himſelf with ſome Indiſpoſition. But whatſoever could be ſaid to him he believed nothing of it, his Ears were ſtopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendſhip of *Aureng-Zebe*, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to ſtay at Supper with him. As ſoon as he was come, *Aureng-Zebe*, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with *Mirkan*, and three or four of his moſt intimate Captains, was not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his Courtſhip, Civilities and Submiſſions, inſomuch as gently to paſs his hankerchief over his face, and to wipe off his ſweat and duſt, treating him ſtill with the title of King and Majeſty. In the mean time the Table is ſerved, they ſup, the converſation grows warm, they diſcourſe of various things as they uſe to do; and at laſt there is brought a huge Bottle of excellent *Chiras* Wine, and ſome other Bottles of *Caboul* Wine, for a Debauch. Then *Aureng-Zebe*, as a grave ſerious Man, and one that would appear a great Mahumetan, and very regular, nimbly riſeth from Table, and having with much kindneſs invited *Morad-Bakche*, who loved a Glaſs of Wine very well, and who reliſhed the Wine that was ſerved, ſcrupled not to drink of it to exceſs. In a word, he made himſelf drunk, and fell aſleep. This was the thing that was wiſhed; for preſently ſome Servants of his that were there, were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him ſleep without making any noiſe; and then his Zable and Ponyard were taken from

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about him: But *Aureng-Zebe* was not long, but came himſelf and wakened him. He entred into the Chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his Eyes, he made to him this ſhort and ſurpriſing Reprimand: What means this, *ſaid he*, What ſhame and what ignominy is this, that ſuch a King as you are, ſhould have ſo little temper, as thus to make himſelf drunk? What will be ſaid both of you and me? Take this infamous Man, this Drunkard, tye him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to ſleep out his Wine. No ſooner ſaid, but it was executed; notwithſtanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or ſix perſons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. The things could not be done, but ſome of his Men that were thereabout had news of it. They made ſome noiſe, and would enter forcibly; but *Allah-Couly*, one of his chief Officers, and the Maſter of his Artillery, that had been gained long before, threatned them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, Men were ſent through the whole Army to calm this firſt Commotion, which alſo might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been preſent, that *Morad-Bakche* was only drunk, that in that condition he had railed at every body, and *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf, inſomuch that there had been a neceſſity, ſeeing him drunk and furious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would ſee him abroad, after he had digeſted his Wine. In the mean time, the Preſents walked about all night amongſt the chief Officers of the Army, their Pay was forthwith encreaſed, they had great Promiſes made them; and as there was none, that had not long ſince apprehended ſome ſuch thing, there was no great wonder to ſee almoſt all things quieted the next morning; ſo that the very next night this poor Prince was ſhut up in a little cloſe houſe, ſuch an one as is wont to be placed on Elephants to carry Women, and he was carried directly to *Dehli* into *Slimager*, which is a little old Fortreſs in the midſt of the River.

After that all was thus appeaſed, except the Eunuch *Chah-Abas*, who cauſed difficulty enough, *Aureng-Zebe* received the whole Army of *Morad-Bakche* into his Service, and went after *Dara*, who marched apace towards *Labor*, with an intention well to fortifie himſelf in that place, and thither to draw his Friends. But *Aureng-Zebe* followed him with ſo much ſpeed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himſelf neceſſitated to retreat, and to take the way of *Multan*, where alſo he could do nothing conſiderable, becauſe that *Aureng-Zebe*, notwithſtanding the great heat, marched night and day; inſomuch, that to encourage all to make haſte, he ſometimes advanced almoſt all alone two or three Leagues before the whole Army, finding himſelf often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a cruſt of dry bread, and to ſleep under a Tree, ſtaying for his Army in the midſt of the high-way, laying his head on his Shield like a common Souldier. So that *Dara* found himſelf conſtrained to abandon *Multan* alſo, that he might avoid being near *Aureng-Zebe*, whom he was not able to encounter. Here 'tis that the Stateſmen of this Countrey have reaſoned very diverſly: For 'tis ſaid, that if *Dara*, when he went out of *Labor*, had caſt himſelf into the Kingdom of *Caboul*, as he was adviſed, he would there have found above ten thouſand warlick Men, deſigned againſt the *Augans*, the *Perſians*, and the *Usbecs*, and for a Guard to that Countrey, the Governor whereof was *Mohabet-Kan*, one of the moſt potent and the moſt ancient of *Indoſtan*, and that had never been *Aureng-Zebe*'s Friend; that, beſides, he would have been there at the Gate of *Perſia* and *Usbec*; that he was likely, that there being no want of Money, all that *Militia* and *Mohabet-Kan* himſelf, would have embraced his Party; and that further, he might have drawn aſſiſtance, not only from *Usbec*, but alſo from *Perſia*, as well as from *Houmayon*, whom the *Perſians* had reſtored to his Country againſt *Zaher-Kan*, King of the *Patans*, who had driven him thence. But *Dara* was too unfortunate to follow ſo good advice. Inſtead of that he went towards *Scimdy*, to caſt himſelf into the Fortreſs of *Tatabakar*, that ſtrong and famous place, ſeated in the midſt of the River *Indus*.

Aureng-Zebe ſeeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to *Caboul*. He contented himſelf to ſend after him ſeven or eight thouſand Men, under the Conduct of *Mir-baba*, his Foſter-brother, and turned back with the ſame expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending leſt any thing ſhould fall out about *Agra*; leſt ſome or other of thoſe potent *Rajah*'s, as *Jeſſeigne*, or *Jeſſomſeigne*, ſhould make an attempt

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in his abſence, to free *Chah-Jehan* out of Priſon; or left *Soliman Chekouh*, together with the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, ſhould deſcend from the Hills; or left alſo *Sultan Sujah* ſhould approach too near *Agra*. Behold a little Accident, which one day befell him, for too great precipitation.

When he thus returned from *Multan* towards *Lahor*, and marched his ordinary ſwift pace, he ſaw the *Raja Jeſſeigne* come againſt him, accompanied with four or five thouſand of his *Ragipous*, in a very good equipage; *Aureng-Zebe*, who had left his Army behind, and who alſo knew that this *Raja* was very affectionate to *Chah-Jehan*, was ſufficiently ſurpriſed, as may eaſily be imagined, fearing leſt this *Raja* ſhould make uſe of this occaſion, and do a Maſter-piece of State, by ſeiſing on him, to draw *Chah-Jehan* out of Priſon, which at that time was very eaſie to do. Neither is it known, whether this *Raja* had not ſome ſuch deſign; for he had marched with extraordinary ſpeed, inſomuch that *Aureng-Zebe* had no news of it, believing him yet to be at *Dehli*. But what may not reſolution and preſence of mind do? *Aureng-Zebe*, without any alteration of his Countenance, marched directly towards the *Raja*, and as far off as he could ſee him, maketh ſigns to him with his hands, importing that he ſhould make haſt to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, *Salamed Bached Rajagi*, *Salamed Bached Babagi*, treating him with the Titles of *Lord Raja*, and *Lord Father*. When the *Raja* was come to him; I expected you, *ſaid he*, with great impatience; the work is done, *Dara* is loſt, he is all alone; I have ſent *Mir-baba* after him, from whom he cannot eſcape: And for an exceſs of kindneſs to him, he took off his Neck-lace of Pearls, and put it about the Neck of this *Raja*: And the ſooner to rid himſelf handſomely of him, (for he wiſhed him far enough) Go, *ſaith he*, with all the expedition you can to *Lahor*, my Army is ſomewhat tyred; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that elſe ſomething ſiniſter might fall out there; I make you Governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the reſt, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with *Soliman Chekouh*: Where have you left *Delil-Kan*? I ſhall find my revenge of him. Make all poſſible diſpatch, *Salamed Bached*, Farewell.

Dara being arrived at *Tata-baker*, made Governor of that place a very underſtanding, gallant, and generous Eunuch, with a very good Garriſon of *Patans* and *Sayeds*; and for Cannoneers, a good number of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Germans*, who had followed him out of great hopes he had given them, (for, if his Affairs had proſpered and he were become King, we muſt all have reſolved to be *Omrahs*, as many *Franguis* as we were.) He there left alſo the greateſt part of his Treaſure; he wanted as yet no Gold nor Silver; and ſtaying there but a very few days, he marched away with two or three thouſand Men only, deſcending along the River *Indus* towards *Scindy*, and from thence croſſing with an incredible celerity all thoſe Territories of the *Raja Katche*, he arrived in *Guzaratte*, and came to the Gates of *Amadevat*. The Father-in-law of *Aureng-Zebe*, called *Chah-Navaze-Kan*, was Governor there, with a very good Garriſon, able to reſiſt. Yet notwithſtanding, whether it was that he was ſurpriſed, or that he wanted courage (for although he was of thoſe ancient Princes of *Machate*, yet he was no great Souldier, though a Man of a very obliging and civil converſation) he did not oppoſe *Dara*, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with ſo much dexterity, that *Dara* was ſo ſimple as to truſt himſelf with him, and to communicate to him his Deſigns; inſomuch as that he ſhewed him the Letters which he received from the *Raja Jeſſomſeigne*, and of many other of his Friends, which prepared themſelves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his Friends confirmed by Letters, that certainly this *Chah-Navaze-Kan* would betray him.

Never was any man more ſurprized than *Aureng-Zebe*, when he heard that *Dara* was in *Amadevat*: For he well knew, that he wanted no Money, and that all his Friends, and all the diſcontented Party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themſelves by little and little to him: And on the other ſide, he found it not ſafe to go and find him out himſelf in that place, by removing himſelf ſo far from *Agra* and *Chah-Jehan*, to go and embaraſe himſelf in all thoſe Countries of the *Rajah's*, *Jeſſeigne*, *Jeſſomſeigne*, and others, that are in thoſe Provinces. Beſides, he apprehended, leſt *Sultan Sujah* ſhould advance with a ſtrong Army, which was already about *Elabas*, and leſt the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* ſhould deſcend from the Hills with *Soliman Chekouh*: So that

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he was ſufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing which way to turn. At laſt he believed it beſt to leave *Dara* for a time quiet where he was, and to go thither where his preſence and Army was moſt neceſſary, which was towards *Sultan Sujah*, who had already paſſed the River *Ganges* at *Elabas*.

This *Sultan Sujah* was come to encamp in a little Village called *Cadjoue*, and had conveniently ſeized himſelf of a great *Talab*, or Reſervatory of Water, which is there in the way; and *Aureng-Zebe* came to place himſelf on the ſide of a ſmall Torrent, at the diſtance of a mile and an half from thence, on *Agra*'s ſide. Between both was a very fair Campagne, very proper for a Battel. *Aureng-Zebe* was no ſooner arrived, but being impatient to end this War, at break of day he went to face *Sujah*, leaving his Baggage on the other ſide of the Torrent. He fell upon *Sujah* with an effort unimaginable. *Emir-Jemla*, Priſoner of *Decan*, and who arrived juſt on the day of the Combat, fearing *Dara* no more, becauſe his Family was more in ſafety, did there alſo lay out all his force, courage, and dexterity. But ſeeing that *Sultan Sujah* had well fortified himſelf, and was accompanied with a very good Artillery, advantageouſly placed, it was not poſſible for *Aureng-Zebe* to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, ſo as to make him loſe thoſe Waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himſelf to draw back ſeveral times, ſo vigorouſly was he repulſed, inſomuch that he found himſelf in great perplexity. *Sultan Sujah* not being willing to advance too far into the Campagne, nor to remove from that advantagious place where he was, pretending only to defend himſelf; which was very prudently done. For he foreſaw, that *Aureng-Zebe* could not ſtay there long, and that in that hot ſeaſon he would be abſolutely obliged to turn back towards the Torrent for the Water; and that, when he ſhould do ſo he would fall upon his Rear, *Aureng-Zebe* alſo foreſaw well enough the ſame thing, and that was the reaſon why he was ſo forward and preſſing; but behold another more troubleſome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the *Raja Jeſſomſeigne*, who in *appearance* had accommodated himſelf with him, was fallen upon his Rear, and plundred his Baggage and Treaſure. This News aſtoniſhed him much, and the more, becauſe he perceived that his Army which had heard of it was thereby frighted, and fallen into diſorder. Yet he loſes not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he reſolved, as in the Battle of *Dara*, to bear up the beſt he could, and to expect with a ſteady foot all Events. In the mean time, the diſorder grew worſe and worſe in his Army: *Sujah*, who was reſolved to profit of the occaſion, taketh his time, and preſſeth him vigorouſly. He that led *Aureng-Zebe*'s Elephant is killed with the ſhot of an Arrow; he leads the Beaſt as well as he can himſelf, till another could be had in that Leaders place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himſelf, his Elephant begins to be frighted, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the ſeat, as if he meant to caſt himſelf to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if *Emir-Jemla*, being nigh, and performing like a great Man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand *Decan-kou*, *Decan-kou*, where is *Decan?* This ſeems to have been the greateſt extremity, to which *Aureng-Zebe* could be reduced. One would have ſaid, 'twas now and here that Fortune had abandon'd him, and there is almoſt no appearance of a poſſibility to eſcape. But his good Fortune is ſtronger than all that: *Sultan Sujah* muſt be routed, and take flight, like *Dara*, to ſave his life: *Aureng-Zebe* muſt remain Victorious, carry away the Bell, and be King of the *Indies*.

We are to remember the Battel of *Samonguer*, and that, in appearance, ſlight accident which ruined *Dara*: 'Tis the ſame over-ſight, or rather the ſame Treaſon, which is now deſtroying *Sultan Sujah*. One of his chief Captains, *Allah-verdi-Kan*, who (as ſome ſay) had been gained, uſeth the ſame Artifice that *Calil-ullah-Kan* had employed towards *Dara*; though there were ſome who believed, that there was no malice in the caſe, and that it was a meer piece of Flattery. For ſeeing that the whole Army of *Aureng-Zebe* was in diſorder, he ran towards *Sultan Sujah*, telling him the ſame thing, that *Calil-ullah Kan* did to *Dara*, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would ſtay no longer in ſo great danger upon his Elephant. Come down, *ſaid he*, in the name of God, mount on Horſe-back, God hath made you Sovereign of the *Indies*, let us purſue thoſe Fugitives, let not *Aureng-Zebe* eſcape us.

But not to ſtay long from declaring the ſtrange Fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*, and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his deſperate condition; *Sultan Sujah*, not more conſiderate than *Dara*, commits the ſame Fault; and he was no ſooner come down from his Elephant, but his Army ſeeing him no more, was ſtruck with a terror, believing there was Treaſon, and that he was either taken or ſlain. Whereupon they disbanded, without any more ado, as *Dara*'s Army did in the Battel of *Samonguer*; and the Defeat was ſo great, that the *Sultan* was fortunate in that he could ſave himſelf.

Jeſſomſeigne hearing this unexpected News, and perceiving it was not very ſafe for him to tarry there, contented himſelf with the Spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched ſtreight to *Agra*, thence to paſs to his Countrey. The noiſe was already in *Agra*, that *Aureng-Zebe* had loſt the Battel; that he was taken, together with *Emir-Jemla*, and that *Sultan-Sujah* brought them both Priſoners. Inſomuch, that *Chahheſt-Kan*, who was Governor of the Town, and Uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, ſeeing *Jeſſomſeigne*, whoſe Treachery he had heard of, at the Gates, and deſpairing of his Life, had taken into his hand a Cup of Poyſon to make himſelf away, and had, as they ſay, in very deed ſwallowed it, if his Women had not fallen upon him, and hindred him: So that 'tis thought, if *Jeſſomſeigne* had had the wit and courage to ſtay longer in *Agra*, if he had threatned boldly, and promiſed and acted vigorouſly for the freedom of *Chah-Jehan*, he might have drawn him out of Priſon; ſo much the more eaſily, becauſe all *Agra* was for two whole days in that belief, that *Aureng-Zebe* was overcome. But *Jeſſomſeigne*, who knew how all things went, and who durſt not long ſtay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but paſs, returning with all ſpeed homewards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended miſchief from *Agra*, and fear'd leſt *Jeſſomſeigne* ſhould undertake ſomething for *Chah-Jehan*, was not long in the purſuit after *Sultan Sujah*; he turn'd ſhort for *Agra* with his whole Army, where he ſtay'd a good while, giving order for all things. Mean time he received intelligence, that *Sultan Sujah* had not loſt many Men in his being routed, for want of farther purſuit; that alſo from the Lands of the *Raja's*, which are in thoſe quarters, on the right and left of *Ganges*, he raiſed great Forces, upon the ſcore of the reputation he had of being very rich, and very liberal, and that he fortified himſelf in *Elabas*, that important and famous Paſſage of *Ganges*, which, with its Fortreſs, is the firſt In-let into *Bengale*. And then he conſidered alſo, that he had about him two Perſons, which indeed were very capable to ſerve him, *Sultan Mahmoud* his eldeſt Son, and *Emir-Jemla*; but he well knew, that thoſe who have done good ſervice to their Prince, grow often inſolent, in the belief, that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompenced enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himſelf, and that every day he became more arrogant, for having ſeized on the Fortreſs of *Agra*, and by that means had broken all the Deſigns which *Chah-Jehan* could have formed. And as to the *latter*, he knew indeed the force of his Underſtanding, his Conduct, and Valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: For knowing that he was very rich, that his Reputation was great, that he paſſed for the *Firſt Mover* in Affairs, and for the ableſt Man in all the *Indies*, he doubted not, but that after the Example of *Sultan Mahmoud*, he entertain'd himſelf with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary Spirit, but *Aureng-Zebe* found a Remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with ſo much prudence, and even with ſo much handſomneſs, that neither of them found any cauſe to complain of it. He ſent them both againſt *Sultan Sujah* with a puiſſant Army, letting *Emir* ſecretly know, that the Government of *Bengale*, which is the beſt quarter of *Indoſtan*, was deſign'd for him, to hold it during his life, and for his Son after his deceaſe; and that thereby he would begin to expreſs to him his acknowledgments for the great Services he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat *Sujah*, and that as ſoon as he ſhould have compaſſed it, he would make him *Mir-ul Omrahs*, which is the firſt and the moſt honourable place of *Indoſtan*, and no leſs than the Prince of the *Omrahs*.

To *Sultan Mahmoud* his Son, he ſaid only theſe few words: *Remember that thou art the Eldeſt of my Children, that 'tis for thy ſelf thou goeſt forth to fight; that thou haſt done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomeſt not* Sujah, *who is our greateſt and powerfulleſt Enemy; I hope, God aſſiſting me, to be ſoon Maſter of the reſt.*

With theſe words he diſmiſſed them both, with ordinary Honours, that is, with rich

rich Veſts, ſome Horſes and Elephants gallantly harneſſed; making in the mean time *Emir-Jemla* to conſent, that his only Son, *Mahmet Emir-Kan*, ſhould ſtay with him for a good Education, or rather for a Pledge of his Fidelity; and *Sultan Mahmoud*, that his Wife ſhould remain in *Agra* (which was the Daughter of the above-mention'd King of *Golkonda*) as too troubleſom a thing in an Army, and in ſuch an Expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehenſion, leſt the *Raja's* of the lower *Bengale*, which he had ill treated, ſhould be raiſed againſt him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with *Emir-Jemla*, had no ſooner received this News, but apprehending that the paſſage to *Bengale* would be obſtructed, and that *Emir* would paſs in ſome other place the River *Ganges*, either lower or higher than *Elabas*, raiſed his Camp, and went down to *Benares* and *Patna*, whence he betook himſelf to *Mogiere*, a ſmall Town ſeated upon the *Ganges*, a place commonly call'd the *Key* of the Kingdom of *Bengale*, being a kind of Streight between the Mountains and the Woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to ſtay in that place, and there to fortifie himſelf; and for greater ſafety, he cauſed a great Trench to be made, which I have ſeen, paſſing that way ſome years after, from the Town and River unto the Mountain, being well reſolved there to attend *Emir-Jemla*, and to diſpute that paſſage with him. But he was ſufficiently aſtoniſh'd, when he was told, that the Troops of *Emir*, which ſlowly deſcended along the River *Ganges*, were certainly for nothing but to amuſe him; that himſelf was not there; that he had gained the *Raja's* of thoſe Mountains, which are on the right hand of the River; and that he and *Sultan Mahmoud* marched apace over their Lands with all the Flower of the Army, drawing ſtraight to *Rage-Mehalle*, to intercept him: So that he was conſtrained to quit, as ſoon as he could, his Fortifications; yet notwithſtanding he made ſo much haſte, that though he was obliged to follow thoſe windings, which the River *Ganges* on that ſide maketh towards the left hand, he prevented *Emir* by ſome days, and arrived firſt at *Rage-Mehalle*, where he had time to fortifie himſelf; becauſe *Emir* having heard this News, took his March to the left hand towards *Ganges*, through very ill ways, there to expect his Troops, which came down with the Body of the Artillery and the Baggage along the River. As ſoon as all was come, he went to attaque *Sultan Sujah*, who defended himſelf very well for five or ſix days; but ſeeing that the Artillery of *Emir*, which played inceſſantly, ruined all his Fortifications, which were made but of ſandy Earth and Fagots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make reſiſtance in that place, beſides that the Seaſon of the Rain began, he retired himſelf, at the favour of the Night, leaving behind two great Peeces of Cannon. *Emir* durſt not follow him in the night, for fear of ſome Ambuſh, putting off the purſuit 'till the next morning: But *Sujah* had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a Rain, which laſted above three days; ſo that *Emir* could not only ſtir out of *Rage-Mehalle*, but ſaw himſelf obliged to paſs the Winter there, by reaſon of the exceſſive Rains in that Countrey, which render the ways ſo troubleſom for more than four Months, *viz. July*, *Auguſt*, *September*, and *October*, that the Armies cannot poſſibly march. And hereby *Sultan Sujah* had the means to retire himſelf, and to chuſe what place he would, having time enough to fortifie his Army, and to ſend out of the inferiour *Bengale* for many Peeces of Cannon, and a good number of *Portugals*, that were retired thither, becauſe of the great fertility of the Countrey: For he much courted all thoſe *Portugal* Fathers, Miſſionaries, that are in that Province, promiſing them no leſs than that he would make them all rich, and build Churches for them whereſoever they would. And they were indeed capable to ſerve him, it being certain, that in the Kingdom of *Bengale* there are to be found no leſs than eight or nine Thouſand Families of *Franguis*, *Portugals*, and theſe either Natives or Meſticks.

But *Sultan Mahmoud*, who, for the reaſon above-mentioned, was grown fierce, and aſpired, perhaps, to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the Army abſolutely, and that *Emir-Jemla* ſhould follow his Orders, letting alſo from time to time fall inſolent words in reference to his Father *Aureng-Zebe*, as if he were obliged to him for the Crown, and uttering Expreſſions of Contempt and Threat againſt *Emir Jemla*; which cauſed great coldneſs betwixt them two, which laſted a pretty while, until *Sultan Mahmoud* underſtood, that his Father was very much diſſatisfied with his conduct: And apprehending, leſt *Emir* had order to ſeize on his perſon, he went away to *Sultan Sujah*, accompanied with a very ſmall number, and to him he

made great promiſes, and ſwore Fidelity. But *Sujah*, who feared *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*'s ſnares, could not truſt him, having always an Eye upon his Actions, without giving him any conſiderable Command; which he ſo diſguſted, that ſome months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left *Sultan Sujah*, and returned to *Emir*, who received him well enough, aſſuring him, that he would write in his behalf to *Aureng-Zebe*, and do his utmoſt to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, on the by, of what many have told me, *viz.* That this Eſcape of *Sultan Mahmoud* was altogether made by the Artifices of *Aureng-Zebe*, who cared not much to hazard this Son of his to try to deſtroy *Sujah*, and who was glad enough, that whatever the Event were, he might have a ſpecious pretence to put him in a place of ſurety. However it be, he afterwards ſhew'd himſelf much diſſatisfied with him, and wrote to him a ſevere Letter, in which he enjoin'd him to return to *Dehli*, but giving order in the mean time, that he ſhould not come ſo far: For he no ſooner had paſſed the River *Ganges*, but he met with Troops that ſtopt him, and put him up in a ſmall Chair, (as was done to *Morad-Bakche*) and carried him to *Gonaleor*, whence 'tis thought he will never be ſet at liberty: *Aureng-Zebe* by this means freeing himſelf from great perplexity; who then alſo let his ſecond Son, *Sultan Mazum*, know, that the point of Reigning is ſo delicate a thing, that Kings muſt be jealous even of their own ſhadow; adding, that if he be not diſcreet, the like may befall him what had befallen his Brother, and that he ought to think *Aureng-Zebe* was not a Man, that would ſuffer that to be done to himſelf, what *Chah-Jehan* did to his Father *Jehan-Guyre*, and what he had alſo lately ſeen done to *Chah-Jehan*.

And indeed we may on this occaſion ſay, that if this Son continue to behave himſelf as he hath done hitherto, *Aureng-Zebe* will have no cauſe to ſuſpect him, and to be diſſatisfied with him: For no Slave can be more tractable, and *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf never appear'd more careleſs of Greatneſs, nor more given to Devotion than he: Yet I have known Men of Parts, who believed, that he is not ſo in good earneſt, but by ſuperlative policy and craft, like that of his Father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilſt all theſe things were thus tranſacted in *Bengale*, and that *Sultan Sujah* reſiſted the beſt he could the Forces of *Emir-Jemla*, paſſing now on one ſide of the River *Ganges*, of a Channel, or ſome other River, (for that Countrey is full of them) then on the other; *Aureng-Zebe* kept himſelf about *Agra*, going to and fro; and at length, after he had alſo ſent *Morad-Bakche* to *Gonaleor*, he came to *Dehli*, where in good earneſt he took upon him publickly to act the King, giving order for all Affairs of the Kingdom, and eſpecially thinking on means to catch *Dara*, and to get him out of *Guzaratte*, which was a very hard thing, for the Reaſons already mentioned. But the great good Fortune, and the ſingular dexterity of *Aureng-Zebe* ſoon drew him thence, which now follows next to be related.

Jeſſomſeigne, who had retired himſelf to his Countrey, and made the beſt of what he had taken in the Battel of *Kadjoue*, raiſed a ſtrong Army, and wrote to *Dara*, that he ſhould come to *Agra* as ſoon as he could, and that he would join with his Forces. *Dara*, who had by this time ſet on foot a pretty numerous Army, (though it conſiſted, for the moſt part, but of gathered people) and who hoped, that approaching to *Agra*, many of his old Friends, ſeeing him with *Jeſſomſeigne*, would not fail to join with him alſo, immediately leaveth *Amadevad*, and marcheth with great ſpeed to *Aſmire*, ſeven or eight days journey from *Agra*. But *Jeſſomſeigne* kept not his word with him: The *Raja Jeſſeigne* interpoſed to make his peace with *Aureng-Zebe*, and to faſten him to his Party; or, at leaſt, to hinder his deſign, which was capable to ruine himſelf, and to make all the *Raja's* riſe; and wrote to him ſeveral Letters, giving him to underſtand the great danger he went to expoſe himſelf to, by eſpouſing a Party in that Extremity, as that of *Dara's* was; that he ſhould well conſider what he was going to do; that he went about wholly to deſtroy himſelf, and all his whole Family; that *Aureng-Zebe* would never forgive him; that he was a *Raja* as himſelf; that he ſhould think on ſparing the blood of the *Ragipous*; that if he thought to draw the *Raja's* to his Party, he would find thoſe that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a buſineſs which concern'd all the Gentry of *Indoſtan*, and expoſed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a Fire, which would not be extinguiſh'd at pleaſure. And laſtly, if he would leave *Dara* to himſelf, *Aureng-Zebe* would forget all that had paſſed, and preſent

ſent him with all he had taken, and give him that very inſtant the Government of *Guzaratte*, which would be very convenient for him, that Countrey being near his Lands; that he could be there in full liberty and ſafety, and as long as he pleaſed, and that himſelf would be Caution for all. In a word, this *Raja* acted his part ſo well, that he made *Jeſſomſeigne* return to his Land, whilſt *Aureng-Zebe* approached with his whole Army to *Aſmire*, and encamped in the ſight of that of *Dara*.

And now what could this poor Prince *Dara* do? He ſeeth himſelf abandoned, and fruſtrated of his hopes. He conſiders, that to turn back ſafe to *Amadevad* was impoſſible, in regard that it was a March of Thirty and five days; that it was in the heat of Summer; that water would fail him; that they were all the Lands of *Raja's*, Friends or Allies of *Jeſſeigne* or *Jeſſomſeigne*; that the Army of *Aureng-Zebe*, which was not haraſſed like his, would not fail to follow him. *'Tis as good, ſaith he, to periſh here; and although the Match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give Battel once more.* But alas! what does he mean to do? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him *Chah-Navaze-Kan*, whom he truſts, and who betrays him, and diſcovers all his Deſigns to *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis true, that *Chah-Navaze-Kan* was puniſh'd for his Perfidiouſneſs, and kill'd in the Battel; whether it was by the hands of *Dara* himſelf, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by ſome of *Aureng-Zebe's* Army, who being ſecret Partiſans of *Dara*, found means to get to him, and to diſpatch him, fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover them, and have ſome knowledge of the Letters they had written to *Dara*. But what did it benefit him at that time, that *Chah-Navaze-Kan* was dead? *Dara* ſhould have ſooner follow'd the advice of his Friends, and never have confided in him.

The Fight began between Nine and Ten of the Clock in the morning: *Dara's* Artillery, which was very well placed on a little Eminency, was loud enough; but, as was ſaid, moſt of the Peeces without Bullets; ſo was he betray'd by all! 'Tis needleſs to relate the other Particulars of this Battel; it was properly not a Battel, but a Rout. I ſhall only ſay, that hardly the Onſet was begun, but *Jeſſeigne* was near and in ſight of *Dara*, to whom he ſent word, that he ſhould flie preſently, unleſs he would be taken. So that this poor Prince, being altogether ſurpriſed, was conſtrained to run away inſtantly, and with ſo much diſorder and precipitation, that he had not leiſure to put up his Baggage. It was no ſmall matter, that he was able to get away with his Wife, and the reſt of his Family. And 'tis certain, that if the *Raja-Jeſſeigne* would have done what he could, he could never have eſcaped; but he always had a reſpect to the Royal Family; or rather, he was too crafty and politick, and had too great forecaſt, to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the Blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deſerted by almoſt all, and finding himſelf accompanied but of Two thouſand Men at moſt, was forced in the hotteſt of Summer to croſs, without Tents or Baggage, all thoſe Countries of the *Raja's*, that are almoſt from *Aſmire* to *Amadevad*. Mean time the *Koullis*, which are the Countrey People, and the worſt of all the *Indies*, and the greateſt Robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his Soldiers, with ſo much cruelty, that no Man could ſtay Two hundred Paces behind the Body, but he was preſently ſtripp'd naked, or butcher'd upon the leaſt reſiſtance. Yet notwithſtanding, *Dara* made ſhift to get near *Amadevad*, when he hoped, that the next day, or ſoon after, he ſhould enter into the Town to refreſh himſelf, and to try once more to gather again ſome Forces: But all things fall out contrary to vanquiſhed and unfortunate Men.

The Governor, whom he had left in the Caſtle of *Amadevad*, had already received both menacing and promiſing Letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, which made him loſe Courage, and incline to that ſide; inſomuch that he wrote to *Dara*, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the Gates ſhut, and all in Arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a ſtrange Accident, when he obliged me to follow him, having no Phyſician about him; and the Night before that he received this News from the Governor of *Amadevad*, he did me the favor to make me come into the *Karavan-Serrak* where he was, fearing leſt the *Koulis* ſhould aſſaſſinate me: And (what is hard enough to believe in *Indoſtan*, where the Grandees eſpecially are ſo jealous of their Wives) I was ſo near to the Wife of this Prince, that the Cords of the *Kanates*, or Wind ſcreen, which encloſed them, (for they had not ſo much as a poor Tent) were faſtned to the wheels of my Chariot. I relate this circumſtance by the by only, to ſhew the extremity *Dara* was reduced to.

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When theſe Women heard this ſad News (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a ſudden into ſuch ſtrange cryes and lamentations, that they forced tears from ones Eyes. And now behold all was in an unexpreſſible confuſion: Every one looks upon his Neighbor, and no body knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we ſaw *Dara* come forth, half dead, now ſpeaking to one, then another, even to the meaneſt Soldiers. He ſeeth all aſtoniſh'd, and ready to abandon him. What counſel? whither can he go? he muſt be gone inſtantly. You may judge of the extremity he muſt needs be in, by this ſmall accident I am going to mention. Of three great Oxen of *Guzaratte*, which I had for my Chariot, one died the Night before, another was dying, and the third was tyred out, (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almoſt night and day, in an intolerable heat and duſt:) Whatever *Dara* could ſay or command, whether he alledged it was for himſelf, or for one of his Women that was hurt in her Leg, or for me; he could not poſſibly procure for me, whether Ox, or Camel, or Horſe: So that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I ſaw him march away, and that with tears in his Eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred Cavaliers at moſt, and with two Elephants, that were ſaid to be laden with Gold and Silver; and I heard them ſay, that they were to take their March towards *Tatabakar*; for he had no other Game to play, though even that ſeem'd in a manner impoſſible, conſidering the ſmall number of People left him, and the great ſandy Deſarts to be waded through in the hotteſt ſeaſon, moſt of them without water fit to drink. And indeed moſt of thoſe that follow'd him, and even divers of his Women, did there periſh, either of drought, or the unwholſom waters, or the tireſom ways and ill food; or laſtly, becauſe ſtripped by the *Koullis* above-mention'd. Yet notwithſtanding all this, *Dara* made hard ſhift to get to the *Raja Katche*; unhappy even herein, that he periſh'd not himſelf in this March.

This *Raja* at firſt gave him a very good Reception, even ſo far as to promiſe him aſſiſtance with all his Forces, provided he would give his Daughter in marriage to his Son. But *Jeſſeigne* ſoon wrought as much with this *Raja*, as he had done with *Jeſſomſeigne*; ſo that *Dara* one day ſeeing the kindneſs of this *Barbarian*, cooled upon a ſudden, and that conſequently his Perſon was in danger there, he betakes himſelf to the purſuit of his Expedition to *Tatabakar*.

To relate how I got away from thoſe Robbers, the *Koullis*, in what manner I moved them to compaſſion, how I ſaved the beſt part of my ſmall Treaſure, how we became good Friends by the means of my Profeſſion of Phyſick, my Servants (perplexed as well as my ſelf) ſwearing that I was the greateſt Phyſician of the World, and that the People of *Dara*, at their going away, had ill treated me, and taken from me all my beſt things: How, after having kept me with them ſeven or eight days, they had ſo much kindneſs and generoſity, as to lend me an Ox, and to conduct me ſo far, that I was in ſight of *Amadevad*: And laſtly, how from thence after ſome days I returned to *Dehli*, having lighted on an occaſion to go with a certain *Omrah* paſſing thither; in which Journey I met from time to time, on the way, with Carkaſſes of Men, Elephants, Oxen, Horſes, and Camels, the remainder of that unfortunate Army of *Dara*. Theſe are things, I ſay, I muſt not inſiſt upon to deſcribe them.

Whilſt *Dara* advanced towards *Tatabakar*, the War continues in *Bengale*, and much longer than was believed, *Sultan Sujah* putting forth his utmoſt, and playing his laſt Game againſt *Emir-Jemla*: Yet this did not much trouble *Aureng-Zebe*, who knew 'twas a great way between *Bengale* and *Agra*, and was ſufficiently convinced of the prudence and valor of *Emir-Jemla*. That which diſquieted him much more was, that he ſaw *Soliman Chekouh* ſo near (for from *Agra* to the Mountains 'tis but eight days Journey) whom he could not maſter, and who perpetually alarm'd him by the rumors that went continually about, as if he were coming down the Mountains with the *Raja*. 'Tis certainly very hard to draw him thence: But behold how he manages the matter to compaſs it.

He maketh the *Raja Jeſſeigne* write one Letter after another to the *Raja* of *Serenaguer*, promiſing him very great things, if he would ſurrender *Soliman Chekouh* to him, and menacing War at the ſame time, if he ſhould obſtinately keep him. The *Raja* anſwers, *That he would rather loſe his Eſtate, than do ſo unworthy an Action.* And *Aureng-Zebe*, ſeeing his reſolution, taketh the Field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the Hills,

Hills, and with an infinite number of Pike-men cauſeth the Rocks to be cut, and the paſſage to be widen'd. But the *Raja* laughs at all that; neither hath he much cauſe to fear on that ſide. *Aureng-Zebe* may cut long enough, they are Mountains inacceſſible to an Army, and ſtones would be ſufficient to ſtop the Forces of four *Indoſtans*; ſo that he was conſtrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the Fortreſs of *Tatabakar*, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received News, that *Mir-baba*, who had long held it beſieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: As I afterwards learned of our *French*, and other *Franguis* that were there, a pound of Rice and Meat having coſt there above a Crown, and ſo of other Victuals in proportion: Yet the Governour held out; made Sallies, which extreamly incommoded the Enemy; and ſhew'd all poſſible prudence, courage and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the General, *Mir-baba*, and all the menaces and promiſes of *Aureng-Zebe*.

And this alſo I learned afterwards of my Country-men, the *French*, and of all thoſe other *Franguis* that were with him; who added, that when he heard *Dara* was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew ſo well to gain the hearts of all his Souldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not reſolved to ſally out upon the Enemy, and to hazard all to raiſe the Siege, and to make *Dara* enter; and that he alſo knew ſo well to caſt fear and terrour into the Camp of *Mir-baba*, by ſending Spies about very cunningly to aſſure, that they had ſeen *Dara* approach with great reſolution, and very good Forces; that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the Army of the Enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part to go over to him. But he is ſtill too unfortunate, to undertake any thing proſperouſly. Believing therefore, that to raiſe the Siege with ſuch an handful of Men as he had, was impoſſible; he did deliberate to paſs the River *Indus*, and to endeavour to get into *Perſia*; although that alſo would have had mighty difficulties and inconveniencies, by reaſon of the Deſarts, and the ſmall quantity of good waters in thoſe parts; beſides, that upon thoſe Frontiers there are but mean *Rajas* and *Patans*, who acknowledge neither the *Perſian* nor the *Mogol*. But his Wife did very much diſſwade him from it, for this weak reaſon, that he muſt, if he did ſo, expect to ſee his Wife and Daughter Slaves of the King of *Perſia*; that that was a thing altogether unworthy of the Grandeur of his Family, and 'twas better to die, than to undergo this Infamy.

Dara, being in great perplexity, remembred, that there was thereabout a certain *Patan*, powerful enough, called *Gion-Kan*, whoſe Life he had formerly ſaved twice, when *Chah-Jehan* had commanded he ſhould be caſt under the feet of an Elephant, for having rebelled divers times: He reſolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him ſufficient Succours to raiſe the Siege of *Tatabakar*; making account, that thence he would take his Treaſure, and that going from thence, and gaining *Kandahar*, he could caſt himſelf into the Kingdom of *Caboul*, having great hopes of *Mohabet-Kan*, who was Governour of it, becauſe he was both potent and valiant, well beloved of his Country, and had obtained this Government by his (*Dara*'s) favour. But his Grandchild, *Sepe-Chekouh*, yet but very young, ſeeing his deſign, caſt himſelf at his Feet, intreating him for God's ſake, not to enter into the Country of that *Patan*. His Wife and Daughter did the ſame, remonſtrating to him, that he was a Robber, a revolted Governour, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to ſtand upon the raiſing of the Siege, but rather endeavour to gain *Caboul*, that the thing was not impoſſible, foraſmuch as *Mir-baba* was not like to quite the Siege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara, being carried head-long by the force of his unhappy Deſtiny, rejected this counſel, and would hearken to nothing of what was propoſed to him, ſaying, as was true, that the March would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintaining always, that *Gion-Kan* would not be ſo mean, as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to him, and went to prove, at the price of his Life, That no truſt is to be given to a wicked Man.

This Robber, who at firſt believed that he had numerous Troops following him, gave him the faireſt reception that could be, and entertained him with very great kindneſs and civility in appearance, placing his Souldiers here and there among his Subjects, with a ſtrict order to treat them well, and to give them what refreſhments

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the Country afforded: But when he found that he had not above two or three hundred Men in all, he quickly ſhow'd what he was. It is not known, whether he had not received ſome Letters from *Aureng-Zebe*, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by ſome Mules ſaid to be laden with Gold; which was all that could be ſaved hitherto, as well from the hands of Robbers, as of thoſe that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when no body looked for any ſuch thing, all being taken up with the care of refreſhing themſelves, and believing all to be ſafe; behold this Traitor, who had beſtirr'd himſelf all night to get armed Men from all parts, fell upon *Dara* and *Sepe-Chekouh*, killed ſome of their Men that ſtood up to defend themſelves; forgot not to ſeize on the loads of the Mules, and of all the Jewels of the Women; made *Dara* to be tyed faſt upon an Elephant, commanding the Executioner to ſit behind, and to cut off his head upon the leaſt ſign given, in caſe he ſhould be ſeen to reſiſt, or that any one ſhould attempt to deliver him. And in this ſtrange poſture he was carried to the Army before *Taba-bakar*, where he put him into the hands of *Mir-baba*, the General, who cauſed him to be conducted in the company of this ſame Traitor to *Labor*, and thence to *Debli*.

When he was at the Gates of *Debli*, it was deliberated by *Aureng-Zebe*, whether he ſhould be made to paſs through the midſt of the City, or no, to carry him thence to *Gonaleor*. Many did adviſe, that that was by no means to be done; that ſome diſorder might ariſe; that ſome might come to ſave him; and beſides, that it would be a great diſhonour to the Family Royal. Others maintained the contrary. *viz.* That it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould paſs through the Town, to aſtoniſh the World, and to ſhew the abſolute Power of *Aureng-Zebe*, and to diſabuſe the People, that might ſtill doubt, whether it were himſelf, as indeed many *Omrahs* did doubt; and to take away all hopes from thoſe, who ſtill preſerved ſome affection for him. The Opinion of theſe laſt was followed; he was put on an Elephant, his Grand-child, *Sepe-Chekouh*, at his ſide; and behind them was placed *Bhadur-Kan*, as an Executioner. This was none of thoſe brave Elephants of *Ceilan* or *Pegu*, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt Harneſs and embroidered Covers, and Seats with Canopies very handſomely painted and gilt, to defend themſelves from the Sun: It was an old Caitiff Animal, very dirty and naſty, with an old torn Cover, and a pitiful Seat, all open. There was no more ſeen about him, that Necklace of big Pearls, which theſe Princes are wont to wear, nor thoſe rich Turbants and Veſts embroider'd. All his Dreſs was a Veſt of courſe Linnen, all dirty, and a Turbant of the ſame, with a wretched Scarf of *Kachimere* over his head, like a Varlet; his Grand-ſon, *Sepe-Chekouh*, being in the ſame equipage. In this miſerable poſture he was made enter into the Town, and to paſs through the greateſt Merchant-ſtreets, to the end that all the People might ſee him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to ſee ſome ſtrange Maſſacre, and was aſtoniſh'd at the boldneſs of making him thus paſs through the Town; and that the more, becauſe I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower ſort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly againſt the cruelty and tyranny of *Aureng-Zebe*, as one that kept his Father in priſon, as alſo his own Son *Sultan Mahmoud*, and his Brother *Morad-Bakche*. I was well prepar'd for it, and with a good Horſe and two good Men I went, together with two others of my Friends, to place my ſelf in the greateſt ſtreet, where he was to paſs. But not one Man had the boldneſs to draw his Sword, only there were ſome of the *Fakires*, and with them ſome poor people, who ſeeing that infamous *Gion-Kan* ride by his ſide, began to rail and throw ſtones at him, and to call him Traitor. All the Shops were ready to break for the crowd of Spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud Out-cryes and Lamentations, Invectives, and Curſes, heaped on *Gion-Kan*. In a word, Men and Women, great and ſmall (ſuch is the tenderneſs of the hearts of the *Indians*) were ready to melt into tears for compaſſion; but not one there was that durſt ſtir to reſcue him. Now after he had thus paſſed through the Town, he was put into a Garden called *Heider-Abad*.

There were not wanting to tell *Aureng-Zebe*, how the People at this ſight had lamented *Dara*, and curſed the *Patan*, that had deliver'd him; and how the ſame was in danger to have been ſtoned to death, as alſo that there had been a great apprehenſion of ſome ſedition and miſchief. Hereupon another Council was held, whether

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he ſhould indeed be carried to *Goualeor*, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death, without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he ſhould go to *Goualeor* with a ſtrong Guard, that that would be enough; *Danechmend-Kan*, though *Dara*'s old Enemy, inſiſting much upon that. But *Rauchenara-Begum*, in purſuance of her hatred againſt this Brother of hers, puſhed *Aureng-Zebe* to make him away, without running the danger there was in ſending him to *Goualeor*; as alſo did all his old Enemies, *Galilullah-Kan*, and *Chah-heſt-Kan*, and eſpecially a certain Flatterer, a Phyſitian, who was fled out of *Perſia*, firſt called *Hakim-Daoud*, and afterwards being become a great *Omrah* named *Takarrub-Kan*: This Villain boldly roſe up in a full aſſembly, and cryed out, that it was expedient for the ſafety of the State to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, becauſe he was no *Muſſulman*; that long ſince he was turn'd *Kafire*, Idolater, without Religion, and that he would charge the Sin of it upon his own head: Of which imprecation he ſoon after felt the ſmart; for within a ſhort time he fell into diſgrace, and was treated like an infamous Fellow, and dyed miſerably. But *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away by theſe inſtances and motives, commanded that he ſhould be put to death, and that *Sepe-Chekouh*, his Grand-child, ſhould be ſent to *Goualeor*.

The Charge of this Tragical Execution was given to a certain Slave, call'd *Nazer*, that had been bred by *Chah-Jehan*, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by *Dara*. This Executioner, accompanied with three or four Parricides more, went to *Dara*, who was then himſelf dreſſing ſome Lentils with *Sepe-Chekouh* his Grandchild. He no ſooner ſaw *Nazer*, but cryed out to *Sepe-Chekouh*, My dear Son, behold thoſe that come to kill us! laying hold at the ſame time of a ſmall Knife, which was all the Arms that were left him. One of theſe Butchers immediately fell upon *Sepe-Chekouh*; the others, upon the arms and legs of *Dara*, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, 'till *Nazer* cut his throat. His Head was forthwith carried to the Fortreſs of *Aureng-Zebe*, who preſently commanded it to be put in a diſh, and that water ſhould be fetch'd; which when brought, he wiped it off with an Handkerchief, and after he had cauſed the Face to be waſhed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully ſatisfied that it was the very head of *Dara*, he fell a weeping, and ſaid theſe words; Ah *Bed-Bakt!* Ah unfortunate Man! Take it away, and bury it in the Sepulchre of *Houmayon*.

At night, the Daughter of *Dara* was brought into the *Seraglio*, but afterwards ſent to *Chah-Jehan*, and *Begum-Saheb*, who asked her of *Aureng-Zebe*. Concerning *Dara*'s Wife, ſhe had ended her days before at *Lahor*: She had poyſon'd her ſelf, foreſeeing the extremities ſhe was falling into, together with her Husband. *Sepe-Chekouh* was ſent to *Goualeor*. And after a few days, *Gion-kan* was ſent for, to come before *Aureng-Zebe* in the Aſſembly: To him were given ſome Preſents, and ſo he was ſent away; but being near his Lands, he was rewarded according to his deſert, being killed in a Wood. This barbarous Man not knowing, or not conſidering, that if Kings do ſometimes permit ſuch Actions for their Intereſt, yet they abhor them, and ſooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time, the Governour of *Tatabakar*, by the ſame Orders that had been required of *Dara*, was obliged to ſurrender the Fortreſs. It was indeed upon ſuch a compoſition as he would have, but it was alſo with an intention not to keep word with him. For the poor Eunuch, arriving at *Lahor*, was cut in pieces, together with thoſe few Men he had then with him, by *Kalil-ullah-kan*, who was Governour thereof. But the reaſon of the non-obſervance of the Capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he ſecretly prepar'd himſelf to go directly to *Soliman-Chekouh*, ſparing no Gold, which under-hand he conveyed into the hands of our *Franguis*, and to all thoſe that were come with him out of the Fortreſs to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as *Dehli* to *Aureng-Zebe*, who had often ſaid, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee ſo gallant a Man, and who had ſo valiantly defended himſelf.

There remained therefore none of the Family of *Dara*, but *Soliman-Chekouh*, who could not eaſily be drawn away from *Serenaguer*, if the *Raja* had been ſteady to his firſt Declarations. But the ſecret practices of the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, the promiſes and threats of *Aureng-Zebe*, the death of *Dara*, and the other *Rajas* his Neighbours that had been gain'd, and were prepared by the Orders, and at the coſt of *Aureng-Zebe*, to make War againſt him, did at laſt ſhake the Faith of this perfidious Protector, and

made him consent to their demands. *Sepe-Chekouh*, who was advertised of it, fled through the midst of those horrid Countries and fearful Deserts, towards the great *Tibet*. But the Son of the *Raja*, soon pursuing and overtaking him, caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor Prince was hurt, seized, and carried to *Debli*, where he was imprison'd in *Serenguer*, that little Fortress, where at first they had put *Morad-Bakche*.

Aureng-Zebe, to observe what he had practised towards *Dara*, and that no body might doubt it was *Soliman-Chekouh* himself, commanded him to be brought before him in the presence of all the Grandees of the Court. At the entry of the Gate, the Chains were taken from his feet, leaving those he had about his hands, which seemed gilt. When this proper young Man, so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of *Omrahs* that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great Ladies of the Court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. *Aureng-Zebe*, who appear'd himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him amongst other things, that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his Father to be put to death for no other reason, than that he was turn'd *Kafer*, and a Man without Religion. Whereupon this young Prince returned him the *Salem*, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the custom of the Country; and told him with resolution enough, That if he were to drink the *Pouft*, he intreated him that he might dye presently, being very willing to submit to his Fate. But *Aureng-Zebe* promised him publickly, that he should drink none of it; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thoughts about it. This being said, he once more repeated the *Salem*: And after they had asked him several Questions, in the Name of *Aureng-Zebe*, touching that Elephant which was charged with Roupies of Gold, taken from him when he went to *Serenaguer*, he was sent to *Goualeor* to the rest. This *Pouft* is nothing else else but Poppy expressed, and infused a night in water. And 'tis that potion, which those that are kept at *Goualeor*, are commonly made to drink; I mean those Princes, whose heads they think not fit to cut off: This is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat 'till they have drunk a great cup full of it; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them dye insensibly, they losing little by little their strength and understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means 'tis said, that *Sepe-Chekouh*, and the Grand-child of *Morad-Bakche*, and *Soliman-Chekouh*, were dispatch'd.

As to *Morad-Bakche*, he was made away by a more violent death. For *Aureng-Zebe* seeing, that though he was in prison, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many Verses were spread in the praise of his Valour and Courage, thought himself not safe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him *Pouft* like others; apprehending, that his Death would be still doubted of, and that that might one time or other occasion some commotion, and therefore devised the following Charge against him.

The Children of a certain *Sayed*, very rich, whom he had caused to be put to death in *Amadevad*, to get his Estate, when he there made his preparations for War, and borrowed or took by force great Sums of Money from all the rich Merchants, appeared in full Assembly, making their complaints, and demanding Justice, and the Head of *Morad-Bakche*, for the Blood of their Father. Not one of the *Omrahs* durst contradict it, both because he was a *Sayed*, that is, one of *Mahomet*'s Kindred, to whom great Veneration was paid; and that every body sufficiently understood the design of *Aureng-Zebe*, taking this for a pretence to rid himself openly of *Morad-Bakche*, under a shew of Justice. So that the Head of him, that had killed the Father of the Plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of Process. Whereupon they went, with necessary Orders issued out for that purpose, to cut it off in *Goualeor*.

There remained no other Thorn in the Foot of *Aureng-Zebe* but *Sultan Sujah*, who kept himself still in *Bengale*; but he also was forced to yield at last to the power and fortune of *Aureng-Zebe*. There were sent so many Troops of all sorts to *Emir-Jemla*, that at last he was encompassed on all sides, both on this and that side of the River

Ganges;

Ganges; ſo that he was neceſſitated to flye to *Dake*, which is the laſt Town of *Bengale* on the Sea ſide; and here comes the concluſion of this whole Tragedy.

This Prince being deſtitute of Ships to put to Sea, and not knowing whether to flye, ſent his eldeſt Son, *Sultan-Banque*, to the King of *Racan* or *Moy*, a Heathen or Idolatrous King, to know whether he would give him leave to make his Country his place of refuge only for ſome time, and do him the favour, when the *Monſons* or the Seaſon-winds ſhould come, to furniſh him with a Veſſel for *Mecca*, from thence to paſs into ſome part of *Turky* or *Perſia*. That King ſent anſwer, that he ſhould be very welcome, and have all poſſible aſſiſtance. So *Sultan Banque* returned to *Dake* with ſome Galeaſſes, manned with *Franguis* (I mean, with thoſe fugitive *Portugals*, and other ſtraggling Chriſtians, that had put themſelves in ſervice to that King, driving no other Trade than to ravage all this lower *Bengale*; upon which *Sultan Sujah* embarked, with his whole Family, *viz.* his Wife, his three Sons, and Daughters. They were well enough received; whatever was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance, ſuch as that Countrey would afford, was provided for them, in the name of that King. Some months paſs, the Seaſon of the favourable Winds come in, but not a word of the Veſſel, though he demanded it no otherwiſe than for his Money; for as yet he wanted not Rupies of Gold, nor Silver, nor Gems: He had too great a plenty of them; his Riches were, in all appearance, the cauſe of his ruin, or at leaſt contributed much to it. Thoſe barbarous Kings have no true generoſity, and are not much reſtrained by the Faith they have given, regarding nothing but their preſent Intereſts, without ſo much as conſidering the miſchiefs that may befall them for their perfidiouſneſs and brutality. To get out of their hands, one muſt either be the ſtronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. *Sultan Sujah* may long enough ſollicit for a Veſſel; all is in vain, he effects nothing: On the contrary, the King begins to ſhew much coldneſs, and to complain of his not coming to ſee him. I know not, whether *Sultan Sujah* thought it unworthy of himſelf, and too mean a thing to give him a Viſit; or rather, whether he fear'd, that being in the Kings Houſe he might not there be ſeized on, to take away all his Treaſure, and then be delivered into the hands of *Emir-Jemla*, who for that purpoſe promiſed, in the name of *Aureng-Zebe*, great Sums of Mony, and many other conſiderable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himſelf, but ſent his Son *Sultan Banque*, who being near the Kings Houſe, began to ſhew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half Rupies, and whole Rupies, of Gold and Silver. And being come before the King, he preſented him with ſtore of Embroideries, and of rare pieces of Goldſmiths-work, ſet with precious Stones of great value, excuſing his Father, *Sultan Sujah*, as being indiſpoſed, and beſeeching him in his name, that he would remember the Veſſel, and the promiſe made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his buſineſs; on the contrary, five or ſix days after, this King ſent to *Sultan Sujah*, to ask of him one of his Daughters in Marriage; which he could never reſolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous Prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this caſe? The Seaſon paſſeth away. What ſhall become of him? What other reſolution can he take, but to do a deſperate Action? Behold a ſtrange undertaking, which may give a great Example of what Deſpair can do!

Although this King of *Racan* be an Heathen, yet there is in his Dominions ſtore of *Mahumetans* mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the moſt part, taken Slaves, here and there, by thoſe *Franguis* above-mention'd. *Sultan Sujah* did under-hand gain theſe *Mahumetans*; and with two or three hundred Men, whom he had yet remaining of thoſe that follow'd him from *Bengale*, he reſolved, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the Houſe of this Barbarian, to kill all, and to make himſelf proclaim'd King of *Racan*. This was a very bold Enterpriſe, and ſuch a one, as had more of a *Deſperado* in it, than of a prudent Man. Yet notwithſtanding, as I was inform'd, and by what I could learn from many *Mahumetans*, and *Portugals*, and *Hollanders*, that then were there preſent, the thing was feaſible enough. But the day before the ſtroke was to be given, the Deſign was diſcover'd; which did altogether overthrow the Affairs of *Sultan Sujah*, and was ſoon after the cauſe of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himſelf, he attempted to flye towards *Pegu*; which was a thing in a manner impoſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt Mountains and Forreſts to be paſſed. Beſides, he was immediately purſued ſo cloſe, that he was over-

taken the ſame day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himſelf with as much courage as was poſſible. He killed ſo many of thoſe Barbarians, that it will ſcarce be believed, but he was ſo overpow'red by the multitude of purſuers, that he was obliged to quit the Combat. *Sultan Banque*, who was not ſo far advanced as his Father, defended him alſo like a Lion; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by ſtones poured upon him from all ſides, he was ſeized on, and carried away, with his two little Brothers, his Siſters, and Mother.

As to the Perſon of *Sultan Sujah* himſelf, all what could be learnt of it, is this: That he, with one Woman, one Eunuch, and two other perſons, got up to the top of the Mountain; that he received a wound in his Head by a ſtone, which ſtruck him down, but yet he roſe again, the Eunuch having wound his Head about with his Turbant, and that they eſcaped through the midſt of the Woods.

I have heard the Relation three or four other manner of ways, even by thoſe perſons that were upon the place. Some did aſſure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known: And I have ſeen a Letter of the Chief of the *Dutch* Factory, confirming this. So that 'tis difficult enough to know aright what is become him. And this it is, which hath adminiſtred ground to thoſe ſo frequent Alarms, given us afterwards at *Dehli*: For at one time it was rumored, that he was arrived at *Maſlipatan*, to joyn with the Kings of *Golkonda* and *Viſapour*; another time it was related for certain, that he had paſſed in ſight of *Suratte* with two Ships, bearing the Red Colours, which the King of *Pegu*, or the King of *Siam* had given him; by and by, that he was in *Perſia*, and had been ſeen in *Chiras*, and ſoon after in *Kandahar*, ready to enter into the Kingdom of *Caboul* it ſelf. *Aureng-Zebe* one day ſaid ſmiling, that *Sultan Sujah* was at laſt become an *Agy* or Pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of perſons who maintain that he is in *Perſia*, returned from *Conſtantinople*, whence he is ſaid to have brought with him much Money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of theſe reports, is that Letter of the *Hollanders*; and that an Eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from *Bengale* to *Maſlipatan*, as alſo the Great Maſter of his Artillery; whom I ſaw in the Service of the King of *Golkonda*, have aſſured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to ſay any more concerning him; as alſo, that our *French* Merchants, that lately came out of *Perſia* and from *Hiſpahan*, when I was yet at *Dehli*, had in thoſe parts heard no news at all of him; beſides that, I have heard that a while after his Defeat, his Sword and Poynard had been found: So that 'tis credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he ſoon dyed afterwards, and was the prey of ſome Robbers, or Tygers, or Elephants, of which the Forreſts of that Country are full. However it be, after this laſt Action his whole Family was put in Priſon, Wives and Children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet ſome time after they were ſet at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment: And then the King called for the eldeſt Daughter, whom he married.

Whilſt this was doing, ſome Servants of *Sultan Banque*, joyned with divers of thoſe *Mahumetans* which I have mentioned, went to plot another Conſpiracy like the firſt. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the Conſpirators, being half drunk, began too ſoon to break out. Concerning this alſo I have heard forty different relations, ſo that 'tis very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length ſo exaſperated againſt this unfortunate Family of *Sujah*, that he commanded it ſhould be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, ſave that Daughter which the King had made his Wife. *Sultan Banque*, and his Brothers, had their Heads cut off with blunt Axes; and the Women were mured up, where they dyed of hunger and miſery.

And thus endeth this War, which the luſt of Reigning had kindled among thoſe four Brothers, after it had laſted five or ſix years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left *Aureng-Zebe* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of this puiſſant Empire.

The End of the FIRST TOME.

Par-

Particular Events:

OR,

The moſt conſiderable Paſſages after the War for Five Years, or thereabout, in the Empire of the GREAT MOGOL.

THE War being ended, the *Tartars* of *Usbec* entertained thoughts of ſending Ambaſſadors to *Aureng-Zebe*. They had ſeen him fight in their Countrey, when he was yet a young Prince; *Chah-Jehan* having ſent him to command the Succors, which the *Kan* of *Samarkand* had deſired of him againſt the *Kan* of *Balk*. They had experienced his Conduct and Valor on many occaſions, and they conſider'd with themſelves, that he could not but remember the Affront they did him, when he was juſt taking *Balk*, the Capital Town of the Enemy: For the two *Kans* agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alledging, That they apprehended he might render himſelf Maſter of their whole State, juſt as *Ekbar* had formerly done of the Kingdom of *Kachimere*. Beſides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in *Indoſtan*, of his Battels, Fortune, and Advantages; whence they might ſufficiently eſtimate, that though *Chah-Jehan* was yet living, yet *Aureng-Zebe* was Maſter, and the only Perſon that was to be own'd King of the *Indies*. Whether then they feared his juſt reſentments, or whether it was, that their inbred Avarice and Sordidneſs made them hope for ſome conſiderable Preſent, the two *Kans* ſent to him their Ambaſſadors to offer him their Service, and to Congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his Reign. *Aureng-Zebe* ſaw very well, that the War being at an end, this offer was out of ſeaſon, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we ſaid, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them honourably; and, ſince I was preſent at their Audience, I can relate the Particulars of it with certainty.

They made their Reverence at a conſiderable diſtance from him, after the *Indian* cuſtom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached ſo near, that *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf might very well have taken their Letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an *Omrah* that took and open'd them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there ſhould be given to each of them an embroider'd Veſt, a Turbant, and a Girdle of Silk in Embroidery, which is that which they call *Ser-apah*, that is, an Habit from head to foot. After this, their Preſents were call'd for, which conſiſted in ſome Boxes of choice *Lapis Lazulus*, divers Camels with long hair, ſeveral gallant Horſes, ſome Camel-loads of freſh Fruit, as Apples, Pears, Raiſins and Melons; (for 'tis chiefly *Usbec* that furniſhes theſe ſorts of Fruit, eaten at *Dehli* all the Winter-long;) and in many Loads of dry Fruit, as Prunes of *Bokara*, Aprecocks, Raiſins without any ſtones that appeared, and two other ſorts of Raiſins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aureng-Zebe was not wanting to declare, how much he was ſatisfied with the Generoſity of the *Kans*, and much commended the Beauty and Rarity of the Fruit, Horſes, and Camels; and after he had a little entertain'd them of the ſtate of the Academy of *Samarkand*, and of the Fertility of their Countrey, abounding in ſo many rare and excellent things, he deſired them to go and repoſe themſelves, intimating withall, that he ſhould be very glad to ſee them often.

They came away from their Audience full of contentment and joy, not being much troubled, that they had been obliged to make their Reverence after the *Indian* cuſtom, though it have ſomething of ſlaviſh in it; nor much reſenting it, that the King had not

not taken their Letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiſs the ground, and even to do ſomething of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. 'Tis true, it would have been in vain, if they had deſired to make no other Salute, but that of their own Countrey, and to deliver to the King their Letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the Ambaſſadors of *Perſia*, nor have theſe this favour granted them, but with much difficulty.

They ſtay'd above four months at *Dehli*, what diligence ſoever they could uſe to be diſpatch'd, which did incommode them very much; for they fell almoſt all ſick, and even ſome of them dyed, becauſe they were not accuſtomed to ſuch heats as are in *Indoſtan*, or rather becauſe they were ſordid, and kept a very ill Diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly Nation than they are. They laid up the Money which the King had appointed them for their maintenance, and lived a very miſerable life, altogether unworthy of Ambaſſadors; yet they were diſmiſſed with great honour: The King, in the preſence of all the *Omrahs*, preſented each of them with two rich *Ser-apahs*, and gave order that Eight thouſand *Rupies* ſhou'd be carried to their Lodgings, which amounted to near Two thouſand Crowns each. He alſo gave them for Preſents to the *Kans* their Maſters, very handſom *Ser-apahs*, ſtore of the richeſt and beſt wrought Embroideries, a good quantity of fine Cloth, and Silk-ſtuffs, wrought with Gold and Silver, and ſome Tapeſtries, and two Poynards ſet about with precious ſtones.

During their ſtay, I went thrice to ſee them, being preſented to them as a Phyſician by one of my Friends, that was Son of an *Usbec*, that had made his Fortune in that Court. I had a deſign to have learned ſomething in particular of their Countrey, but I found them ſo ignorant, that they knew not ſo much as the Confines of their State, much leſs could they inform me of any thing concerning the *Tartars* that have conquer'd *China* of late years: In ſhort, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the Curioſity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained eaſily enough. They are not Men of much Ceremony; it was a very extraordinary Meal for ſuch a one as I, it being meer Horſe-fleſh; yet for all this I got my Dinner with them; there was a certain Ragou, which I thought paſſable: And I was obliged to expreſs a liking of ſo exquiſite a Diſh, which they ſo much luſt after. During Dinner, there was a ſtrange ſilence; they were very buſie in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a Spoon is; but after that this Horſe-fleſh had wrought in their ſtomachs, they began to talk, and then they would perſwade me, they were the moſt dextrous at Bows and Arrows, and the ſtrongeſt Men in the World. They call'd for Bows, which are much bigger than thoſe of *Indoſtan*, and would lay a wager, to pierce an Ox or my Horſe through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the ſtrength and valor of their Women, which they deſcribed to me quite otherwiſe than the *Amazons*, telling me very wonderful ſtories of them, eſpecially one, which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a *Tartarian* Eloquence, as they did: They told me, that at the time when *Aureng-Zebe* made War in their Countrey, a Party of Twenty five or Thirty *Indian* Horſemen came to fall upon a ſmall Village; whilſt they plundred, and tyed all thoſe whom they met with to make them Slaves, an old Woman ſaid to them, *Children, be not ſo miſchievous, my Daughter is not far off, ſhe will be here very ſhortly, retreat if you be wiſe, you are undone if ſhe light upon you.* They laughed at the old Woman, and her Advice; and continued to load, to tye, and to carry away her ſelf; but they were not gone half a Mile, but this old Woman, looking often backward, made a great out-cry of Joy, perceiving her Daughter coming after her on Horſe-back; and preſently this generous She *Tartar*, mounted on a furious Horſe, her Bow and Arrows hanging at her ſide, called to them at a diſtance, that ſhe was yet willing to give them their Lives, if they would carry back to the Village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noiſe. The Advice of this young Woman affected them as little as that of her old Mother; but they were ſoon aſtoniſh'd, when they found her let flie at them in a moment three or four great Arrows, which ſtruck as many of their Men to the ground, which forced them to fall to their Quivers alſo. But ſhe kept her ſelf at that diſtance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their Effort, and at all their Arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her Bow, and to take her meaſure from the ſtrength of her Arm, which was of another temper than theirs: So that after ſhe had killed half of them with her Arrows, and

put

put them into diſorder, ſhe came and fell upon the reſt with the Zable in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The Ambaſſadors of *Tartary* were not yet gone away from *Dehli*, when *Aureng-Zebe* fell exceeding ſick; a violent and continued Fever made him ſometimes loſe his underſtanding: His Tongue was ſeized with ſuch a Palſie, that he loſt almoſt his ſpeech, and the Phyſicians deſpaired of his Recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his Siſter *Rauchenara-Begum* concealed his death out of deſign. It was already bruited, that the *Raja Jeſſomſeigne*, Governor of *Guzaratte*, was on the way to deliver *Chah-Jehan*; that *Mohabet-Kan* (who had at length obeyed the Orders of *Aureng-Zebe*) quitting the Government of *Caboul*, and being already on this ſide *Labor* to come back, made haſte alſo with Three or four thouſand Horſe for the ſame end; and that the Eunuch *Etbar-kan*, who kept *Chah-Jehan* in the Fortreſs of *Agra*, would have the honour of his delivery. On one ſide we ſee *Sultan Mazum* beſtir himſelf exceedingly with Bribes, endeavouring by Promiſes to aſſure himſelf of the *Omrahs*, ſo far, as that one Night he went diſguiſed to the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, entreating him with expreſſions of deep reſpect, that he would engage himſelf for his intereſt.

We knew from other hands, that *Rauchenara-Begum*, together with *Teday-kan*, the great Maſter of Artillery, and many *Omrahs*, declared for the young Prince *Sultan Ekbar*, the third Son of *Aureng-Zebe*, though he was but ſeven or eight years old; both Parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other deſign than to deliver *Chah-Jehan*: ſo that the People believed, that now he was going to be ſet at liberty, though none of the Grandees had any ſuch thing in their thoughts, ſpreading this Rumor, only to gain Credit and Concourſe, and becauſe they feared, leſt by the means of *Etbar-kan*, or ſome other ſecret Intrigue, he ſhould one day appear in the Field. And indeed of all the Parties, there was not one that had reaſon to wiſh for his liberty and reſtoration to the Throne, except *Jeſſomſeigne*, *Mohabet-kan*, and ſome others, that as yet had done no great matter to his diſadvantage. The reſt had been all againſt him, at leaſt they had vilely abandon'd him. They knew very well he would be like an unchain'd Lyon, if he came abroad: Who then could truſt him? And what could *Etbar-kan* hope for, who had kept him up ſo cloſe? I know not, if by ſome Adventure or other, he ſhould have come out of Priſon, whether he would not have ſtood ſingle, and been alone of his Party.

But though *Aureng-Zebe* was very ſick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the ſure cuſtody of *Chah-Jehan* his Father; and though he had adviſed *Sultan Mazum* to go and open the Gates to *Chah-Jehan*, in caſe he ſhould die, yet he omitted not to have *Etbar-kan* inceſſantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his ſickneſs, he cauſed himſelf to be carried into the Aſſembly of the *Omrahs* to ſhew himſelf, and to diſabuſe thoſe who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular Tumults, or ſuch Accidents as might have cauſed *Chah-Jehan* to be ſet at liberty. The ſeventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himſelf to be carried again into the ſaid Aſſembly for the ſame reaſon; and, what is almoſt incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himſelf from a Fit of Swooning, which occaſioned a rumor through the whole Town of his being dead, he called for two or three of the greateſt *Omrahs*, and the *Raja Jeſſeigne*, to let them ſee that he was alive, made himſelf to be raiſed in his Bed, called for Ink and Paper to write to *Etbar-kan*, and ſent for the Great Seal, which he had truſted with *Rauchenara-Bagum*, and commonly encloſed in a ſmall Bag, ſealed with a Seal he always wore about his Arm, fearing leſt ſhe had already made uſe of it for her deſigns. I was nigh my *Agah*, when all this News was told him, and I underſtood, that lifting up his hands to Heaven, he ſaid, *What a Soul is this? A matchleſs Fortitude and Courage of Spirit! God preſerve thee* Aureng-Zebe, *for greater things, certainly he will not that thou ſhouldeſt yet die.* And indeed after this Fit, he recover'd by little and little.

He had no ſooner recover'd his health, but he ſought to get out of the hands of *Chah-Jehan*, and *Begum-Saheb*, the Daughter of *Dara*, to ſecure the Marriage of *Sultan-Ekbar*, his third Son, with this Princeſs, on purpoſe thereby to gain him Authority, and to give him the greater right to the Empire: For he it is, who is thought to be by him deſigned for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful Relations at the Court, and is born of the Daughter of *Chah-Navaze-kan*, and conſequently

quently of the Blood of the Ancient Sovereigns of *Machate*; whereas *Sultan Mahmoud* and *Sultan Mazum* are only Sons of *Ragipontnis*, or Daughters of *Raja's*. Theſe Kings, though *Mahumetans*, do, for all that, marry of the Daughters of the Heathen, either for State-intereſt, or for extraordinary Beauty. But *Aureng-Zebe*, was diſappointed in this deſign: It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceneſs of ſpirit *Chah-Jehan* and *Begum* rejected the Propoſition, and the young Princeſs her ſelf, who, in the fear of being carried away, was for ſome days deſperate, and proteſted ſhe would rather kill her ſelf an hundred times over, if it were poſſible, than to marry the Son of him that had murthered her Father.

He had no better ſatisfaction from *Chah-Jehan* about certain Jewels which he asked of him, in order to finiſh a piece of work which he cauſed to be added to a famous Throne, which is ſo highly eſteemed. For he fiercely anſwer'd, *That* Aureng-Zebe *ſhould take no other Care, but to rule better than he did; that he ſhould let his Throne alone; that he was weary to hear of theſe Jewels; and that the Hammers were ready to beat them to duſt, the firſt time he ſhould be importun'd again about them.*

The *Hollanders* would not be the laſt in doing Reverence to *Aureng-Zebe:* they had thoughts of ſending an Ambaſſador to him. They pitched upon Monſieur *Adrican*, the Commander of their Factory at *Suratte*; and being a right honeſt man, and of good ſenſe and judgment, not neglecting to take the counſel of his Friends, he well acquitted himſelf of this Employment. *Aureng-Zebe*, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous *Mahumetan*, and conſequently to deſpiſe the *Franguis*, or Chriſtians, yet thought fit to receive them with much Reſpect and Civility. He even was deſirous, that this Ambaſſador ſhould complement him in the mode of the *Franguis*, after he had been made to do it the *Indian* way. 'Tis true, he received his Letters by the hand of an *Omrah*; but *that* was not to be taken for any Contempt, he having ſhew'd no more Honour to the Ambaſſadors of *Usbec*. After this, he intimated to him, that he might produce his Preſent; and at the ſame time he cauſed him, and ſome of his Train, to be dreſſed with a *Ser-Apah* embroider'd. The Preſent conſiſted of ſtore of very fine Scarlet, ſome large Looking-glaſſes, and divers excellent pieces of *Chineſe* and *Japoneſe* work, among which there was a *Paleky*, and a *Tackeavan*, or a Field-Throne of admirable workmanſhip.

This Ambaſſador was not ſo ſoon diſpatch'd as he wiſh'd, it being the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Mogol* to detain Ambaſſadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that 'tis the intereſt of their Greatneſs, to oblige Strangers to give long Attendance at their Court; yet he was not kept ſo long as the Ambaſſadors of *Usbec*. Mean time he had the misfortune, that his Secretary died there, and the reſt of his Retinue began to grow ſick. When the King diſmiſſed him, he gave him ſuch another *Ser-Apah* embroider'd, as the firſt was for himſelf; and another, a very rich one, for the General of *Batavia*, together with a Poynard, ſet about with Jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging Letter.

The chief Aim of the *Hollanders* in this Embaſſy was, to make themſelves immediately known to the King, thereby to gain Credit, and to intimidate the Governors of the Sea-Ports, and other places, where they have their Factories; that ſo they may not attempt, when they pleaſe, to inſult over them, or to trouble them in their Trade; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent Nation, and that hath a door open to addreſs themſelves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their End alſo was, to make it appear, what intereſt the King had in their Commerce; and therefore they ſhew'd long Rolls of Commodities, bought up by them through the whole Kingdom, and Liſts of conſiderable Sums of Gold and Silver, every year brought thither by them; but ſaying not a word of thoſe which they draw thence, from the Copper, Lead, Cinamon, Cloves, Muſcadin, Pepper, Wood of Aloes, Elephants, and other Commodities which they vend there.

About this time, one of the moſt conſiderable *Omrahs* of *Aureng-Zebe* addreſſed himſelf to him, and repreſented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing Affairs, and this perpetual Attention of mind in him, might ſoon cauſe a great Alteration in his Temper, and a dangerous Inconvenience in his Health. But *Aureng-Zebe*, ſeeming to take almoſt no notice of what that *Omrah* ſaid, turn'd himſelf another way, and approaching to another of the prime *Omrahs* of the Court, a perſon of great knowledge and judgment, ſpoke to him in this purpoſe (as I was informed by the Son of this Lord, who was my Friend.)

You

You other Sages, are you not all of the mind, that there are times and conjunctions ſo urgent, that a King ought to hazard his life for his Subjects, and ſacrifice himſelf for their defence with Arms in his hands? And yet this effeminate Man would diſſwade me from taking pains, and dehort me from watching and ſollicitude for the Publick; and carry me by pretences of Health, to the thoughts of an eaſie life, by abandoning the Government of my People, and the management of Affairs, to ſome Viſir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a Royal Extraction, and raiſed me to the Crown of Indoſtan, *hath not made me for my ſelf alone, but for the good and ſafety of the Publick, and for the procurement of Tranquility and Happineſs to my Subjects, as far as that may be obtained by Juſtice and Power? He ſeeth not the conſequence of his Counſels, and what miſchiefs do attend Viſirſhips. Doth he think it to be without reaſon, what our Grand* Sady *hath ſo generouſly pronounced, O Kings, ceaſe, ceaſe to be Kings, or govern your Kingdoms your ſelves? Go tell thy Countrey-man, that I ſhall well like of the care he is conſtantly to take of the faithful diſcharge of his Place; but adviſe him alſo, not any more to run out himſelf ſo far as he hath done. We have* natural *inclination enough to a long, eaſie, and careleſs life, and there need no Counſellors to ſhake off buſineſs and trouble. Our Wives, that lie in our boſom, do too often, beſides our own genius, incline us that way.*

At the ſame time there happen'd an Accident, that made a great noiſe at *Dehli*, eſpecially in the *Seraglio*, and diſabuſed a great many, that could as hardly believe as my ſelf, that Eunuchs, though they had their Genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. *Didar-kan*, one of the chief Eunuchs of the *Seraglio*, who had built an houſe, where he came often to divert himſelf, fell in love with a very beautiful Woman, the Siſter of a Neighbor of his, that was an Heathen Scrivener.

Theſe Amours laſted a good while, before any Body blamed them, ſince it was but an Eunuch that made them, which ſort of men have the priviledge to go where they pleaſe; but the familiarity grew ſo great, and ſo extraordinary betwixt the two Lovers, that the Neighbors began to ſuſpect ſomething, and to rally the Scrivener, which did ſo touch him, that he threatned both his Siſters and the Eunuch to kill them, if they ſhould continue their Commerce. And ſoon after, finding them in the Night lying together, he ſtabbed the Eunuch out-right, and left his Siſter for dead. The whole *Seraglio*, Women and Eunuchs, made a League together againſt him to make him away; but *Aureng-Zebe* diſſipated all theſe machinations, and was content to have him turn *Mahumetan*. Mean time 'tis thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the Eunuchs; for 'tis not, as is the common ſaying, with Men as with Brutes; theſe latter become gentler and more tractable when they are caſtrated; but men more vicious, and commonly very inſolent, though ſometimes it turneth to an admirable Fidelity and Gallantry.

It was alſo about the ſame time, that *Aureng-Zebe* was ſomewhat diſcontented with *Rauchenara-Begum*, becauſe ſhe was ſuſpected to have given Acceſs to two young Gallants into the *Seraglio*, who were diſcover'd, and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*. Yet this being but a ſuſpicion, he expreſſed to her no great reſentment of it; nor did he make uſe of ſo great rigor and cruelty againſt thoſe poor men, as *Chah-Jehan* had done againſt the perſon above ſpoken of. The matter was related to me by an old *Portugueſe* Woman (that had a long while been Slave to the *Seraglio*, and went out and in at pleaſure) as followeth: She told me that *Rauchenara-Begum*, after ſhe had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his Ability, deliver'd him to ſome Women, to convey him away in the Night thorough ſome Gardens, and ſo to ſave him: But whether they were diſcover'd, or whether they feared they ſhould be ſo, or what elſe might be the cauſe, they fled, and left him there wandring in the midſt of thoſe Gardens, not knowing which way to get out: And being at laſt met with, and brought before *Aureng-Zebe*, who examined him ſtrictly, but could draw nothing elſe from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the ſame way by which he entred: But it ſeems, the Eunuchs did more than *Aureng-Zebe* had given order for, for they caſt him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. As for the other young Gallant, this ſame Woman aſſured me, that he was found wandring in the Garden like the firſt; and having confeſſed that he was come in by the Gate, *Aureng-Zebe* commanded likewiſe, that he alſo ſhould paſs away again by the ſame Gate; yet reſerving to himſelf a ſevere chaſtiſement for the Eunuchs,

ſince not only the honour of the Royal Houſe, but alſo the ſafety of the King's perſon is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at *Dehli* ſeveral Ambaſſadors, almoſt at the ſame time. The firſt was *Xerif* of *Mecca*, whoſe Preſent did conſiſt in ſome *Arabian* Horſes: The ſecond and third Ambaſſadors were, he of the King of *Hyeman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and he of the Prince of *Baſſora*, who likewiſe preſented *Arabian* Horſes. The two remaining Ambaſſadors were ſent from the King of *Ethiopia*. To the three firſt no great regard was given; they appear'd in ſo miſerable and confuſed an Equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get ſome money by the means of their Preſent, and of the many Horſes, and other Merchandize, which under the pretence of Ambaſſadors, entred without paying any Duty into the Kingdom, there to be ſold, and to buy for the money a quantity of *Indian* Stuffs, and ſo to return, without paying likewiſe any Impoſt at all.

But as to the *Ethiopian* Embaſſy, that deſerves to be otherwiſe taken notice of; the King of *Ethiopia* having received the News of the Revolution of the *Indies*, had a deſign to ſpread his Name in thoſe Parts, and there to make known his Grandeur and Magnificence, by a ſplendid Embaſſy: Or, as Malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap ſome Advantage by a Preſent as well as the reſt. Behold therefore this great Embaſſy! He choſe for his Ambaſſadors two perſons, that one would think were the moſt conſiderable in his Court, and the moſt capable to make ſuch a Deſign proſper. And who were they? The *one* was a *Mahumetan* Merchant, whom I had ſeen ſome years ago at *Moka*, when I paſſed there coming out of *Egypt* over the *Red-Sea*, where he was to ſell ſome Slaves for that Prince, and to buy of the money, raiſed thence, ſome *Indian* Commodities. And this is the fine Trade of that great *Chriſtian* King of *Africa*. The *other* was a Chriſtian Merchant of *Armenia*, born and married in *Aleppo*, known in *Æthiopia* by the name of *Murat*. I had ſeen him alſo at *Moka*, where he had accommodated me with the half of his Chamber, and aſſiſted me with very good Advice, whereof I have ſpoken in the beginning of this Hiſtory, as a thing taking me off from paſſing into *Ethiopia*, according to my firſt deſign. He alſo came every year to that place, in that King's Name, for the ſame end that the *Mahumetan* did, and brought the Preſent which the King made every year, to the Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Company of the *Eaſt-Indies*, and carried away theirs. Now the King of *Ethiopia*, ſutably to his deſign, and the deſire he had of making his Ambaſſadors appear with great Splendor, put himſelf to great Expences for this Embaſſie: He gave them Thirty two young Slaves, of both Sexes, to ſell them at *Moka*, and thence to make a Sum of Money to bear their Charges. A wonderful Largeſs! Slaves are commonly ſold there for Twenty five or thirty Crowns apiece, one with another. A conſiderable Sum. Beſides, he gave them for a Preſent to the *Great Mogol* Five and twenty choice Slaves, among which there were nine or ten very young, proper to make Eunuchs of. A very worthy Preſent for a King, and he a Chriſtian, to a *Mahumetan* Prince! It ſeems the Chriſtianity of the *Ethiopians* is very different from ours. He added to that Preſent, twelve Horſes, eſteem'd as much as thoſe of *Arabia*, and a kind of little Mule, of which I ſaw the Skin, which was a very great Rarity, there being no Tyger ſo handſomly ſpeckled, nor Silken Stuff of *India* ſo finely, ſo variouſly, and ſo orderly ſtreaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the Preſent, two Elephants teeth, ſo prodigious, that they aſſured it was all that a very able bodied man could do, to lift up one of them from the ground. Laſtly, an Horn of an Ox full of Civett, and ſo big, that the Aperture of it being meaſur'd by me, when it came to *Dehli*, it had a Diameter of Half a Foot, and ſomewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the Ambaſſadors depart from *Gondez*, the Capital of *Ethiopia*, ſituated in the Province of *Dambea*, and came through a very troubleſom Countrey to *Beiloul*, which is a diſpeopled Sea-Port over againſt *Moka*, nigh to *Babel-mandel*, not daring to come (for Reaſons elſewhere to be alledged) the ordinary way of the *Caravans*, which is made with eaſe in Forty days to *Arkiko*, and thence to paſs to the Iſle of *Maſoua*. During their ſtay at *Beiloul*, and expecting a Bark of *Moka*, to waſt over the *Red-Sea*, there died ſome of their Slaves, becauſe the Veſſel tarried, and they found not in that place thoſe refreſhments that were neceſſary for them. When they came to *Moka*, they ſoon ſold their Merchandize, to raiſe a Stock of Money according to order. But they had th is ill luck, that that year the Slaves were very cheap, becauſe the Market was glutted

glutted by many other Merchants, yet they raiſed a Sum to purſue their Voyage: They Embark'd upon an *Indian* Veſſel to paſs to *Suratte*; their Paſſage was pretty good; they were not above Five and twenty days at Sea; but whether it was that they had made no good proviſion for want of ſtock, or what elſe the cauſe might be, many of their Slaves and Horſes, as alſo the Mule, whereof they ſaved the Skin, died. They were no ſooner arrived at *Suratte*, but a certain Rebel of *Viſapour*, called *Seva-Gi*, came and ranſacked and burned the Town, and in it their Houſe, ſo that they could ſave nothing but their Letters, ſome Slaves that were ſick, or which *Seva-Gi* could not light on, their *Ethiopian* Habits which he cared not for, and the Mule's Skin, and the Ox's Horn, which was already emptied of the Civett. They did very much exaggerate their misfortune; but thoſe malicious *Indians* that had ſeen them arrive in ſuch a wretched condition, without Proviſions, without Habits, without Money, or Bills of Exchange, ſaid, that they were very happy, and ſhould reckon the Plunder of *Suratte* for a piece of their beſt Fortune, foraſmuch as *Seva-Gi* had ſaved them the labour of bringing their miſerable Preſent to *Dehli*, and had furniſht them with a very ſpecious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the ſale they had made of their Civett, and of ſome of their Slaves, and for demanding of the Governor of *Suratte* Proviſions for their ſubſiſtence, as alſo ſome Money and Chariots to continue their Voyage to *Dehli*. Monſieur *Adrican*, chief of the *Dutch* Factory, my Friend, had given to the *Armenian Murat* a Letter of Recommendation to me, which he deliver'd himſelf at *Dehli*, not remembring that I had been his Hoſt at *Moka*. It was a very pleaſant meeting when we came to know one another, after the ſpace of five or ſix years. I embraced him affectionately, and promiſed him that I would ſerve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had Acquaintance at the Court, it was impoſſible for me to do them any conſiderable good Office there: For ſince they had not brought with them any valuable Preſent, but only the Mule's Skin, and the empty Ox's Horn, and that they were ſeen going upon the ſtreets without any Paleky or Horſes, ſave that of our Father Miſſionary, and mine (which they had almoſt killed) cloathed like Beggars, and followed with ſeven or eight Slaves, bare-headed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly Sharſe tyed between their Legs, with a ragged Cloth over their Left Shoulder, paſſing under their Left Arm like a Summer-Cloak; ſince, I ſaid, they were in ſuch a poſture, whatever I could ſay for them was inſignificant; they were taken for Beggars, and no body took other notice of them. Yet notwithſtanding I ſaid ſo much of the Grandeur of their King to my *Agah Danechmendkan*, who had cauſe to hearken to me, as managing all Foreign Affairs there, that *Aureng-Zebe* gave them Audience, received their Letters, preſented them each with an Embroider'd Veſt, a Silken Embroider'd Girdle, and a Turbant of the ſame, gave order for their Entertainment, and diſpatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect: For in diſmiſſing them, he preſented them each with another ſuch Veſt, and with 6000 *Rupies* for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 Crowns, of which the *Mahumetan* had four thouſand, and *Murat*, becauſe a Chriſtian, but two thouſand. He alſo gave them for a Preſent to their Maſter a very rich *Ser-apah* or Veſt, two great ſilver and gilt Trumpets, two ſilver Tymbals, a Poynard cover'd with Jewels, and the value of about twenty thouſand Francs in golden and ſilver *Rupies*, to let their King ſee Money coined, as a Rarity he had not in his Countrey: But *Aureng-Zebe* knew very well, that theſe *Rupies* would not go out of the Kingdom, and that they were like to buy Commodities for them: And it fell out ſo; for they laid them out, partly in fine Cotton Cloth, to make ſhirts of for their King, Queen, and their only lawful Son that is to be the Succeſſor; partly in ſilken Stuffs ſtreaked with Gold or Silver, to make Veſts and Summer-Drawers of; partly in *Engliſh* Scarlet, to make two *Arabian* Veſts of for their King alſo; and laſtly, in Spices, and in ſtore of coarſer Cloth, for divers Ladies of his *Seraglio*, and for the Children he had by them, all without paying any Duty.

For all my friendſhip with *Murat*, there were three things that made me almoſt repent to have ſerved them. The *firſt*, becauſe *Murat* having promiſed me to leave with me for 50 *Rupies*, a little Son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without ſuch a ſwelled Noſe, or ſuch thick Lips as commonly the *Ethiopians* have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he ſhould take no leſs for him than 300 *Rupies*. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him, for Rarity's ſake, and that I

might ſay, a Father had ſold me his Son. The *ſecond*, becauſe I found that *Murat*, as well as the *Mahumetan*, had obliged themſelves to *Aureng-Zebe*, that they would employ their intereſt with their King, that he might permit in *Ethiopia* to rebuild an old *Moſquee* ruined in the time of the *Portugals*, and which had been built for a Tomb of a great *Dervich*, which went from *Mecha* into *Ethiopia*, for the propagation of *Mahumetaniſm*, and there made great progreſs. They receiv'd of *Aureng-Zebe* two thouſand *Rupies* for this Engagement. This *Moſquee* had been pulled down by the *Portugals*, when they came with their Succors into *Ethiopia*, which the then King, who turn'd Catholick, had asked of them againſt a *Mahumetan* Prince, invading his Kingdom. The *third*, becauſe they deſired *Aureng-Zebe*, in the name of their King, to give them an *Alcoran*, and eight other Books, which I well remember, were of the moſt reputed in the *Mahumetan* Religion: Which proceeding ſeemed to me very unworthy of a *Chriſtian* Embaſſador, and *Chriſtian* King, and confirmed to me what I had been told at *Moka*, that the *Chriſtianity* of *Ethiopia* muſt needs be ſome odd thing; that it favors much of *Mahumetaniſm*, and that the *Mahumetans* increaſe exceedingly in that Empire, eſpecially ſince the *Portugals*, that came in there for the Reaſon lately expreſſed, were either killed, upon the death of the King, by the Cabal of the Queen-Mother, or expell'd together, with the Patriarch Jeſuite, whom they had brought along from *Goa*.

During the time that the Ambaſſadors were at *Dehli*, my *Agah*, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was preſent, to inform himſelf of the State and Government of their Countrey, and principally to learn ſomething of the ſource of the *Nile*, which they call *Ababile*, of which they diſcourſed to us as a thing ſo well known, that no body doubted of it. *Murat* himſelf, and a *Mogol*, who was returned out of *Ethiopia* with him, had been there, and told us very near the ſame Particulars with thoſe I had received of it at *Moka*, *viz.* That the *Nile* had its Origine in the Countrey of *Agaus*; that it iſſued out of the Earth by two Springs bubling up, near to one another, which did form a little Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this Lake, it did make a conſiderable River: and that from ſpace to ſpace, it receiv'd ſmall Rivers increaſing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as 'twere a great Iſle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from ſteep Rocks into a great Lake, in which there were divers fruitful Iſles, ſtore of Crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true) abundance of Sea-Calves, that have no other vent for their Excrements than that, by which they take in their food; this Lake being in the Countrey of *Dambea*, three ſmall days journey from *Gondar*, and four or five days journey from the ſource of the *Nile*. And laſtly, that this River did break out of this Lake, being augmented with many River-waters, and with ſeveral Torrents falling into it, eſpecially in the rainy Seaſon, (which do regularly begin there, as in the *Indies* about *July*, which is very conſiderable and convincing for the inundation of the *Nile*) and ſo runs away through *Sonnar*, the capital City of the King of *Fungi*, Tributary to the King of *Ethiopia*, and from thence paſſeth to the Plains of *Meſre*, which is *Egypt*.

The Ambaſſadors were not wanting to ſay more than was liked on the ſubject of their King's Greatneſs, and of the ſtrength of his Army, but the *Mogolian* did not over-much agree with them in it; and in their abſence repreſented to us this Army, which he had ſeen twice in the Field, with the *Ethiopian* King on the head of it, as the moſt wretched thing in the world.

They alſo related to us divers Particulars of that Countrey, which I have put in my Journal, one day perhaps to be digeſted and copied: In the mean time I ſhall inſert here three or four things which *Murat* told me, becauſe I eſteem them very extravagant for a *Chriſtian* Kingdom. He ſaid then, that there were few men in *Ethiopia*, who beſides their lawful Wife, had not many others, and himſelf owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at *Aleppo*: That the *Ethiopian* Women did not ſo hide themſelves, as they do in the *Indies* among the *Mahumetans*, nor even as among the *Gentiles*: That thoſe of the meaner ſort of People, Maids, or married Women, Slaves or Free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the ſame Chamber, without thoſe jealouſies ſo common in other Countries: That the Women of Lords did not ſtick much to go into the houſe of a ſimple Cavalier, whom they knew to be a Man of Execution: That if I had gone into *Ethiopia*, they would ſoon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years ſince, to a certain *European*, who named

named himſelf a *Greek* Phyſician: *That* an ancient man, of about fourſcore years of age, did one day preſent to the King fourſcore Sons, all of age, and able to bear Arms; and that the King asked him, Whether he had no more but them? To whom having anſwer'd, No, but only ſome Daughters, the King ſent him away with this reproach; Be gone, thou Calf, and be aſhamed for having no more Children at that age, as if Women were wanting in my Dominions! *That* the King himſelf had at leaſt fourſcore Sons and Daughters running about pell-mell in the Seraglio, for whom he had cauſed to be made a number of round verniſhed ſticks, made like a little maze; thoſe Children being fond of having that in their hand like a Scepter, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe that were Children of Slaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe ſent alſo twice for theſe Ambaſſadors, for the ſame reaſon that my *Agah* did, and eſpecially to enquire after the ſtate of *Mahumetaniſm* in that Country. He had alſo the curioſity of Viewing the skin of the Mule, which remained, I know not how, in the Fortreſs amongſt the Officers; which was to me a great mortification, becauſe they had deſigned it for me for the good ſervices I had done them. I made account to have one day preſented it to ſome very curious perſon in *Europe*. I urged often, that together with the Mules skin, they ſhould carry the great Horn to *Aureng-Zebe*, to ſhew it him; but they fear'd, leaſt he ſhould make a queſtion, which would have perplexed them; *viz.* how it came to paſs, that they had ſaved the Horn from the plunder of *Suratte*, and loſt the Civet?

Whilſt theſe Ambaſſadors of *Ethiopia* were at *Dehli*, it came to paſs that *Aureng-Zebe* called together his Privy Councel, and the moſt learn'd perſons of his Court, to chuſe a new Maſter for his third Son, *Sultan Eckbar*, whom he deſign'd for his Succeſſor. In this Councel he ſhew'd the paſſion he hath to have this young Prince well Educated, and to make him a great Man. *Aurenge-Zebe* is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much 'tis to be wiſhed, that as much as Kings ſurmount others in Greatneſs, they may alſo exceed them in Virtue and Knowledge. He alſo well knows, that one of the principal ſources of the Miſery, of the miſ-Government, of the un-Peopling, and the decay of the Empires of *Aſia* proceeds from thence, that the children of the Kings thereof are brought up only by Women and Eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched Slaves of *Ruſſia*, *Circaſſia*, *Mingrelia*, *Gurgiſtan* and *Ethiopia*; mean and ſervile, ignorant and inſolent ſouls. Theſe Princes become Kings, when they are of Age, without being inſtructed, and without knowing what 'tis to be a King; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the Seraglio, as perſons coming out of another World, or let out of ſome ſubterraneous Cave, where they had lived all their life time; wondring at every thing they meet, like ſo many Innocents; believing all, and fearing all, like Children, or nothing at all, as if they were ſtupid: And all this, according to their Nature, and ſutable to the firſt Images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and ſeemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is ſo flat and diſtaſteful, and ſo unbecoming them, that one may plainly ſee, 'tis nothing but brutality or barbarouſneſs, and the effect of ſome ill-ſtudied, and ill-digeſted Documents; or elſe they fall into ſome childiſh civilities, yet more unſavoury; or into ſuch cruelties, as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and groſs vice of drunkenneſs, or into an exceſſive and altogether unreaſonable Luxury, either ruining their bodies and underſtandings with their Concubines, or altogether abandoning themſelves to the pleaſures of Hunting, like ſome carniverous Animals, preferring a pack of Dogs before the life of ſo many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the purſuit of their Game, and ſuffer to periſh of hunger, heat, cold, and miſery. In a word, they always run into ſome extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by the firſt impreſſions that are given them; thus remaining, almoſt all, in a ſtrange ignorance of what concerns the ſtate of the Kingdom; the reins of the Government being abandoned to ſome Viſir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their paſſions, which are the two ſtrongeſt ſupports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with moſt aſſurance, and the leaſt contradiction; and given over alſo to thoſe Slaves their Mothers, and to their Eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they ſtrangle and baniſh one another, and ſometimes the Viſirs, and even the Grand Signors themſelves; ſo that no man whatſoever, that hath any Eſtate, can be in ſafety of his life.

But

But to return; after all theſe Ambaſſadors, which we have ſpoken of, there came at laſt news, that the Ambaſſador of *Perſia* was upon the Frontiers. The *Perſian Omrahs*, that are at the ſervice of the *Mogol*, ſpred a rumor that he came for affairs of great importance; though intelligent perſons much doubted of a Commiſſion of that nature, conſidering that the time of great conjunctures was paſſed, and that thoſe *Omrahs*, and the other *Perſians* did what they did, rather to make a ſhow, than for any thing elſe. Mean time, on the day of the Entry, this Ambaſſador was received with all poſſible reſpect: The *Bazars*, through which he paſſed, were all new-painted, and the Cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole League. Many *Omrah's* accompanied him with Muſick, Tymbals and Trumpets, and when he entred into the Fortreſs, or the Palace of the King, the Guns went off. *Aureng-Zebe* received him with much civility, and was content he ſhould make his Addreſs to him after the *Perſian* mode, receiving alſo, without any ſcruple, *immediately* from his hands the Letters of his King; which, out of reſpect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and ſerious countenance: Which done, he cauſed an embroider'd Veſt to be brought, together with a rich Turbant and Girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his preſence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might order his Preſent to be brought in, which conſiſted of five and twenty as handſome Horſes as ever I ſaw, led, and cover'd with embroider'd trapings; and of twenty very ſtately and luſty Camels, as big as Elephants: Moreover, of a good number of Boxes, ſaid to be full of moſt excellent Roſe-water; and of a certain diſtilled water, very precious, and eſteemed highly cordial; beſides, there were diſplayed five or ſix very rich and very large Tapiſſeries, and ſome embroider'd pieces exceeding noble, wrought in ſmall flowers, ſo fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all *Europe* any ſuch can be met with. To all this were added four Damaskin'd Swords, with as many Poynards, all cover'd with Jewels; as alſo five or ſix Harnaſſes of Horſes, which were much eſteem'd, being alſo very fine and rich, the ſtuff being raiſed with rich Embroidery ſet with ſmall Pearls, and very fair Turcoiſes of the old Rock.

It was obſerv'd, that *Aureng-Zebe* beheld this Preſent very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that ſeveral times he extolled the Generoſity of the King of *Perſia*; aſſigning to the Ambaſſador a place among his chief *Omrahs*. And after he had entertained him a while with a diſcourſe about the inconveniencies and hardſhips of his Voyage, he diſmiſt him, and made inſtance, that he ſhould come every day to ſee him.

During the four or five Months that the Ambaſſador ſtaid at *Dehli*, he was always ſplendidly treated at *Aureng-Zebe*'s charge; and the greateſt *Omrahs* preſented him one after another; and at laſt he was very honourably diſmiſſed: For *Aureng-Zebe* had him apparelled with another rich *Serapah* or Veſt, to which he added conſiderable preſents for himſelf, reſerving thoſe he intended for his King, 'till he ſhould ſend an Ambaſſador expreſly; which ſome time after he did.

Notwithſtanding all theſe teſtimonies of honour and reſpect which *Aureng-Zebe* had ſhew'd to this Ambaſſador, the ſame *Perſians*, above ſpoken of, gave out, that their King had ſenſibly reproached him in his Letters, with the Death of *Dara*, and the Impriſonment of *Chah-Jehan*, as actions unworthy of a Brother, and a Son, and a Muſulman; and that he had alſo hit him with the word *Alem-Guire*, or Conquerour of the World, which *Aureng-Zebe* had cauſed to be engraven on his Coyn. But 'tis hard to believe, that the King of *Perſia* ſhould do any ſuch thing to provoke ſuch a Victorious Prince, ſince *Perſia* is not in a condition to enter into a War with *Indoſtan*; I am rather apt to believe, that *Perſia* hath work enough to keep *Kandahar* on the ſide of *Indoſtan*, and the Frontiers on the ſide of *Turky*: Its Forces and Riches are known; it produceth not always ſuch great Kings as the *Chah-Abbas*, Valiant, Intelligent, and Politick, knowing to make uſe of every thing, and to do much with ſmall expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing againſt *Indoſtan*, or really ſenſible of Piety and the Muſal-Man Faith, why was it that in theſe laſt troubles and Civil Wars, which continued ſo long in *Indoſtan*, the *Perſians* ſat ſtill and looked on, when *Dara*, *Chan-Jehan*, *Sultan Sujah*, and perhaps the Governour of *Caboul* deſired their aſſiſtance; and they might with no very great Army, nor great expences have ſeized on the faireſt part of *India*, beginning from the Kingdom of *Caboul*, unto the River *Indus*, and beyond it, and ſo made themſelves Umpires of all things? yet notwithſtanding

ſtanding there muſt needs have been ſome offenſive Expreſſions in thoſe *Perſian* Letters, or elſe the Ambaſſador muſt have done or ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed *Aureng-Zebe*; becauſe two or three days after he had diſmiſſed him, he made a rumor to be ſpread abroad, that the Ambaſſador had cauſed the Ham-ſtrings of the preſented Horſes to be Cut; And the Ambaſſador being yet upon the Frontiers, he made him return all the *Indian* Slaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Mean while, *Aureng-Zebe* was not ſo much concern'd, nor troubled himſelf ſo much with this Ambaſſador, as *Chah-Jehan*, upon a like occaſion, did with him, that was ſent to him from the great *Chah-Abbas*. When the *Perſians* are in the humor of Rallying againſt the *Indians*, they relate theſe three or four little Stories of them: They ſay, That *Chah-Jehan* ſeeing that the Courtſhip and Promiſes made to their Ambaſſador were not able to prevail with him, ſo as to make him perform his Salute after the *Indian* Mode, he deviſed this Artifice; he commanded to ſhut the great Gate of the Court of the *Amkus*, where he was to receive him, and to leave only open the Wicket, through which one man could not paſs but very difficultly, by ſtooping and holding down his Head, as the faſhion is, when one maketh an *Indian* Reverence, to the end that it might be ſaid, he had made the Ambaſſador put himſelf in a poſture, which was ſomething lower than the *Indian Salam*, or Salute; but that that Ambaſſador being aware of this trick, came in with his Back foremoſt: And that *Chah-Jehan*, out of indignation to ſee himſelf catch'd, told him, *Eh Bed-bakt, Thou Wretch, doſt thou think thou comeſt into a Stable of Aſſes, ſuch as thou art?* And that the Ambaſſador, without any alteration, anſwer'd, *Who would not think ſo, ſeeing ſuch a little Door?*

Another ſtory is this; That at a certain time *Chah-Jehan* taking ill ſome coarſe and fierce Anſwers return'd to him by the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, could not hold to tell him, *What, hath* Chah-Abbas *no other men at his Court, that he muſt ſend to me ſuch a Fool as thy ſelf?* And that the Ambaſſador anſwer'd, He hath many better and wiſer than me, but *to ſuch a King, ſuch an Ambaſſador.* They add, That on a certain day *Chah-Jehan*, who had made the Ambaſſador to dine in his Preſence, and ſought ſome occaſion to affront him, ſeeing that he was buſie in picking and gnawing of Bones, asked him ſmiling, *Eh Eltchy-Gi*, My Lord Ambaſſador, *What ſhall the Dogs eat?* And that he anſwer'd readily, *Kichery*, that is, a Diſh of Pulſe, which is the food of the meaner ſort of People, and which he ſaw *Chah-Jehan* eat, becauſe he loved it.

They ſay alſo, That *Chah-Jehan* once asked him, *What he thought of his new* Dehli (which he was building) *in compariſon of* Hiſpahan? And that he anſwer'd aloud, and with an Oath, *Billah, Billah, Hiſpahan doth not come near the duſt of Dehli*; which *Chah-Jehan* took for a high Commendation, though the Ambaſſador mocked him, becauſe the duſt is ſo troubleſom at *Dehli*.

Laſtly, They relate that *Chah-Jehan* one day preſſing him to tell him, What he thought of the Grandeur of the Kings of *Indoſtan*, compared to that of the Kings of *Perſia?* He anſwer'd, *That, in his opinion, one could not better compare the Kings of* India *than to a large Moon of* 15 *or* 16 *days old, and thoſe of* Perſia, *to a ſmall Moon of two or three days.* And that this Anſwer did at firſt pleaſe *Chah-Jehan*, but that ſoon after he perceived, that that Compariſon did him but little honour, the Ambaſſador's ſence being, that the Kings of *Indoſtan* were decreaſing, and thoſe of *Perſia* increaſing.

Whether theſe Points are ſo commendable, and ſuch marks of Wit, every one is free to judge, as he ſeeth cauſe. My opinion is, That a diſcreet and reſpectful Gravity is much more becoming Ambaſſadors, than Rallery and Roughneſs, eſpecially, when they have to do with Kings, who will not be rallied with, witneſs an Accident that befell this very Ambaſſador; for *Chah-Jehan* was at length ſo weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwiſe than Fool; and one day gave ſecret order, that when he ſhould enter into a pretty long and narrow Street, that is near the Fortreſs, to come to the Hall of the *Aſſembly*, they ſhould let looſe upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce Elephant; and certainly, if the Ambaſſador had not nimbly leapt out of his *Paleky*, and, together with his dextrous Attendants, ſhot ſome Arrows into the Trunk of the Elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly ſpoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, that *Aureng-Zebe* received with that admirable wiſdom his Tutor *Mallah-Sale*, the Hiſtory of which is rare and conſiderable. This old man, who long ſince had retired himſelf towards *Caboul*, and ſetled himſelf on ſome Lands, which *Chah-Jehan* had given him, had no ſooner heard of the great fortune of *Aureng-Zebe* his Diſcipline, who had overcome *Dara* and all his other Brothers, and was now King of *Indoſtan*, but he came in haſte to the Court, ſwelled with hopes of being preſently advanced to no leſs than the dignity of an *Omrah*. He maketh his Court, and endeavors to engage all his Friends, and *Rauchenara-Begum*, the King's Siſter, employs her ſelf for him. But yet there paſs three whole Months, that *Aureng-Zebe* does not ſo much as ſeem to look upon him; till at length wearied to have him always at his Elbow, and before his Face, he ſent for him to a place apart, where there was no body but *Hakim-lul-Mouluk*, *Danechmend-kan*, and three or four of thoſe *Omrahs*, that pretend to Science, and then ſpoke to him to this effect (as I was informed by my *Agah*.)

What is it you would have of me Doctor? Can you reaſonably deſire I ſhould make you one of the chief Omrahs *of my Court? Let me tell you, if you had inſtructed me as you ſhould have done, nothing would be more juſt: For I am of this perſwaſion, that a Child well educated and inſtructed, is as much, at leaſt, obliged to his Maſter as to his Father: But where are thoſe good Documents you have given me? In the firſt place you have taught me, that all that* Frangiſtan (ſo it ſeems they call *Europe*) *was nothing, but I know not what little Iſland, of which the greateſt King was he of* Portugal, *and next to him he of* Holland, *and after him he of* England; *and as to the other Kings, as thoſe of* France *and* Andaluſia, *you have repreſented them to me as our petty* Raja's; *telling me, that the Kings of* Indoſtan *were far above them all together, and that they were the true and only* Houmajons, *the* Ekbars, *the* Jehan-Guyres, *the* Chah-Jehans, *the* Fortunate *ones, the* Great *ones, the* Conquerors *and* Kings of the World; *and that* Perſia *and* Usbec, Kachguer, Tartar *and* Catay, Pegu, China, *and* Matchina *did tremble at the name of the Kings of* Indoſtan: *Admirable Geography! You ſhould rather have taught me exactly to diſtinguiſh all thoſe different States of the world, and well to underſtand their ſtrength, their way of fighting, their Cuſtoms, Religions, Governments and Intereſts; and by the peruſal of ſolid Hiſtory, to obſerve their Riſe, Progreſs, Decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors, thoſe great Changes and Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms have happened. I have ſcarce learnt of you the name of my Grandſires, the famous Founders of this Empire; ſo far were you from having taught me the Hiſtory of their Life, and what courſe they took to make ſuch great Conqueſts. You had a mind to teach me the* Arabian *Tongue, to read and to write, I am much obliged to you (forſooth) for having made me loſe ſo much time upon a Language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection; as if the Son of a King ſhould think it to be an honour to him, to be a Grammarian, or ſome Doctor of the Law, and to learn other Languages than thoſe of his Neighbors, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom Time is ſo precious for ſo many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any ſpirit that did not with ſome reluctancy, and even with a kind of debaſement, employ it ſelf in ſo ſad and dry an exerciſe, ſo long ſom and tedious, as is that of learning words.*

Thus did *Aureng-Zebe* reſent the pedantick Inſtructions of his Tutor; to which 'tis affirmed in that Court, that after ſome Entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following Reproof.

'Know you not, that Childhood well govern'd, being a ſtate which is ordinarily 'accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thouſands of good Precepts and 'Inſtructions, which remain deeply impreſſed the whole remainder of a man's life, and 'keep the mind always raiſed for great Actions? The Law, Prayers, and Sciences, may 'they not as well be learned in our Mother-Tongue, as in *Arabick*? You told my Fa'ther *Chah-Jehan*, that you would teach me Philoſophy. 'Tis true, I remember very 'well, that you have entertain'd me for many years with airy queſtions, of things that 'afford no ſatisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no uſe in humane Society, empty 'Notions, and meer Phancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to 'underſtand, and very eaſie to forget, which are only capable to tire and ſpoil a good 'underſtanding, and to breed an Opinion that is inſupportable. I ſtill remember, that 'after you had thus amuſed me, I know not how long, with your fine Philoſophy, all 'I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder,

'per-

'perplex, and tire out the beſt Wits, and only invented, the better to cover the vani-
'ty and ignorance of men like your ſelf, that would make us believe, that they know
'all, and that under thoſe obſcure and ambiguous words, are hid great myſteries, which
'they alone are capable to underſtand: If you had ſeaſon'd me with that Philoſophy,
'which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and inſenſibly accuſtoms it to be ſatisfied
'with nothing but ſolid Reaſons; if you had given me thoſe excellent Precepts and
'Doctrines, which raiſe the Soul above the Aſſaults of Fortune, and reduce her to an
'unſhakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by Proſperi-
'ty, nor debaſed by Adverſity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of
'what we are, and what are the firſt principles of things; and had aſſiſted me in form-
'ing in my mind a fit *Idea* of the greatneſs of the Univerſe, and of the admirable
'order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I ſay, you had inſtilled into me this kind
'of Philoſophy, I ſhould think my ſelf incomparably more obliged to you, than *Alex-
'ander* was to his *Ariſtotle*; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwiſe, than
'he did him. Should not you, inſtead of your flattery, have taught me ſomewhat of
'that point ſo important to a King, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a So-
'vereign to his Subjects, and thoſe of Subjects to their Sovereign? And ought not you
'to have conſider'd, that one day I ſhould be obliged with the Sword to diſpute my
'Life and the Crown with my Brothers? Is not that the deſtiny almoſt of all the Sons
'of *Indoſtan?* Have you ever taken any care to make me learn, what 'tis to beſiege a
'Town, or to ſet an Army in Array? For theſe things I am obliged to others, not at
'all to you. Go, and retire to the Village whence you are come, and let no body know
'who you are, or what is become of you.

At that time there aroſe a kind of Tempeſt againſt *Aſtrologers*, which did not diſ-pleaſe me. Moſt people of *Aſia* are ſo infatuated by *Judiciary Aſtrology*, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but 'tis written above, (for ſo they ſpeak.) In all their Undertakings therefore they conſult Aſtrologers. When two Armies are ready to give Battel, they beware of falling on, till the Aſtrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the Combat. And ſo, when the matter is about electing a Captain-General of an Army, of diſpatching an Ambaſſador, of concluding a Marriage, of beginning a Voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a Slave, putting on new Apparel, *&c.* nothing of all that is done, without the ſentence of *Mr. Star-Gazer*; which is an incredible vexation, and a cuſtom drawing after it ſuch important conſequences, that I know not how it can ſub-ſiſt ſo long: For the Aſtrologer muſt needs have knowledge of all that paſſeth, and of all that is undertaken, from the greateſt Affairs to the leaſt.

But behold, it happen'd, that the prime Aſtrologer of the King was drown'd, which occaſioned a great noiſe at Court, and was a great diſcredit to Aſtrology: For he be-ing the perſon that determined the moments of all Enterprizes and Actions for the King, and the *Omrahs*, every one wondred, how a man ſo experienced, and that for ſo long time had diſpenſed good Adventures to others, could not foreſee his own miſ-fortune. There were not wanting thoſe, who pretended to be wiſer than others, and ſaid, that in *Frangiſtan*, where Sciences did flouriſh, the Grandees do ſuſpect all ſuch kind of people, and that ſome hold them even no better than Mountebanks, that 'tis much doubted, whether this knowledge is grounded upon good and ſolid reaſons, and that it may very well be ſome fancy of Aſtrologers, or rather an Artifice to make them-ſelves neceſſary to the great ones, and to make them in ſome meaſure to depend on them.

All theſe Diſcourſes very much diſpleaſed the Aſtrologers; but nothing angred them ſo much as this Story, become very famous, *viz.* That the great *Chah-Abas* King of *Per-ſia*, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his *Seraglio* to make a Gar-den; that the young Trees were all ready, and that the Gardener made account to plant them the next day. Mean time the Aſtrologer taking upon him, ſaid, *That a good nick of time was to be obſerved for planting them, to make them proſper. Chah-Abas* being content it ſhould be ſo, the *Star Gazer* took his Inſtruments, turned over his Books, made his Calculation, and concluded, *That by reaſon of ſuch and ſuch a Conjunction and Aſpect of the Planets, it was neceſſary they ſhould be ſet preſently.* The Maſter-Gardener, who minded nothing leſs than this Aſtrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that, they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the Trees, *Chah-Abas* him-ſelf ſetting them, that it might be ſaid, that they were Trees ſet with *Chah-Abas*'s own hands. The Gardener returning at Night, was ſufficiently amazed when he ſaw

the work done; and finding that the right place and order designed by him, was not taken; that, for Example, an Apricock-Tree stood where an Apple-Tree should stand, and a Pear-Tree where an Almond-Tree; being heartily angry with the Astrologer, caused all the Trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with some Earth about them, for next morning, the time chosen by himself. The News hereof came soon to the Ears of the Astrologer, who presently told *Chah-Abas* of it: He forthwith sent for the Gardner and with some indignation asked him, *What had made him so bold, as to pull up those Young Trees he had planted with his own hand? That the time had been so exactly taken for them, that so good an one would never be had again; and that so he had marred all.* The rude Gardener, who had a Cup of *Chiras*-Wine in his head, look'd aside upon the Astrologer, and grumbling and swearing, said to him these words, *Billah, Billah, that must needs be an admirable point of time which thou hast taken for these Trees, Unhappy Astrologer! They were planted this day Noon, and this Evening they have been plucked up again.* When *Chah-Abas* heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the Astrologer, and went away.

I shall here add two Particulars, though hapned in the time of *Chah-Jehan*, because such things fall out often enough, and do withall give occasion to observe that ancient and barbarous custom, which makes the Kings of *India* Heirs of the Goods of those that die in their Service. The first was of *Neiknam-kan*, one of the most ancient *Omrahs* of the Court, and who for the space of 40 or 50 years, wherein he had always been employ'd in considerable Offices, had heaped up great store of Gold and Silver. This Lord seeing himself near his End, and thinking upon this unreasonable custom, which often renders the Wife of a great Man, upon his decease, poor and miserable in an instant, and necessitates her to present a Petition, begging some small Pension for her subsistence, and for that of her Children, who are constrained to list themselves for common Soldiers under some *Omrah*, who, I say, considering this with himself, secretly distributed all his Treasure to indigent Knights, and poor Widows, filled his Trunks with old pieces of Iron, old Shoes, Rags and Bones, and locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were Goods belonging to *Chah-Jehan* the King. These Trunks, after his death, were brought before *Chah-Jehan*, when he was in the Assembly, and by his command instantly opened in the presence of all the *Omrahs*, that saw all this fine Stuff, which so provoked and discomposed *Chah-Jehan*, that he rose in great fury, and went away.

The other is only a piece of Gallantry. A rich *Banean*, or Heathen Merchant, being a great Usurer, (as most of them are) who had always been in Employment, and in the Pay of the King, came to dye. Some years after his death, his Son did extremely importune the Widow, his Mother, to let him have some Money: She finding him to be a prodigal and debauched Youth, gave him as little as she could. This young Fool, by the perswasion of others like himself, made his Complaints to *Chah-Jehan*, and was so silly, as to discover to him all the Goods his Father had left, which amounted to Two hundred thousand *Rupies*, or Hundred thousand Crowns. *Chah-Jehan*, who soon got an itch for this Treasure, sent for the Widow, and commanded her in the open Assembly to send him an Hundred thousand *Rupies*, and to give Fifty thousand to her Son, giving order at the same time to put her away. The old Woman, though surprized at this Command, and perplext enough, that she was so suddenly thrust out, without the liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, That she had something of moment to discover to his Majesty: Whereupon being brought in again, she said, *God save your Majesty; I find that my Son hath some reason to demand of me the Goods of his Father, as being of his and my flesh and blood, and therefore our Heir; but I would gladly know, what Kindred your Majesty is to my deceased Husband, to be his Heir.* When *Chah-Jehan* heard so plain a piece of Rallery, and a discourse of Parentage of the King of the *Indies*, with a *She-Banian*, or Idolatrous She-Merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded she should be gone, and that nothing should be asked of her.

But to return, I shall not relate all the other considerable things that have happened since the end of the War, that is, since 1660. unto my departure, which was above six years after; though doubtless that would tend much to the design I had in relating the other Particulars, which is, to make known the Genius and Temper of the *Mogols* and *Indians*. This I may do in another place: Here I shall only give an Account of five or six Particulars, which those that shall have read this Relation, will doubtless be curious of.

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The *firſt*, that though *Aureng-Zebe* made *Chah-Jehan* his Father, to be kept in the Fortreſs of *Agra* with all imaginable care and caution; yet notwithſtanding he ſtill left him in his old Apartment with *Begum-Saheb*, his eldeſt Daughter, his other Women, Singers, Dancers, Cooks, and others, nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were alſo certain *Mullahs*, that were permitted to come and to read the *Alcoran* to him (for he was become very devout.) And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave Horſes, and tamed *Gazelles* (which is a kind of Goat) to make them fight with one another; as alſo divers ſorts of Birds of Prey, and ſeveral other rare Animals, to divert him as formerly. *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf uſed an Art to overcome at laſt his fierceneſs and obſtinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a Priſoner. And this was the effect of the obliging Letters, full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, which he often wrote to his Father, conſulting him often as his Oracle, and expreſſing a thouſand cares for him; ſending him alſo unceſſantly ſome pretty Preſent or other, whereby *Chah-Jehan* was ſo much gained, that he alſo wrote very often to *Aureng-Zebe* touching the Government and State Affairs, and of his own Accord ſent him ſome of thoſe Jewels, which before he had told him of, that Hammers were ready to beat them to Powder the firſt time he ſhould again ask for them. Beſides, he conſented that the Daughter of *Dara*, which he had ſo peremptorily denied, ſhould be deliver'd to him; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal bleſſing which he had ſo often deſired without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, *Aureng-Zebe* did not always flatter him; on the contrary, he ſometimes return'd ſharp Anſwers, when he met with ſtrains in his Fathers Letters that were pregnant, or expreſſed ſomething of his former height and authority. Of this we may judge by the Letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by *Aureng-Zebe*, to this effect:

Sir, You would have me indiſpenſably follow thoſe ancient Cuſtoms, and make my ſelf Heir to all thoſe that are in my Pay with the wonted rigor: An Omrah, and even a Merchant can no ſooner dye, and ſometimes even before his death, but we ſeal up his Trunks, and ſeize on his Goods, and make a ſtrict enquiry into his Eſtate, impriſoning and ill-treating the Officers of the Houſe to diſcover to us all he hath, even to the leaſt Jewels. I will believe that there is ſome policy in doing ſo, but it cannot be denied, that 'tis very rigorous, and ſometimes very unjuſt, and to ſpeak the very truth, we may deſerve well enough, that the ſame ſhould befall us every day, what hapned to you from your Neikman-kan, *and from the Widow of your rich* Indian *Merchant. Moreover* (ſaid he) *it ſeems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am King: As if you knew not by the experience of more than Forty years of your Reign, how heavy an Ornament a Crown is, and how many ſad and reſtleſs Nights it paſſeth through: as if I could forget that excellent paſſage of* Mir-Timur, (*commonly called* Tamberlan) *which is ſo ſeriouſly delivered to us by that great Grandfather of ours,* Ekbar, *to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and conſider, whether we have cauſe to pride our ſelves ſo much in a Crown. You well know, that he ſaid, that the ſame day when* Timur *took* Bajazet, *he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which* Bajazet *being highly offended, fiercely ſaid to him,* Laugh not at my Fortune, *Timur*; know that 'tis God that is the Diſpenſer of Kingdoms and Empires; and that the ſame can befall you to morrow, that hath befallen me to day. *Whereupon* Timur *made this ſerious and brave Anſwer,* I know as well as you, *Bajazet*, that 'tis God that diſtributeth Kingdoms and Empires; I laugh not at your ill Fortune, God forbid I ſhould do ſo: But beholding your face, I ſmiled, and had this thought, That certainly theſe Kingdoms and Empires muſt in themſelves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, ſince he giveth them to perſons ſo ill made as you and I both are; a deformed one-ey'd man, as you; and a lame wretch, as my ſelf. *You require alſo, that abandoning all my other Employments, which I believe very neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment and happineſs of this State, I ſhould think on nothing but Conqueſts, and the enlargement of the Empire. I muſt confeſs that this is indeed the buſineſs of a great Monarch, and of a Soul truly Royal, and that I ſhould not deſerve to be of the Blood of the Great* Timur, *if I were not of that mind, and had not ſuch inclinations. Mean time, I think I ſit not idle, and my Armies are not uſeleſs in the Kingdoms of* Decan *and* Bengale: *But we muſt alſo aver, that the greateſt Conquerors are not always the greateſt Kings; that we too often ſee a* Barbarian *making Conqueſts, and that thoſe great Bodies of Conqueſts do ordinarily fall of themſelves, and by their own weight. He is a great King, that knows to acquit himſelf worthily of that Great and Auguſt Employment and Charge of Kings, which is to diſpenſe Juſtice to their Subjects*, &c. The reſt is not come to my hands.

The *ſecond* is in regard of the *Emir-Jemla*. It were to injure this great Man, to paſs by with ſilence his deportment to *Aureng-Zebe* after the War, and the manner of ending his days. This eminent perſon after he had diſpatched the Affair of *Bengale*, with *Sultan Sujah* (the ſecond of theſe four Brothers) not like *Gionkan*, that infamous *Patan* with *Dara*; nor like the *Raja* of *Serenaguer* with *Soliman-Chekouh*; but like a Great Captain and dextrous Polititian, purſuing him as far as the Sea-ſide, and neceſſitating him to fly and to eſcape out of his hands; after, I ſay, he had done theſe things, he ſent an Eunuch to *Aureng-Zebe*, intreating him, that he would give him leave to tranſport his Family to *Bengale*; that now that the War was at an end, and he broken with Age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his Wife and Children.

But *Aureng-Zebe* is too ſharp-ſighted, not to pierce into the deſigns of *Emir*. He ſeeth him triumphing over *Sujah*; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the eſteem of a very wiſe, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the Kingdom of *Bengale* is not only the beſt of all *Indoſtan*, but ſtrong of it ſelf, and further, that this *Emir* is in the head of a well diſciplin'd Army, which both honours and fears him. Beſides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreſeeth well enough, that if he ſhould have with him his Son *Mahmet-Emirkan*, he would aſpire to the Crown, and at leaſt take full poſſeſſion of *Bengale*, if he ſhould not be able to advance things further. At the ſame time he is alſo well aware, that there is danger in refuſing him, and that he may poſſibly prove ſuch a man, as in caſe of denial, may run into ſome dangerous extream, as he had done in *Golkonda*. How then, think ye, did he carry himſelf in this conjuncture? He ſends to him his Wife and Daughter, and all the Children of his Son: He maketh the *Emir* a *Mir-Ul Omrah*, which is in that Empire the greateſt degree of honour that a Favourite can be raiſed to: And as to *Mahmet-Emirkan*, he maketh him the *Great-Bakchis*, which is a dignity and charge like that of our Great Maſter of the Horſe, the ſecond or third Office in the State, but ſuch an one as abſolutely obligeth the poſſeſſor of it to be always at the Court, not ſuffering him, but very difficultly, to be abſent from the perſon of the King.

The *Emir* ſoon perceived, that *Aureng-Zebe* had skilfully put by the ſtroke, that it would be in vain the ſecond time to ask of him his Son; that he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the ſafeſt way would be to reſt contented with all the teſtimonies of Friendſhip, and with all the Honours, together with the Government of *Bengale*; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in ſuch a poſture, that ſince he could attempt nothing againſt *Aureng-Zebe*, *Aureng-Zebe* ſhould not be able to attempt any thing againſt him.

Thus have we ſeen theſe two Great Men carry themſelves to one another: And in this condition did affairs remain for almoſt a year; till *Aureng-Zebe*, too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at reſt, and that, if he be not employed in a Foreign War, he will at length raiſe a Domeſtick one; propoſed to him to make War upon that rich and potent Raja of *Acham*, whoſe Territories are on the North of *Dake*, upon the Gulf of *Bengale*. The *Emir*, who in all appearance had already deſigned this ſame thing of himſelf, and who believed, that the Conqueſt of this Country, would make way for his Immortal Honour, and be an occaſion of carrying his Arms as far as *China*, declared himſelf ready for this Enterprize. He embarked at *Dake* with a puiſſant Army, upon a River which comes from thoſe parts; upon which having gone about an hundred Leagues North-Eaſtward, he arrived at a Caſtle called *Azo*, which the Raja of *Acham* had uſurped from the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and poſſeſſed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in leſs than fifteen days; thence marching over Land towards *Chamdara*, which is the Inlet into the Country of that Raja; he entred into it after 26 days journey, ſtill Northward: There a Battel was fought, in which the Raja of *Acham* was worſted, and obliged to retreat to *Guerguon*, the *Metropolis* of his Kingdom, four miles diſtant from *Chamdara*. The *Emir* purſued him ſo cloſe, that he gave him no time to fortifie himſelf in *Guerguon*: For he arrived in ſight of that Town in five days, which conſtrained the *Raja*, ſeeing the *Emir*'s Army, to fly towards the Mountains of the Kingdom of *Laſſa*, and to abandon *Guerguon*, which was pillaged, as had been *Chamdara*. They found there vaſt riches, it being a great, very fair and Merchant-like Town, and where the Women are extraordinarily beautiful. Mean time, the ſeaſon of the Rains came in

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ſooner than uſually; and they being exceſſive in thoſe parts, and overflowing all the Countrey, except ſuch Villages as ſtand on raiſed ground, the *Emir* was much embaraſſed. For the *Raja* made his people of the Mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the proviſions of the Field; whereby the *Emir*'s Army (as rich as 'twas) before the end of the rains fell into great ſtreights, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reaſon of the Mountains very difficult to paſs, and continually peſter'd with great Rains; nor retreat, becauſe of the like Rains and deep wayes; the *Raja* alſo having cauſed the way to be digged up as far as to *Chamdara*: So that the *Emir* was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the Rain; after which, when he found his Army diſtaſted, tired out, and half ſtarved, he was neceſſitated to give over the Deſign he had of advancing, and to return the ſame way he was come. But this Retreat was made with ſo much pains, and ſo great inconveniencies, by reaſon of the dirt, the want of Victuals, and the purſuit of the *Raja* falling on the Rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the diſorder of ſuch a March, nor had the patience to be ſometimes five or ſix hours at one paſſage to make the Souldiery get over it without confuſion, would have utterly periſh'd, himſelf, Army, and all; yet he, notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and obſtacles, made a ſhift to come back with great honour and vaſt riches. He deſign'd to return thither again the next year, and to purſue his undertaking, ſuppoſing that *Azo*, which he had fortified, and where he left a ſtrong Garriſon, would be able to hold out the reſt of the year againſt the *Raja*. But he was no ſooner arrived there, but Fluxes began to rage in his Army: Neither had himſelf a body of Steel more than the reſt; he fell ſick and died, whereby Fortune ended the juſt apprehenſions of *Aureng-Zebe*. I ſay, the *Juſt* apprehenſions; for there was none of thoſe that knew this great man, and the ſtate of the affairs of *Indoſtan*, who did not ſay, 'Tis this day that *Aureng-Zebe* is King of *Bengale*. And himſelf could not forbear to expreſs ſome ſuch thing; for he publickly ſaid to *Mahmet-Emir-kan*; You have loſt your Father, and I the greateſt and the moſt dangerous Friend I had; yet notwithſtanding he comforted this Son, and withal aſſured him, that he would ever be a Father to him. And whereas 'twas thought, that he would at leaſt cut off his Salary, and make Inquiſition into his Treaſury, he confirmed him in his Office of *Bakchis*, augmented his Penſion to a thouſand Rupies a month, and left him Heir of all the Eſtate of his Father, although the Cuſtom of the Country empower'd him to ſeize on all.

The *third* is concerning *Chah-beſt-kan*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* made firſt Governour of *Agra*, when he went out to the Battel of *Kadjoue* againſt *Sultan Sujah*; and afterward, Governour and General of the Army in *Decan*; and at laſt, after the death of *Emir-Jemla*, Governour and General of the Army in *Bengale*, together with the charge of *Mirul Omrah* which *Emir-Jemla* had poſſeſſed. This *Chah-beſt-kan* is he, whom in our Hiſtory we have mention'd as Uncle to *Aureng-Zebe*, and one that hath ſo much contributed to his happineſs by his eloquent and skilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counſels. It would be injurious to his Renown alſo, to be ſilent of the important enterpriſe, which he undertook preſently when he entred upon his Government; and that the rather, becauſe *Emir-Jemla*, whether out of Policy, or for another cauſe, had no mind to tempt him; as alſo, becauſe the particularities, which I am going to relate, will ſhew not only the paſſed and preſent ſtate of the Kingdoms of *Bengale* and *Rakan*, which hitherto hath not been well deſcribed to us by any; but alſo ſome other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of *Chah-beſt-kan*'s attempt may be well underſtood, and a good Idea be had of what paſſeth about the Gulf of *Bengale*, we are to know, that theſe many years there have always been in the Kingdom of *Rakan* or *Moy*, ſome *Portugueſes*, and with them a great number of their *Chriſtian* Slaves, and other *Franguis*, gather'd from all parts. *That* was the refuge of the Run-aways from *Goa*, *Ceilan*, *Cochin*, *Malague*, and all thoſe other places, which the *Portugueſes* formerly held in the *Indies*; and they were ſuch as had abandoned their Monaſteries, men that had been twice or thrice Married, Murtherers: In a word, ſuch as had deſerved the Rope, were moſt welcome and moſt eſteem'd there, leading in that Country a life that was very deteſtable, and altogether unworthy of Chriſtians, inſomuch that they impunely butchered and poiſoned one another, and aſſaſſinated their

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own Prieſts, who ſometimes were not better than themſelves. The King of *Rakan* in the apprehenſion he hath ever had of the *Mogol*, kept them for a guard of his Frontiers, in a Port-Town called *Chategon*, giving them Land, and liberty to live as they pleaſed. Their ordinary Trade was Robbery and Piracy. With ſome ſmall and light Gallies they did nothing but coaſt about that Sea, and entring into all Rivers thereabout, and into the Channels and Arms of *Ganges*, and between all thoſe Iſles of the lower *Bengale*, and often penetrating even ſo far as fourty or fifty leagues up into the Country, ſurprized and carried away whole Towns, Aſſemblies, Markets, Feaſts and Weddings of the poor Gentiles, and others of that Country, making Women Slaves, great and ſmall, with ſtrange cruelty; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at preſent there are ſeen in the mouth of *Ganges* ſo many fine Iſles quite deſerted, which were formerly well peopled, and where no other Inhabitants are found but wild Beaſts, and eſpecially Tygers.

This great number of Slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what uſe they made of. They had boldneſs and impudence enough, to come and ſell to that very Country the old people, which they knew not what to do with; where it ſo fell out, that thoſe who had eſcaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themſelves in the Woods, labour'd to redeem to day their Fathers and Mothers, that had been taken yeſterday. The reſt they kept for their ſervice to make Rowers of them; and ſuch Chriſtians as they were themſelves, bringing them up to robbing and killing; or elſe they ſold them to the *Portugueſes* of *Goa*, *Ceilan*, St. *Thomas*, and others, and even to thoſe that were remaining in *Bengale* at *Ogouli*, who were come thither to ſettle themſelves there by the favour of *Jehan-Guyre*, the Grandfather of *Aureng-Zebe*, who ſuffered them there upon the account of Traffick, and of his having no averſion to Chriſtians, as alſo becauſe they promiſed him to keep the Bay of *Bengale* clear from all Pyrates. And it was towards the Iſle of *Galles*, near the Cape of *Palmes*, where this fine Trade was. These Pyrates lay there in wait at the paſſage for the *Portugueſes*, who filled their Ships with them at a very eaſie rate; this infamous Rabble impudently bragging, that they made more Chriſtians in one year, than all the Miſſionaries of the *Indies* in ten; which would be a ſtrange way of enlarging Chriſtianity.

Theſe were the Pyrates that made *Chah-Jehan*, who was a more zealous *Mahumetan* than his Father *Jehan-Guyre*, to expreſs at laſt his paſſion, not only againſt the Reverend Fathers the *Jeſuits*, Miſſionaries of *Agra*, in that he cauſed to be pulled down the beſt part of a very fair and large Church that had been built, as well as that of *Labor*, by the favour of *Jehan-Guyre*, who as I ſaid, did not hate Chriſtianity; and upon which there ſtood a great Steeple with a great Bell in it, whoſe ſound might be heard over all the Town, not only, I ſay, againſt thoſe *Jeſuits*, but alſo againſt the Chriſtians of *Ogouli*: For being impatient to ſee them connive at the Pyrates, to make the name of the *Franguis* formidable, and to fill their houſes with Slaves that were his own Subjects, he waſted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could: And becauſe they were indiſcreetly obſtinate, in refuſing what he demanded of them, he beſieged them, and cauſed them all to be brought to *Agra*, even their very Children, their Prieſts and Friers. This was a miſery and a deſolation not to be parallell'd; a kind of *Babilonian* tranſmigration. There they were all made Slaves: The handſom Women were ſhut up in the Seraglio; the old Women and others were diſtributed among divers *Omrahs*. The young Lads were circumciſed, and made Pages; and men of age renounced for the moſt part their Faith, either terrified by the threatnings they heard daily, that they ſhould be trampled upon by Elephants, or drawn away by fair Promiſes. 'Tis true, that there were ſome of thoſe Friers, who perſiſted, and that the Miſſionaries of *Agra*, who notwithſtanding all this unhappineſs, remained in their houſes, found means afterwards, partly by Friends, partly by Money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to *Goa*, and to other places belonging to the *Portugueſes*.

They were alſo the ſame Pyrates, who ſome time before the deſolation of *Ogouli*, offered to the Vice-Roy of *Goa* to put the whole Kingdom of *Rakan* into their hands for the King of *Portugal*; but he refuſed, they ſay, this offer, out of arrogance and jealouſie, and would not ſend the ſuccours, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain *Baſtian Conſalve*, who had made himſelf head of thoſe people, and was become

become ſo potent and conſiderable, that he married one of the Kings Daughters; being unwilling that it ſhould be ſaid, that a man of ſo mean Extraction as this *Baſtian* was, had done ſuch a Maſter-piece. But it may be ſaid on this occaſion, that this is not much to be wondred at, conſidering that the *Portugueſes* in the *Indies* by ſuch a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occaſions, in *Japan*, in *Pegu*, in *Ethiopia*, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a juſt Divine chaſtiſement (as they all frankly confeſs themſelves) they are become a prey to their Enemies, and fallen ſo low in the *Indies*, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleaſure, they made all others tremble in thoſe parts; foraſmuch as then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Chriſtian Religion, conſiderable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the *Indian* Kings ſeeking their friendſhip.

Beſides this, the ſame Pyrates ſeized at that time on the Iſle of *Sondivi*, an advantageous Poſt to command a part of the Mouth of *Ganges*: In which Iſle a certain *Auguſtin* Frier, a very famous man, acted the King for many years, having taken a courſe, God knows how, to rid himſelf of the Commander of that place.

Moreover, the ſame Robbers took *Sultan-Sujah* at *Daka*, to carry him away in their Galeaſſes to *Rakan*, as we related above, and found means to open his Coffers, and to rob him of good ſtore of Jewels, which afterwards were ſecretly, and at a very cheap rate, ſold in *Rakan*, moſt of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the *Hollanders*, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making thoſe fellows believe, that they were ſoft Diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the *degrees* of their hardneſs.

Laſtly, They are they that for many years have given exerciſe to the Great *Mogol* in *Bengale*; having obliged him there to keep always Garriſons every where upon the Paſſes, and a great Militia, and a Fleet alſo of Galeaſſes to oppoſe their courſes, and who, notwithſtanding all this, have made ſhift to make ſtrange devaſtations, and often to enter far into the Country, and to laugh at all the Souldiery of the *Mogols*; in regard they were become ſo bold, and ſo dextrous at their Weapons, and ſo skilful in piloting their Galeaſſes, that four or five of them ſtuck not to ſet upon fourteen or fifteen *Mogolians*, which they alſo actually worſted, and took or run aground. And upon theſe Pyrates *Chah beſt-kan* caſt his eyes as ſoon as he came into *Bengale*, taking a reſolution to deliver the Country of this plague of people, that had ſo long waſted it; and deſigning afterwards to paſs on, and to attack the King of *Rakan*, according to the order of *Aurenge-Zebe*, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of *Sultan-Sujah*, and all his Family, that had been ſo cruelly handled, and to teach that Barbarian, how the Blood Royal was to be regarded and eſteemed on any occaſion whatſoever: Behold now with what dexterity *Chah beſt-kan* carrieth on this deſign!

Knowing that 'tis impoſſible to paſs any Cavalry by Land, no not ſo much as any Infantry, from *Bengale* into *Rakan*, becauſe of the many channels and rivers upon the Frontiers; and alſo that on the other ſide, thoſe Pyrates of *Chatigon*, whom we juſt now were ſpeaking of, would be powerful enough to hinder him from tranſporting them by Sea; he thought upon this experiment, *viz.* to engage the *Hollanders* in his deſign. He therefore ſent a kind of Ambaſſador to *Batavia*, empowering him to treat upon certain Conditions, with the General of that Company, joyntly to ſubdue the whole Kingdom of *Rakan*; as formerly *Chah-Abbas* ſubdued that of *Ormus*, in conjunction with the *Engliſh*. The General of *Batavia* ſeeing the thing to be poſſible, and that it was a means more and more to break the *Portugueſes* in the *Indies*, and that it would turn to a very good account to the Company, diſpatch'd away two Men of War for *Bengale*, to favour the tranſportation of the *Mogolian* Troops in ſpight of thoſe Pyrates. But obſerve what *Chah-beſt-kan* did before theſe Men of War arrived: He equipped a great number of Galeaſſes, and many large Veſſels to tranſport the Army; threatned the Pyrates, utterly to ſpoil and ruin them; acquainted them with the deſign of *Aureng-Zebe* upon *Rakan*; that a potent Army of the *Dutch* was near; that they ſhould think on themſelves and their families, if they were wiſe; and in a word, if they would abandon the ſervice of the King of *Rakan*, and take that of

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Aureng-Zebe, he would procure very good conditions for them, diſtribute amongſt them as much Land in *Bengale* as they deſired, and pay them the double of what they had now.

'Tis doubtful, whether theſe Menaces and Promiſes made impreſſion upon them, or whether it was not an Accident that moved them, they having about that time aſſaſſinated one of the chief Officers of the King of *Rakan*, and apprehending a puniſhment for that Crime: However it be, they were caught, and they were one day ſtruck with ſuch a panick terror, that they ſhipp'd themſelves all at once in forty or fifty of their Galeaſſes, and wafted over to *Bengale* to *Chah-heſt-kan*, and that with ſo much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their Wives and Children, and what elſe was moſt precious to them. *Chah-heſt-kan* receiv'd them with open Arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very conſiderable Pay, and without letting them cool, made them, jointly with his whole Army, to attack and take the Iſle of *Sondiva*, which was fallen into the hands of the King of *Rakan*, and thence to paſs with all his Horſe and Foot to *Chatigon*. About this time the two *Holland* Veſſels arrived, but *Chah-heſt-kan*, who thought that henceforth it would be eaſie for him to compaſs his deſign, thanked them. I ſaw theſe Ships in *Bengale*, and their Commanders, who were but little contented with ſuch thanks and liberalities of *Chah-heſt-kan*. As to the Pyrates, ſince now he holds them faſt, and hopeleſs of ever returning to *Chatigon*, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all thoſe large Promiſes he made them, and treats them not as he ſhould, but as they deſerve, leaving them whole months without Pay, and not looking upon them otherwiſe than Traytors, and infamous men, unfit to be truſted, after they have ſo vilely deſerted him, whoſe Salt they had eaten ſo many years. After this manner did *Chah-heſt-kan* put an end to this Rabble, which, as I ſaid, have ruined and diſpoiled all the lower *Bengale*. Time will ſhew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his Enterprize againſt the King of *Rakan*.

The *fourth* Particular is concerning the two Sons of *Aureng-Zebe*, viz. *Sultan Mahmoud*, and *Sultan Mazum*. He ſtill keeps the firſt of them in *Goualeor*, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the *Pouſt*, which is the ordinary Drink of thoſe that are put into that place. As to the *other*, though he hath always been a pattern of reſervedneſs and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a Party, when his Father was ſo extremely ſick; or whether *Aureng-Zebe* have not upon other occaſions perceiv'd ſomething that might give him cauſe of jealouſie; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentick proof of both his Obedience and Courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full Aſſembly of the *Omrahs*, to go and kill a *Lyon* that was come down to the Mountains, and had made great havock and waſte in the Countrey; and this he did, without giving order to furniſh him with thoſe ſtrong and large Nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great Hunting-Maſter, who preſently call'd for thoſe Nets, that when he was Prince, he did not look for ſuch Formalities. It was the good fortune of *Sultan Mazum*, that he proſper'd in this Attempt, not loſing any more than two or three men, and ſome Horſes that were wounded, although, on the other hand, the matter went not off ſo pleaſantly, the wounded *Lyon* having leapt up to the head of the Sultan's Elephant. Since that time, *Aureng-Zebe* hath not been backward to expreſs much Affection to him; he hath given him even the Government of *Decan*, though with ſo little power and treaſure, that there is no great cauſe to apprehend any thing upon that Account.

The *fifth* thing toucheth *Mohabet-kan*, the Governor of *Kaboul*, whom *Aureng-Zebe* took from his Government, and generouſly pardon'd; not willing, as he ſaid, to loſe ſo brave a Captain, and that had ſtuck ſo cloſe to his Benefactor *Chah-Jehan*. He made him even Governor of *Guzuratte*, in the place of *Jeſſomſeigne*, whom he ſent to make War in *Decan*. It may very well be, that ſome conſiderable Preſents he made to *Rauchenara-Begum*, and a good number of excellent *Perſian* Horſe and Camels, wherewith he preſented *Aureng-Zebe*, together with fifteen or ſixteen thouſand *Rupies* of Gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occaſion of mentioning the Government of *Kaboul*, which borders upon the Kingdom of *Kandahar*, which is now in the hands of the *Perſians*, I ſhall here briefly

briefly add ſome particulars, that ſerve to this Hiſtory, and will ſtill more diſcover that Country, and declare the Intereſts between *Indoſtan* and *Perſia*, which no body, that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kandahar, that ſtrong and important place, which is the Capital and the ſwaying City of this Noble and Rich Kingdom of the ſame Name, hath in theſe latter Ages been the ſubject of grievous Wars between the *Mogols* and *Perſians*, each of them pretending a Right thereto. *Ekbar*, that great King of the *Indies*, took it by force from the *Perſians*, and kept it during his life. And *Chah-Abbas*, that famous King of *Perſia*, retook it from *Jehan-Guyre*, the Son of *Ekbar*. Afterwards it return'd to *Chah-Jehan*, Son of *Jehan-Guyre*, not by the Sword, but by the means of the Governor *Aly-Merdan-kan*, who ſurrendred it to him, and went over to live at his Court, apprehending the Artifices of his Enemies, who had brought him into diſfavour with the King of *Perſia*, that ſent for him to make him give an accompt, and to deliver up his Government. The ſame City was beſieged, and retaken afterwards by the Son of *Chah-Abbas*, and ſince that beſieged twice again, yet without being taken by *Chah-Jehan*. The firſt time it was ſaved from being taken by the ill underſtanding and jealouſie between the *Perſian* Omrahs, that are Penſioners of the *Great Mogol*, and the moſt powerful of his Court, as alſo by the reſpect they bear to their Natural King: For they all behaved themſelves very effeminately in the Siege, and would not follow the *Raja Roup*, who had already planted his Standards upon the Wall on the ſide of the Mountain. The ſecond time it was ſaved by the jealouſie of *Aureng-Zebe*, who would not fall into the breach of the Wall, that our *Franguis*, the *Engliſh*, *Portugueſes*, *Germans* and *French* had made by their Canon, though it was a large one; being unwilling to have it ſaid, that in the time of *Dara*, who was, in a manner, the firſt mover of that Enterpriſe, and was then in the City of *Caboul*, with his Father *Chah-Jehan*, the Fortreſs of *Kandahar* was taken. *Chah-Jehan*, ſome years before the late trouble, was alſo ready to beſiege it the third time, had not *Emir-Jemla* diverted him from it, adviſing him to turn his Forces towards *Decan*, (as hath been ſaid;) with whom *Aly-Merdan-kan* himſelf concurred, who was ſo earneſt in his diſſwading him from it, as to ſay to him theſe words, which I ſhall punctually relate, as having ſomething extravagant in them:

Your Majeſty will never take Kandahar, *unleſs you had ſuch a Traytor there as my ſelf; except you were reſolved never to bring a* Perſian *into it, and to make the Bazars or Markets wholly free, that is, to lay no Impoſt on thoſe that furniſh the Army with proviſion.*

At length, *Aureng-Zebe*, like the others, had prepared himſelf in theſe latter years to beſiege it alſo; whether it was that he was offended at the tart Letters, written to him by the King of *Perſia*, or by reaſon of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offer'd to *Tarbiet-kan* his Ambaſſador; that hearing of the King of *Perſia*'s death, he turned back, ſaying, (which yet is not very credible) that he would not meddle with a Child, a new King; although *Chah-Soliman*, who hath ſucceeded his Father, is, in my opinion, about 25 years of age.

The *ſixth* particular we purpoſed to ſpeak of, concerns thoſe that have faithfully ſerved *Aureng-Zebe*. Thoſe he hath almoſt all raiſed to great places. For firſt, as we have already related, he made *Chah-heſt-kan*, his Uncle, Governor and General of the Army of *Decan*, and afterwards, Governor of *Bengale*. Next, he made *Mir-kan* Governor of *Kaboul*; Then *Kalil-ullah-kan*, of *Labor*; and *Mirbaba*, of *Elabas*; and *Lasker-kan*, of *Patna*. The Son of that *Allah-Verdi-kan* of *Sultan Sujah*, he appointed Governor of *Scimdy*; and *Fazel-kan*, who had conſiderably ſerv'd him both by his counſels and dexterity, he made *Kane-ſaman*, that is, Great Steward of the Houſe Royal: And *Danechmend-kan*, Governor of *Dehli*, with this particular grace and priviledge, that ſince he is perpetually employed in ſtudies and foreign Affairs, he ſo diſpenſeth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient cuſtom) to wait on the King in the Aſſembly, as not to retrench any thing of his penſion for his abſence, as he doth to the other Omrahs, if they fail. He hath given to *Dianet-kan* the Government of *Kachmer* (alias *Caſſimere*) that little, and in a manner inacceſſible Kingdom, which *Ekbar* ſeized on by craft, that earthly Paradiſe of the *Indies*; which hath its Hiſtories written in its peculiar Language, whereof I have an abridgment in the *Perſian* Tongue, made by the command of *Jehan-Guyre*, containing a large Catalogue of many very ancient

Kings, that often were ſo powerful, that they ſubdued the *Indies* as far as *China*.

'Tis true, that *Aureng-Zebe* diſmiſſed *Nejabat-kan*, who did very well in the two Battels of *Samonguer* and *Kadjoue*, but then 'tis not fit at all, that a Subject ſhould ever reproach his King, as he did, with the ſervices done him.

As to thoſe infamous men, *Gion-kan* and *Nazer*, 'tis known, that the former hath been recompenced as he deſerved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns *Jeſſomſeigne* and *Jeſſeigne*, there is ſomething as to them that is intricate, which I ſhall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain Heathen revolted from the King of *Viſapour*, who knew how to poſſeſs himſelf of many important Fortreſſes, and of ſome Sea-ports of that King. His name is *Seva-Gi*, that is, Lord *Seva*. He is a ſtout man, vigilant, bold, and undertaking in the higheſt degree, who gave *Chah-heſt-kan* more work and trouble in *Decan*, than the King of *Viſapour* with all his Forces, and all his *Raja's* joined with him for their common defence: Inſomuch that having deſigned to take away *Chah-heſt-kan* and his Treaſures out of the midſt of his Army, and of the Town *Aurenge-Abad*, he carried on his deſign ſo far, that he had effected it, if he had not been diſcover'd a little too ſoon; for one night, accompanied with a number of reſolute Fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of *Chah-heſt-kan*, where his Son, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himſelf grievouſly wounded; *Seva-Gi* in the mean time getting away as well as he came: Who for all this was ſo far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous Enterpriſe, which ſucceeded much better. He took two or three Thouſand choſen men of his Army, with whom he took the Field without noiſe, ſpreading a report by the way, that it was a *Raja* going to the Court. When he was near *Suratte*, that famous and rich Port of the *Indies*, inſtead of marching further, (as he made the great Provoſt of that Country, whom he met, believe) he fell into that Town, where he ſtaid about three days, cutting off the Arms and Legs of the Inhabitants, to make them confeſs where were the Treaſures; ſearching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none oppoſing his return, loaden with millions of Gold, Silver, Pearls, Silken Stuffs, Fine Linnen, and other rich Merchandiſe. *Jeſſomſeigne* was ſuſpected to have had ſince intelligence with this *Seva-Gi*, which was the cauſe that *Aureng-Zebe* called him away from *Decan*; but he, inſtead of going to *Debli*, went to his own Territory.

I forgot to mention, that in the plunder of *Suratte*, that Ringleader *Seva-Gi*, like a Saint, had ſo much reſpect to the Houſe of the Reverend Father *Ambroſe*, a Miſſionary *Capucian*, that he gave order it ſhould not be plundered; becauſe, ſaid he, I know that the Fathers *Franguis* are good men. He had alſo regard to the Houſe of the deceaſed *de Lale*, becauſe he underſtood that he had been great Almoner. He alſo conſider'd the Houſes of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, not from Devotion, as he did the former, but becauſe they were in a good poſture of defence; eſpecially the *Engliſh*, who having had time to ſend for aſſiſtance from ſome of their ſhips that lay near the Town, behaved themſelves gallantly, and ſaved, beſides their own, ſeveral other houſes near them. But a certain *Jew* of *Conſtantinople*, who had brought Rubies of a very great value, to ſell them to *Aureng-Zebe*, carried away the Bell from all, by ſaving himſelf from the hands of *Seva-Gi*; for, rather than to confeſs that he had any Jewels, he was brought thrice upon his Knees, and the Knife held up to cut his Throat: But it became none ſave a *Jew*, hardly in Avarice, to eſcape in ſuch a manner.

Touching *Jeſſeigne*, King *Aureng-Zebe* made him content to go General of the Army in *Decan*, ſending *Sultan-Mazum* with him, without any power. He preſently and vigorouſly beſieged the principal Fortreſs of *Seva-Gi*, and knowing more than all the reſt in matter of Negotiation and Treaty, he ſo order'd the buſineſs, that *Seva-Gi* ſurrendred before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to *Aureng-Zebe's* party againſt *Viſapour*, King *Aureng-Zebe* declaring him a *Raja*, taking him under his protection, and giving the Penſion of a very conſiderable *Omrah* to his Son. Some time after, *Aureng-Zebe* deſigning to make War againſt *Perſia*, wrote to *Seva-Gi* ſuch obliging Letters touching his Generoſity, Ability and Conduct, that he made him reſolve, upon the faith of *Jeſſeigne*, to come to him to *Debli*. There a Kinſwoman of *Aureng-Zebe*, the Wife of *Chah-heſt-kan*, (who was then at Court) by the influence ſhe had upon the ſpirit of *Aureng-Zebe*, perſuaded him to arreſt him that had murder'd her Son,

Son, wounded her Husband, and ſacked *Suratte:* So that one evening *Seva-Gi* ſaw his Pavilions beſet with three or four *Omrahs*; but he made ſhift to get away in the night. This eſcape made a great noiſe at Court, every one accuſing the eldeſt Son of the *Raja Jeſſeigne* to have aſſiſted him in it. *Jeſſeigne*, who preſently had news that *Aureng-Zebe* was very angry with him and his Son, and was adviſed no more to go to the Court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending leſt *Aureng-Zebe* ſhould take this for a pretence to fall upon his Lands, and poſſeſs himſelf of them. Whereupon he alſo ſoon left *Decan* to ſecure his Eſtate; but when he was at *Brampour*, he died. Yet notwithſtanding *Aureng-Zebe* was ſo far from expreſſing any coldneſs or reſentment to the Son of *Jeſſeigne*, that he ſent to condole with him for the death of his Father, and continued to him his Penſion; which confirms what many ſay, that it was by the conſent of *Aureng-Zebe* himſelf, that *Seva-Gi* eſcaped, foraſmuch as he could retain him no longer at Court, becauſe all the Women there had too great a ſpleen againſt him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his Kinſmen.

But to return to *Decan*, we are to conſider, that that is a Kingdom, which theſe Forty years hath conſtantly been the Theater of War, and upon the ſcore whereof the *Mogol* hath much to do with the Kings of *Golkonda*, and of *Viſapour*, and divers little Soveraigns, which is not to be underſtood, unleſs it be known, what conſiderable things have paſſed in thoſe Parts, and the condition of the Princes that govern them.

All this great Peninſule of *Indoſtan*, cutting it from the Bay of *Cambaja* unto that of *Bengale*, near *Jaganrate*, and paſſing thence to Cape *Comori*, was ſcarce two hundred years ſince entirely (ſome mountainous Parts excepted) under the Dominion of one only Prince, who conſequently was a very great and very potent Monarch: But now it is divided among many different Soveraigns, that are alſo of different Religions. The cauſe of this diviſion was, that the King *Ramras*, the laſt of thoſe that have poſſeſſed this mighty State entirely, did imprudently raiſe three Slaves, *Gurgis*, he had about him too high, ſo as to make them all three Governors of places: The *firſt*, of the greateſt part of thoſe Countries, which at preſent are poſſeſſed by the *Mogol* in *Decan*, about *Daulet-Abad*, from *Bider*, *Paranda*, *Suratte*, unto *Narbadar:* The *ſecond*, of all the other Lands, now comprehended under the Kingdom of *Viſapour*: And the *third*, of all that is contained under the Kingdom of *Golkonda*. Theſe three Slaves grew very rich, and found themſelves ſupported by a good number of the *Mogols*, that were in the ſervice of *Ramras*, becauſe they were all three *Mahumetans*, of the Sect *Chyas*, like the *Perſians*. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King *Ramras*, and return'd to their Government, each taking upon him the Title of *Chah* or King. The Iſſue of *Ramras*, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough for them, were content to keep themſelves in a corner, *viz.* in that Country which is commonly call'd *Karnatek*, in our Maps, *Biſnaguer*, where they are ſtill *Raja's* to this very day. All the reſt of the State was alſo at the ſame time divided into all thoſe *Raja's Naiques*, and petty Kings, ſuch as we ſee there. Theſe three Slaves and their Poſterity have always defended themſelves very well in their Kingdoms, whil'ſt they kept a good mutual Correſpondence, and aſſiſted one another in their grievous Wars againſt the *Mogols*. But when they once came to think every one to defend their Lands apart, they ſoon found the effects of their diviſion. For the *Mogol* ſo well knew to take his time upon that occaſion, (which is now about Thirty five, or Forty years ſince) that he poſſeſs'd himſelf within a little time of all the Country of *Nejam-Chah*, or King *Nejam*, the fifth or ſixth of the Family of the firſt Slave, and at laſt took him Priſoner in *Daulet-Abad*, the Capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of *Golkonda* have maintain'd themſelves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the *Mogol*, but becauſe the *Mogol* hath always been employ'd againſt the two others; from whom he was to take *Amber*, *Paranda*, *Bider*, and ſome other places, before he could conveniently march towards *Golkonda*. And becauſe they have always been ſo politick, being very opulent, as to furniſh under-hand the King of *Viſapour* with Money, and thereby to help him to maintain a War againſt the *Mogol:* Beſides that, they ever have a conſiderable Army on foot, which is always ready, and never fails to take the Field, and to approach to the Frontiers, at the time when there is News that that of the *Mogol* marches againſt *Viſapour*; to let the *Mogol* ſee, not only that they are always ready to defend themſelves, but alſo that they could eaſily aſſiſt the King of *Viſapour*, in caſe he ſhould be reduced to any extremity.

tremity. Next, which is very conſiderable, they know alſo how to convey Mony underhand to the Chieftains of the *Mogolian* Army; who thereupon adviſe the Court, that it is more to purpoſe to attack *Viſapour*, as being nearer to *Daulet-Abad*. Further, They ſend every year very conſiderable Preſents to the Great *Mogol*, by way of Tribute, which conſiſt partly in ſome rare Manufactures of the Country; partly in Elephants, which they ſend for from *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Ceilan*, partly in fair ready mony. Laſtly, The *Mogol* conſiders that Kingdom as his own, not only becauſe he looks upon the King thereof as his Tributary, but chiefly ſince that Agreement heretofore ſpoken of, which the preſent King made with *Aureng-Zebe*, when he beſieg'd *Golkonda*; and there being alſo no place able to reſiſt, even from *Daulet-Abad* unto *Golkonda*, he judgeth, that when he ſhall think fit to puſh for it, he may take in the whole Kingdom in one Campagne; which, in my opinion, he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend, leſt ſending his Forces towaids *Golkonda*, the King of *Viſapour* ſhould enter into *Decan*; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his Conſervation, that that Kingdom may always ſubſiſt as now it is.

From all which, ſomething may be underſtood of the Intereſts and Government of the King of *Golkonda* with the *Mogol*, and what way he taketh to ſupport himſelf againſt him. Yet notwithſtanding all this, I find this State much ſhaken, in regard that the King that now is, ſince that unhappy Affair of *Aureng-Zebe* and *Emir-Jemla*, ſeems to have loſt heart, and as 'twere abandon'd the reins of the Kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this Fortreſs of *Golkonda*, nor ſo much as appear in publick to give Audience to his People, and to render Juſtice, according to the cuſtom of the Country: Which diſcompoſeth things very much, and occaſions the Grandees to tyrannize over the meaner ſort of People, and to loſe even their reſpect to the King, often ſlighting his Commands, and conſidering him no more than a Woman; and the People, weary of the injuſtice and ill treatment, breathing after nothing but *Aureng-Zebe*. 'Tis eaſie to judge of the ſtreights this poor King is in, by four or five Particulars I am about to relate.

The firſt, that *Anno* 1667. when I was at *Golkonda*, King *Aureng-Zebe* having ſent an Ambaſſador Extraordinary to declare War to that King, unleſs he would furniſh him with Ten thouſand Horſe againſt *Viſapour*, he did extraordinary honour, and give exceſſive Preſents to that Ambaſſador, as well for him in particular, as for *Aureng-Zebe*, and made an agreement with him, to ſend him, not Ten thouſand Horſe, but as much Mony as is neceſſary to maintain ſo many; which was all that *Aureng-Zebe* looked for.

The ſecond is, That *Aureng-Zebe*'s Ambaſſador in Ordinary, that is conſtantly at *Golkonda*, commands, threatens, ſtriketh, gives Paſs-ports, and ſaith and doth whatſoever he will, no man daring with the leaſt word to croſs him.

The third is, That *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the Son of *Emir-Jemla*, though he be no more than a ſimple *Omrah* of *Aureng-Zebe*, is yet ſo much reſpected through that whole Kingdom, and eſpecially in *Maſlipatan*, that the *Taptata*, his Commiſſioner, is, as 'twere, Maſter thereof, buying and ſelling, bringing in and ſending abroad his Merchants Ships, no Body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any Cuſtoms. So great was once the power of *Emir-Jemla* his Father in this Kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, That the *Hollanders* ſcruple not to threaten him ſometimes, to lay an Embargo upon all the Merchants Ships of the Country that are in that Port, and not to let them go out, until their demands be granted; as alſo to put in Proteſtations againſt him: which I have ſeen actually done, upon the account of an *Engliſh* Veſſel, which they had a mind to take by force in the Port of *Maſlipatan* it ſelf, the Governor having hindred it, by arming the whole Town againſt them, and threatning to put Fire to their Factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, That the *Portugueſes*, as poor, and miſerable, and decayed, as they are in the *Indies*, yet ſtick not to threaten that King alſo with War; and that they will come and ſack *Maſlipatan*, and all that Coaſt, if he will not render them that place of St. *Thomas*, which ſome years ago they choſe to put into his hands, rather than to be conſtrained to yield it up to the *Dutch*.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in *Golkonda*, by very intelligent perſons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he ſo does and ſuffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all

ſuſpition

ſuſpition from *Aureng-Zebe*, and to give him to underſtand, that he hath in a manner no ſhare any more in the Kingdom: But that in the mean time a Son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the Father watching for a fit time to declare him King, and ſo to laugh at the Agreement made with *Aureng-Zebe*. Of this, time will ſhew us more; in the mean time, let us conſider ſomewhat of the Intereſts of *Viſapour*.

The Kingdom of *Viſapour* hath alſo not been wanting to ſupport it ſelf, though the *Mogol* do almoſt continually make War againſt it; not ſo much as if he of *Viſapour* were able to bid head to the *Mogolian* Forces, but becauſe there is never any great effort uſed againſt him. For it is not very frequent there, no more than 'tis elſewhere, for Generals of Armies to deſire the end of a War; there being nothing ſo charming, as to be in the head of an Army, commanding like little Kings, remote from the Court. It is alſo grown to a Proverb, That *Decan* is the Bread and Life of the Soldiers of *Indoſtan*. Beſides, the Country of *Viſapour* is on the ſide of the *Mogol*'s Dominions of a very difficult acceſs, upon the account of the ſcarcity of good Waters, Forage, and Victuals; and becauſe *Viſapour*, the Capital City, is very ſtrong, and ſituate in a dry and ſteril Country, there being almoſt no good Water but in the Town. And laſtly, becauſe there are many Fortreſſes in that Country, ſeated on Hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, that State is much ſhaken, if conſidering that the *Mogol* hath taken *Paranda*, the Key, as 'twere, of that Kingdom; as alſo that fair and ſtrong Town *Bider*, and ſome other very important places: But principally, becauſe the laſt King of *Viſapour* died without Heirs Males, and he that now calls himſelf King, is a Youth, whom the Queen, Siſter of the King of *Golkonda*, hath raiſed, and taken for her Son (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having ſhew'd no eſteem for this Queen after her return from *Mecca*, under the pretext of ſome ill demeanor in her on a *Dutch* Veſſel that carried her to *Moka*:) Laſtly, becauſe that in the diſorders of that Kingdom, the Heathen-Rebel, *Seva-Gi*, above diſcourſed of, found means to ſeize on many ſtrong Holds, moſtly ſeated on ſteep Mountains, where he now acteth the King, laughing at the *Viſapour*, and the *Mogol*, and ravaging the Country every where, from *Suratte*, even to the Gates of *Goa*. This notwithſtanding, if he wrongs *Viſapour* one way, he helps to ſupport it another, foraſmuch as he is reſolutely bent againſt the *Mogol*, preparing always ſome Ambuſh, and cutting ſo much work for his Army, that there is no diſcourſe, no apprehenſion but of *Seva-Gi*; inſomuch that he hath come and ſacked *Suratte*, and pillaged the Iſle of *Burdes*, which belongs to the *Portugueſe*, and is near the Gates of *Goa*.

The *ſeventh* Particular, which I learn'd at *Golkonda*, when I was come away from *Dehli*, is the death of *Chah-Jehan*; and that *Aureng-Zebe* had been exceedingly affected therewith, having diſcover'd all the marks of grief, that a Son can expreſs for the loſs of his Father: That at the very hour of receiving that News, he went towards *Agra*; that *Begum-Saheb* cauſed the Moſquee, and a certain place, where he was at firſt to ſtop, before he entred the Fortreſs, to be hung with richly embroider'd Tapiſteries: That at his entring into the *Seraglio*, ſhe preſented him with a great Golden Baſon, wherein were all her Jewels, and all thoſe of *Chah-Jehan*; and in ſhort, that ſhe knew to receive him with ſo much Magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that ſhe obtain'd his pardon, gain'd his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not, but moſt of thoſe, who ſhall have read my Hiſtory, will judge the ways taken by *Aureng-Zebe*, for getting the Empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but deſire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflection be made on that unhappy cuſtom of this State, which leaving the ſucceſſion of the Crown undecided, for want of good Laws, ſetling it, as amongſt us, upon the eldeſt Son, expoſeth it to the Conqueſt of the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt fortunate, ſubjecting at the ſame time all the Princes born in the Royal Family, by the condition of their Birth, to the cruel neceſſity either to overcome, or to reign, by deſtroying all the reſt, for the aſſurance of their power and life, or to periſh themſelves, for the ſecurity of that of others: For I am apt to believe, that upon this Conſideration, the Reader will not find *Aureng-Zebe*'s Conduct ſo ſtrange as at firſt it appear'd. However I am perſuaded, that thoſe who ſhall a little weigh this whole Hiſtory, will not take *Aureng-Zebe* for a *Barbarian*, but for a great and rare *Genius*, a Great States-man, and a Great King.

A Letter

A Letter to the Lord *COLBERT*, of the Extent of *INDOSTAN*; the Circulation of Gold and Silver, coming at length to be ſwallowed up, there, as in an Abyſs; the Riches, Forces, Juſtice, and the principal Cauſe of the Decay of the States of *ASIA*.

My Lord,

SInce it is the Cuſtom of *Aſia*, never to approach Great Perſons with Empty Hands, when I had the Honour to kiſs the Veſt of the Great *Mogol Aureng-Zebe*, I preſented him with eight *Roupies*, [*A* Roupy *is about Half a Crown*] as an expreſſion of reſpect; and the illuſtrious *Fazel-kan*, the prime Miniſter of State, and he that was to eſtabliſh my Penſion as Phyſitian, with a Caſe of Knives garniſhed with Amber. *My Lord*, though I intend not to introduce new Cuſtoms in *France*; yet I cannot forget this upon my Return from thoſe Parts; being perſuaded, that I ought not to appear before the *King*, for whom I have a far deeper Veneration, than for *Aureng-Zebe*; nor before *You*, *my Lord*, for whom I have a much higher Eſteem, than for *Fazel-kan*, without ſome little Preſent to both, which is rare, at leaſt, for its Novelty, though it be not ſo upon the account of the preſenting hand. The Revolution of *Indoſtan*, by reaſon of its extraordinary Occurrences and Events, hath to me ſeemed worthy of the Greatneſs of our Monarch, and this Diſcourſe, for the quality of the matters therein contained, ſutable *to* the rank you hold in his Counſels; *to* that Conduct, which at my Return appear'd to me ſo admirable in the Order, which I found ſetled in ſo many things, that I thought incapable of it; and *to* the paſſion you entertain to make it known to the Ends of the Earth, what a Monarch we have, and that the *French* are fit to undertake, and with Honour to atchieve, whatſoever you ſhall have deſign'd for their Honour and Advantage.

'Tis in the *Indies*, *my Lord* (whence I am lately return'd, after twelve years abſence) where I learn'd the felicity of *France*, and how much this Kingdom is oblig'd to your cares; and where your Name is ſo diffuſed, and ſo well known. This were a fair Theme for me to enlarge upon; but my Deſign being no other than to diſcourſe of things *New*, I muſt forbear to ſpeak of thoſe that are already ſo notorious to all the World. I ſhall doubtleſs pleaſe you better, by endeavouring to give you ſome *Idea* of the ſtate of the *Indies*, which I have engaged my ſelf to give you an account of.

My Lord, You may have ſeen before this, by the Maps of *Aſia*, how great every way is the Extent of the Empire of the Great *Mogol*, which is commonly call'd *India*, or *Indoſtan*. I have not meaſur'd it Mathematically; but to ſpeak of it according to the ordinary Journeys of the Country, after the rate of three whole months march, traverſing from the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Golkonda*, as far as beyond *Kazni* near *Kandahar*, which is the firſt Town of *Perſia*, I cannot perſuade my ſelf otherwiſe, but that it is at leaſt five times as far as from *Paris* to *Lyons*, that is, about Five hundred common Leagues.

Next, You may pleaſe to take notice, that of that vaſt Extent of Land, there are large Countries that are very fertil, and ſome of them to that degree, (for Example, that whole great Kingdom of *Bengale*) that they exceed thoſe of *Egypt*, not only upon the account of the abundance of Rice, Corn, and all other things neceſſary for life, but alſo upon the ſcore of all thoſe Commodities ſo conſiderable, which *Egypt* is deſtitute of, as Silks, Cottons, Indigo, and ſo many others, ſufficiently related by Authors.

Moreover, That of theſe ſame Countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where Tradeſmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from Neceſſity, or other Cauſes, to apply themſelves to work, as to Tapiſſeries, Embroideries, Cloth of Gold and Silver, and to all thoſe kinds of Silk

Silk and Cotton Manufactures, that are uſed in the Country, or tranſported to other Parts.

You may further obſerve, how that Gold and Silver circulating as it were upon the Earth, comes at laſt, in part, to be ſwallow'd up in this *Indoſtan*. For of that which comes out of *America*, and is diſperſed through the ſeveral Kingdoms of our *Europe*, we know, that one part is carried into *Turky* many ways, for the Commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into *Perſia*, by the way of *Smyrna*, for the Silks afforded there: That all *Turky* generally needs *Coffee*, which comes out of *Hyeman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and is the common Drink of the *Turks*: That the ſame *Turky* as well as *Hyeman* and *Perſia* cannot be without the Commodities of *India*; and that thus all thoſe Countries are obliged to carry to *Moka* over the Red-Sea, near *Babel-mandel*; and to *Baſſora* the utmoſt part of the *Perſian-Gulf*; and to *Bandar-Abbaſi*, or *Gomoron* near to *Ormus*, a part of that Gold and Silver, that had been brought into their Country, to be thence tranſported into *Indoſtan*, in Veſſels, that yearly, in the ſeaſon of the *Mounſons*, come purpoſely to thoſe three famous Parts: That on the other hand, all thoſe Ships of *India*, whether they be *Indian* ones, or *Dutch*, or *Engliſh*, or *Portugueſe*, that every year tranſport Merchandiſe out of *Indoſtan* to *Pegu*, *Tanaſſeri*, *Siam*, *Ceilan*, *Achem*, *Macaſſer*, the *Maldives*, *Moſambic*, and other places, bring back alſo much Gold and Silver from all thoſe Countries, which meets with the ſame Deſtiny, that the other doth: That of that quantity of Gold and Silver which the *Hollanders* draw from *Japan*, (which is ſtored with Mines) a part alſo comes to be at length diſcharged in this *Indoſtan*: And that laſtly, what is carried thither directly by Sea, whether from *Portugal*, *England*, or *France*, ſeldom comes back from thence but in Merchandiſe, the reſt remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be ſaid, that this *Indoſtan* needs Copper, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinamon, Elephants, and ſundry other things, which the *Hollanders* carry thither from *Japan*, the *Molucques*, *Ceilan*, and *Europe*; as alſo that it hath occaſion for Lead, which in part, it is furniſh'd with out of *England*; likewiſe for Scarlet, which it hath from *France*: Moreover, that it ſtands in need of a good number of Horſes, it being certain, that from the ſide of *Usbec* it receives yearly more than 2500. That out of *Perſia* alſo it is furniſhed with abundance of the ſame; as alſo out of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, the Ports of *Moka*, *Baſſora*, and *Bander-abbaſy*: Beſides, that it needs that ſtore of freſh Fruit, which comes thither from *Samarkand*, *Ball-bocara*, and *Perſia*, as Melons, Apples, Pears, and Grapes, that are ſpent at *Debli*, and bought at great Rates, almoſt all the Winter long; as well as dry Fruit, which are had there all the year long, and come from the ſame Countries, as Almonds, Piſtaches, Nuts, Prunes, Abricots, Raiſins, and the like. And that laſtly, it wants thoſe little Sea-cockles of the *Maldives*, which ſerve for common Coyn in *Bengale*, and in ſome other places; as alſo Ambergriece, carried thither from the ſaid *Maldives* and *Moſambic*, Rhinoceros-horns, Elephants-teeth, Muſk, China-diſhes, Pearls of *Baharen*, and *Tutucoury* near *Ceilan*; and, I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the Gold and Silver to go out of that Empire, becauſe the Merchants at their return freight their Ships with the Commodities of the Country, finding a better account by ſo doing, than if they ſhould bring back Mony, ſo that that hinders not, but that *Indoſtan* proves, as we have ſaid, a kind of Abyſs for a great part of the Gold and Silver of the World, which finds many ways to enter there, and almoſt none to iſſue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this *Great Mogol* makes himſelf Heir of the *Omrahs* or Lords, and of the *Manſeb-dars*, or petty Lords, that are in his Pay; and (which is of very great conſequence) that all the Lands of that Empire are his Propriety, excepting ſome Houſes and Gardens, which he giveth leave to his Subjects to ſell, divide, or buy amongſt them, as they ſhall think fit.

Theſe are the things, which ſufficiently ſhow, *both* that there muſt needs be a very great ſtore of Gold and Silver in *Indoſtan*, though there be no Mines; *and* alſo that the *Great Mogol*, the Soveraign of the ſame, at leaſt, of the beſt part of it, hath immenſe Revenues and Riches.

But on the other hand, there are alſo many things to be obſerved, which are a poiſe to theſe Riches. The *firſt*, that among thoſe vaſt tracts of Land there is much, which is nothing but ſand and ſteril Mountains, little Tilled or Peopled: That even of thoſe that would be fertile, there is much, that is not uſed for want of Workmen, ſome of which

which have periſh'd by the too evil treatment of the Governors, who often take from them their neceſſary livelihood, and ſometimes their very Children whom they make Slaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay: Others have abandon'd the Field for the ſame reaſon, and deſponding out of the conſideration that they labour'd only for others, have caſt themſelves into Towns, or into Armies, to ſerve there for Porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the *Rajas*, becauſe there they found leſs tyranny, and more kindneſs.

The *ſecond* is, That in this ſame Extent of Country there are ſundry Nations, which the *Mogol* is not full Maſter of, moſt of them retaining yet their particular Soveraigns and Lords, that obey him not, nor pay him Tribute but from conſtraint; many, that do little; ſome, that do nothing at all; and ſome alſo, that receive Tribute from him, as we ſhall ſee anon. Such are thoſe petty Soveraigns, that are ſeated on the Frontiers of *Perſia*, who almoſt never pay him any thing, no more than they do to the King of *Perſia*: As alſo the *Baloches* and *Augans*, and other Mountineers, of whom alſo the greateſt part pay him but a ſmall matter, and even care but very little for him: witneſs the Affront they did him, when they ſtopp'd his whole Army by cutting off the Water, which they kept back within the Mountains, when he paſſed from *Atek* on the River *Indus* to *Caboul*, to lay ſiege to *Kandahar*; not ſuffering the Water to run down into the Fields, where was the Highway, 'till they had receiv'd Preſents, although they ask'd them by way of Alms. Such are alſo the *Patans*, a *Mahumetan* People, iſſued from the ſide of the River *Ganges* towards *Bengale*; who before the Invaſion of the *Mogols* in *India*, had taken their time to make themſelves potent in many places, and chiefly at *Debli*, and to render many *Rajas* thereabout their Tributaries. Theſe *Patans* are fierce and warlike, and even the meaneſt of them, though they be waiting Men and Porters, are ſtill of a very high ſpirit, being often heard to ſay by way of ſwearing, *Let me never be King of* Dehli, *if it be not ſo:* A People that deſpiſe the *Indians*, *Heathen*, and *Mogols*, and mortally hate the laſt, ſtill remembring what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large Principalities, and conſtrained to retire hither and thither, far from *Debli*, and *Agra*, into the Mountains, where now they are ſetled, and where ſome of them have made themſelves petty Soveraigns, like *Rajas*, but of ſmall ſtrength.

Such an one alſo is the King of *Viſapour*, who pays to the *Mogol* nothing, and is always in War with him; maintaining himſelf in his Country, partly by his own Forces, partly becauſe he is very remote from *Agra* and *Debli*, the ordinary places of Reſidence of the *Great Mogol*; partly alſo, becauſe his Capital City *Viſapour* is ſtrong, and of difficult acceſs to an Army, by reaſon of the ill Waters, and the want of Forage on the way; and partly becauſe many *Rajas* join with him for their common defence, as did the famous *Seva-Gi*, who, not long ſince, came pillaging and burning that rich Sea-port, *Suratte*, and who ſometimes will pay little or no Tribute.

Such is likewiſe that potent and rich King of *Golkonda*, who underhand gives Mony to the King of *Viſapour*, and hath always an Army ready on the Frontiers for his own defence, and for the aſſiſtance of *Viſapour*, in caſe he find him too much preſſed.

Of the like ſort are more than an hundred *Rajas*, or conſiderable *Heathen* Soveraigns, diſperſed through the whole Empire, ſome near to, others remote from *Agra* and *Debli*: amongſt whom there are about fifteen or ſixteen that are very rich and puiſſant; ſuch as is *Rana* (who formerly was, as 'twere, Emperor of the *Rajas*; and who is ſaid to be of the Progeny of King *Porus*;) *Jeſſeignæ* and *Jeſſomſeignæ*, which are ſo great and powerful, that if they three alone ſhould combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very ſhort time, to raiſe and bring into the Field Twenty five thouſand Horſe, better Troops than the *Mogols*. Theſe Cavaliers are call'd *Ragipouts*, or the Children of *Rajas*. They are men, who, as I have elſewhere ſaid, carry Swords from Father to Son, and to whom the *Rajas* allot Land, on condition to be always ready to appear on Horſeback, when the *Raja* commands. They can endure much hardſhip, and they want nothing to make them good Soldiers, but good Order and Diſcipline.

The *third* thing to be noted is, That the *Mogol* is a *Mahumetan*, not of the Sect called *Chias*, who follow *Aly* and his Off-ſpring, (ſuch as the *Perſians* are, and conſequently the greateſt part of his Court;) but of that, which follows *Oſman*, and thence are call'd *Oſmanlys*, ſuch as the *Turks* are. Beſides, that he is a ſtranger, being of the Race of *Tamerlan*, who was the Head of thoſe *Mogols*, that about the year 1401, over-ran

India,

India, where they made themſelves Maſters: ſo that he is in a Country, almoſt all hoſtile; and that the more, becauſe not only for one *Mogol*, but in general, for one *Mahumetan*, there are hundreds of *Gentiles* or *Heathen*; which obligeth him, conſtantly to entertain (for his defence amongſt ſo many domeſtick and potent Enemies, and againſt the *Perſians* and *Usbecks*, his Neighbours) very great Armies, whether in time of Peace or War, as well about his Perſon, as in the Field; as well of the People of the Country, (*Rajas* and *Patans*,) as chiefly *Mogolians*, or at leaſt eſteemed ſuch, becauſe they are White, and *Mahumetans*; which ſufficeth at preſent; his Court being no more now as 'twas at firſt, conſiſting altogether of true *Mogols*; but a mixture of all ſorts of ſtrangers, *Usbecks*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and *Turks*, or their Children; but with this diſtinction, that the Children of the third or fourth Generation, and that have taken the Brown colour, and the ſoft humor of the Country, are not ſo much eſteem'd as the new comers; being alſo ſeldom rais'd to publick Offices, but counting themſelves happy, if they may ſerve as ſimple Horſemen or Foot.

Of theſe Armies I am now going to give you ſome deſcription, that thereby knowing the great Expences, which the *Grand Mogol* is oblig'd to be at, you may the better judge of his true Riches; let us firſt take a view of the Field Militia, he is neceſſitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the *Rajas*, ſuch as *Jeſſeignæ*, *Jeſſomſeignæ*, and many others to whom he allows very great Penſions, to have them always ready with a certain number of *Ragipouts*, eſteeming them like *Omrahs*, that is, like other Strangers, and *Mahumetan* Lords; both in the Army, that is always about his perſon, and in thoſe alſo, that are in the Field. Theſe *Rajas* are generally oblig'd to the ſame things, that the *Omrahs* are, even to the point of keeping Guard; yet with this diſtinction, that they keep not the Guard within the Fortreſs, as thoſe, but without, under their Tents; they not liking to be ſhut up Twenty four hours in a Fortreſs, nor ſo much as ever to go thither, but well attended with Men, reſolute to be cut in pieces for their ſervice; as hath appear'd, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The *Mogol* is oblig'd to keep theſe *Rajas* in his ſervice for ſundry reaſons.

The *firſt*, becauſe the Militia of the *Rajas* is very good (as was ſaid above) and becauſe there are *Rajas*, (as was intimated alſo) one of whom can bring into the Field above 25000 men.

The *ſecond*, the better to bridle the other *Rajas*, and to reduce them to reaſon when they cantonize, or when they refuſe to pay Tribute, or when out of fear or other cauſe, they will not go out of their Country to the Army, when the *Mogol* requireth it.

The *third*, the better to nouriſh jealouſies and keenneſs amongſt them, by favouring and careſſing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The *fourth*, to employ them againſt the *Patans*, or againſt his own *Omrahs* and Governors, in caſe any of them ſhould riſe.

The *fifth*, to employ them againſt the King of *Golkonda*, when he refuſeth to pay his Tribute, or when he will defend the King of *Viſapour*, or ſome *Rajas* his Neighbours, which the *Mogol* hath a mind to rifle, or to make his Tributaries; the *Mogol* in thoſe caſes not daring to truſt his *Omrahs* overmuch, who moſt are *Perſians*, and not of the ſame Religion with him, but *Chias*, like the Kings of *Perſia* and *Golkonda*.

The *ſixth*, and the moſt conſiderable of all, is, to employ them againſt the *Perſians* upon occaſion; not daring then alſo to confide in his *Omrahs*, who, for the greateſt part, as was juſt now ſaid, are *Perſians*, and conſequently have no ſtomach to fight againſt their natural King; and the leſs, becauſe they believe him to be their *Imam*, their *Caliph* or High Prieſt, deſcended from *Aly*, and againſt whom therefore they believe they cannot make War without a Crime, or a great Sin.

The *Mogol* is farther oblig'd to entertain ſome *Patans* for the ſame, or ſomewhat like reaſons, that he doth the *Rajas*.

At laſt he muſt entertain that ſtranger Militia of the *Mogols*, that we have taken notice of: And as this is the main ſtrength of his State, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiſs to deſcribe to you, of what nature it is, though I ſhould be ſomewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore conſider, if you pleaſe, this ſtranger Militia, both Cavalry and Infantry, as divided into two; the *one*, being always near the *Mogol*'s Perſon; the *other*,

diſperſed up and down in the ſeveral Provinces. And in the Cavalry that is about his Perſon, let us firſt take notice of the *Omrahs*; then, of the *Manſebdars*; next, of the *Rouſindars*; laſt of all, of the ſimple Horſemen. From thence let us proceed to the Infantry, in which we ſhall conſider the Muſquetiers, and all thoſe men on foot that attend the Ordnance, where ſomething will occur to be ſaid of their Artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the *Omrahs* or Lords of the *Mogol*'s Court are Sons of great Families, as in *France*; All the Lands of that Empire being the *Mogol*'s Propriety, it follows, that there are neither Dutchies, nor Marquiſats, nor any Family rich in Land, and ſubſiſting of its own Income and Patrimony. And often enough they are not ſo much as *Omrah*'s Sons, becauſe the King being Heir of all their Eſtates, it is conſequent that the Houſes cannot ſubſiſt long in their greatneſs; on the contrary, they often fall, and that on a ſudden, inſomuch that the Sons, or at leaſt the Grandſons of a potent *Omrah* are frequently, after the death of their Father, reduced, in a manner, to Beggary, and oblig'd to liſt themſelves under ſome *Omrah* for ſimple Horſemen. 'Tis true, that ordinarily the *Mogol* leaves ſome ſmall Penſion to the Widow, and often alſo to the Children; or, if the Father liveth too long, he may by particular favour advance them ſooner, eſpecially if they be proper men, white of Face, having as yet not too much of the *Indian* Complexion and temper, and ſo paſſing yet for true *Mogols*: Though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a ſlow pace; it being almoſt a general cuſtom, that a man muſt paſs from ſmall Pays and ſmall Places, to great ones. Theſe *Omrahs* then are commonly but Adventurers and Strangers of all ſorts of Nations, ſuch as I have ſaid; which draw one another to this Court; men of a mean deſcent, ſome of them ſlaves; moſt of them without inſtruction, which the *Mogol* thus raiſeth to Dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again, as he pleaſeth.

Amongſt theſe *Omrahs*, ſome are *Hazary*, others *Dou Hazary*, others *Penge*, *Hecht*, and *Deh Hazary*, and even (ſuch was the King's eldeſt Son) *Dovazdeh Hazary*, that is to ſay, Lord of a thouſand Horſe, of two thouſand, five thouſand, ſeven, ten, and twelve thouſand; their Pay being leſs or more in proportion to the number of Horſes; I ſay, of Horſes, becauſe they are not paid in reſpect of the Horſemen, but of the Horſe; the *Omrahs* having power to entertain Horſemen of two Horſes a man, to be the better able to ſerve in the hot Countries, where 'tis a common ſaying, *That the Horſeman that hath but one Horſe, is more than half a Footman.* Yet we muſt not think, that they are oblig'd to entertain, or that the King effectively pays ſo many Horſe, as theſe great names of *Dovazdeh* or *Hecht Hazary* do impart, that is, 12000, or 8000 Horſe. Theſe are ſpecious Names, to amuſe and attract Strangers; the King determines the number of Horſes in actual ſervice, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number; and beſides that, he pays them a certain number which they are not bound to entertain; and this is that which ordinarily makes the principal part of their Penſions; not to ſpeak of what they finger out of the Pay of every Horſeman, and of the number of the Horſes; which certainly amounts to very conſiderable Penſions; eſpecially if they can obtain good *Jah-ghirs*, that is, good Lands for their Penſion. For I ſaw, that the Lord, under whom I was, that was a *Penge-hazary*, or one of five thouſand Horſe, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his Cavalry was paid, remaining for his Penſion near Five thouſand Crowns a month; though he was *Nagdy*, that is, paid in Mony drawn out of the Treaſury, as all thoſe are, that have not Lands. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe great Penſions, I ſee none but very few that are rich, but many that are uneaſie and indebted: Not that they are ruin'd by keeping too plentiful Tables, as elſewhere great Lords frequently are; but that which exhauſteth them, are the great Preſents which they are oblig'd to make to the King at certain Feſtivals of the year, every one after the rate of his Pay; next, the vaſt Expences they muſt be at for entertaining their Wives, Servants, Camels, and many Horſes of great value, which they keep in their particular Stables.

The number of the *Omrahs*, as well of thoſe, that are in the Field in the Provinces and Armies, as of thoſe that are at the Court, is very great. I never could preciſely learn it; nor is it determined: But I have never ſeen leſs of them at Court, than twenty five or thirty, that are thus Penſionaries according to a greater or leſſer number of Horſes to be entertain'd by them, from 12000 downward to 1000. Theſe are the *Omrahs*, that arrive to the Governments and principal Offices of the Court and Armies; that are, as they ſpeak, the Pillars of the Empire, and that keep up the ſplendor of the Court; never going abroad, but richly deck'd, ſometimes riding on Elephants,

ſometimes on Horſeback, ſometimes carried in a *Paleky* or Chair, commonly attended by a good number of Horſemen, to wit, of thoſe that have the Guard at that time, as alſo by many Footmen marching before, and on his ſides, to make way, to drive away the Flies, to take off the duſt with Peacocks tails, to carry water for drink, and ſometimes Books of Accompts, or other Papers.

All thoſe that are at Court, are oblig'd, under a conſiderable Penalty, to come twice every day to ſalute the King in the Aſſembly, once about Ten or eleven a clock in the morning, when he renders Juſtice; and the ſecond time, about ſix hours at night. They are alſo oblig'd by turns to keep the Guard in the Caſtle once a week, during twenty four hours. Thither they carry at that time their Beds, Tapiſſeries and other Moveables, the King furniſhing them with nothing but Proviſions of Meat and Drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeiſance, with their face turn'd to his Apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Beſides, they are oblig'd on Horſeback to follow the King whitherſoever he marcheth in any weather, rainy or duſty, whether he be carried in his Chair, or on an Elephant, or a Field-Throne, which laſt is done by eight men carrying him on their ſhoulders, eight others marching on his ſide, to relieve the others; himſelf being in all Marches well cover'd from the inconveniencies of the Weather, whether he go to War, or to Hunt, or to exerciſe his Soldiery. And this attendance thoſe *Omrahs* are to give, except ſome of them be exempted by the *Mogol*, becauſe of their peculiar Offices, or upon the account of ſickneſs or old age, or to avoid embaraſment, as commonly 'tis practiſed, when he goeth only to ſome neighbouring Town to hunt, or to ſome houſe of Pleaſure, or to the Moſquee, there being then ſeldom any about him but thoſe that keep the Guard that day.

Manſebdars are Cavaliers of *Manſeb*, which is particular and honourable Pay; not ſo great indeed as that of the *Omrahs*, but much greater than that of the others; they being eſteemed as little *Omrahs*, and of the rank of thoſe, that are raiſed to that dignity.

Theſe acknowledge alſo none for their Head but the King, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have ſaid the *Omrahs* are. In a word, they would be true *Omrahs*, if they had, as divers heretofore have had, ſome Horſemen under them; whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or ſix Horſes, having the King's mark, and their Pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 *Roupies* a month. Their number alſo is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the *Omrahs*, there being of them at the Court always two or three hundred, beſides thoſe that are in the Provinces and Armies.

Rouzindars are alſo a ſort of Cavaliers, but ſuch as have their Pay by the day, (as the word it ſelf imports) which yet ſometimes is greater than that of many *Manſebdars*, but not ſo honourable; but then they are not bound, as the *Manſebdars*, to take at a ſet price (which ſometimes is not too reaſonable) of thoſe Tapiſſeries and other Houſhold-ſtuff, that hath ſerv'd for the King's Palace. Their number is very great; they enter into the meaner Offices, many of them being Clerks, Under-Clerks, Signet-Men, and the like.

Simple Cavaliers, are thoſe, that are under the *Omrahs*; amongſt whom the moſt conſiderable, and having moſt Pay, are thoſe that have two Horſes marked on the Leg with the mark of their *Omrah*. Their Pay is not abſolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generoſity of the *Omrah*, who may favour whom he pleaſeth. Yet the *Mogol*'s intention is, that the Pay of a ſimple Cavalier or Horſeman be no leſs than twenty five *Roupies*, or thereabout a Month, ſtating his account with the *Omrahs* upon that Foot.

The Pay of the Foot is the leaſt; and their Muſquetiers are pitiful men, unleſs they diſcharge when their Muſquet leans on that ſmall wooden Fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of ſingeing their great Beards, and of burning their Eyes, but moſt of all, leaſt ſome *Dgen* or evil Spirit burſt their Muſquet. Some of theſe have 20 *Roupies* a Month, ſome 15, ſome 10. But yet there are ſome Gunners that have great Pay, eſpecially thoſe of the *Franguis* or *Chriſtians*, as *Portugueſes*, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, *French*, that retire thither from *Goa*, flying from *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies. Heretofore when the *Mogols* did not yet know how to manage Artillery, their Pay was very great. And there are yet ſome of that time, who have 200 *Roupies* a Month; but now they will receive none for more than thirty two.

Their Artillery is of two ſorts; the one is the great and heavy Artillery, the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the King after his Sickneſs went with his whole Army abroad into the Country, diverting himſelf every day in Hunting, ſometimes of Cranes, ſometimes of the gray Oxen, (a kind of Elks) ſometimes of Gazels, Leopards and Lions, and making his progreſs towards *Lahor* and *Kachmire* (that little Paradiſe of *India*) there to paſs the Summer, the Army had Seventy pieces of Cannon, moſt of them caſt, not counting the two or three hundred Camels, carrying each a ſmall Field-piece of the bigneſs of a good double Muſquet, faſtned to thoſe Animals. The other light Artillery is very brave and well order'd, conſiſting of fifty or ſixty ſmall Field-pieces all of Braſs, each mounted on a little Chariot, very fine and well painted, with a ſmall Coffer before and behind for the Powder, drawn by two very fair Horſes, driven by a Coachman like a *Caleche*, adorned with a number of ſmall red Streamers, each having a third Horſe led by the Chariot for relief.

The great Artillery could not always follow the King, who often left the Highway, and turn'd ſometimes to the right, ſometimes to the left hand, croſſing the fields, to find the true places for Game, and to follow the courſe of the Rivers. That therefore was to keep the Highway to go the more eaſily, and to avoid the embaraſments, which it would have met with in the ill paſſages, eſpecially in thoſe Boat-Bridges made to paſs Rivers. The light Artillery is inſeparable from the perſon of the King, it marcheth away in the morning, when the King comes out of his Tent; and whereas he commonly goes a little aſide into the places for Game, this Artillery paſſeth on ſtraight with all poſſible ſpeed, to be in time at the Rendezvous, and there to appear before the King's Tent, which is there made ready the day before; as are alſo the Tents of the great *Omrahs*: And this whole Artillery giveth a Volley juſt when the King enters into his Tent, thereby to give notice to the Army of his arrival.

The Militia of the Field is not different from that which is about the King: There are everywhere *Omrahs*, *Manſebdars*, *Rouſindars*, ſimple Horſemen, and Foot and Artillery where-ever any War is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the Field-Army, than in the other. For that Army alone, which the *Mogol* is conſtrain'd perpetually to maintain in *Decan*, to bridle the potent King of *Golkonda*, and to make War upon the King of *Viſapour*, and upon all the *Raja's* that join with him, muſt conſiſt at leaſt of twenty, or twenty five thouſand Horſe, ſometimes of thirty.

The Kingdom of *Kaboul*, for its ordinary Guard againſt the *Perſians*, *Augans*, *Balouches*, and I know not how many Mounteniers, requireth at leaſt Fifteen thouſand. The Kingdom of *Kachmire*, more than Four thouſand; and the Kingdom of *Bengale*, much more; not counting thoſe that are employ'd in the War, which muſt almoſt always be maintain'd on that ſide; nor thoſe which the Governors of the ſeveral Provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and ſituation of their Governments, which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the Infantry, (which is inconſiderable) I am apt to believe with many others, well inform'd of theſe matters, that the number of the Horſe in actual ſervice about the King's Perſon, comprehending the Cavalry of the *Raja's* and *Patans*, mounteth to Thirty five or forty thouſand; and that this number, joined to thoſe that is abroad in the Field, may make Two hundred thouſand, and better.

I ſay, that the Infantry is inconſiderable; for I can hardly believe, that in the Army which is about the King, compriſing the Muſquetiers, and all the Gunners and their Mates, and whatever ſerves in this Artillery, can amount to much more than Fifteen thouſand; whence you may make a near gueſs, what the number of the Foot muſt be in the Field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of Foot, which ſome do reckon in the Armies of the *Great Mogol*, unleſs it be, that with this true Soldiery they confound all the Serving-men and Victuallers that follow the Army; for in that ſenſe I ſhould eaſily believe, that they had reaſon to reckon two or three hundred thouſand men in that Army alone which is with the King, and ſometimes more; eſpecially when 'tis certain, that he is to be long abſent from the Capital City: which will not ſeem ſo ſtrange to him, that conſiders the multitude and confuſion of Tents, Kitchens, Baggage, Women, Elephants, Camels, Oxen, Horſes, Waiting-men, Porters, Forragers, Victuallers, Merchants of all ſorts, that muſt follow the Army; nor to him, that knows the State and particular Government of that Country, wherein the King is the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Kingdom; whence it neceſſarily follows, that a whole Metropolitan City, ſuch as *Debly* and *Agra*, liveth of almoſt nothing but of the Soldiery,

Soldiery, and is consequently oblig'd to follow the King when he taketh the Field; those Towns being nothing less than *Paris*, but indeed no otherwise govern'd than a Camp of Armies a little better and more conveniently lodg'd than in the open Field.

Besides all these things, you may also consider, if you please, that generally all this Militia, which I have been representing to you, from the greatest *Omrah*, to the meanest Soldier, is indispensibly paid every two months, the King's Pay being its sole refuge and relief; nor can its Pay be deferred there, as 'tis sometimes with us; where, when there are pressing occasions of the State, a Gentleman, an Officer, and even a simple Cavalier, can stay awhile, and maintain himself of his own Stock, Rents, and the Incomes of his Land. But in the *Mogol*'s Country, all must be paid at the time prefix'd, or all disbands and starves, after they have sold that little they have; as I saw in this last War, that many were going to do, if it had not soon ceased. And this the more, because that in all this Militia, there is almost no Soldier that hath not Wife and Children, Servants and Slaves, that look for this Pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, considering the huge number of persons living of Pay (which amounts to millions) whence such vast Revenues can be had for such excessive Charges: Although this need not to be so much wondred at, considering the Riches of the Empire, the peculiar Government of the State, and the said universal Propriety of the Sovereign.

You may add to all this, That the *Grand Mogol* keeps nigh him at *Dehly* and *Agra*, and thereabout, two or three thousand brave Horses, to be always ready upon occasion; as also eight or nine hundred Elephants, and a vast number of Mules, Horses, and Porters, to carry all the great Tents and their Cabinets, to carry his Wives, Kitchens, Houshold-stuff, *Ganges*-Water, and all the other Necessaries for the Field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not absolutely necessary in our Kingdoms.

To this may be added those incredible Expences upon the *Seraglio*, more indispensible than will be easily believ'd; that vast store of fine Linnen, Cloth of Gold, Embroideries, Silks, Musk, Amber, Pearls, sweet Essences, *&c.* consumed there.

All these Charges being put together, and compar'd with the Revenues the *Mogol* may be thought to have, it will be easie to judge, whether he be indeed so very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great Revenues; I believe, he hath more alone than the *Grand Seignior*, and the King of *Persia*, both together: But then, to believe all those extravagant Stories made of the vastness of his Revenues, is a thing I could never do: And if I should believe the best part of them, yet should I not believe him in effect and truly so rich, as the World rings of him; unless a man would say, that a Treasurer, who receiveth great Sums of mony from one hand at the same time when he is oblig'd to disburse them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part, I should count that King rich indeed, who, without oppressing and impoverishing his People too much, should have a Revenue sufficient to keep a great and gallant Court, (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwise) and a Militia sufficient both to guard his Kingdom, and to make an important War for divers years against his Neighbours; as also to shew Liberality, to build some Royal Edifices, and to make those other Expences which Kings are wont to make according to their particular Inclinations; and who, besides all this, should be able to put up in his Treasury, for a Reserve, Sums big enough to undertake and maintain a good War for some years. Now I am apt enough to believe, that the *Great Mogol* enjoyeth very near these Advantages, but I cannot perswade my self, that he hath them in that excess, as is thought and pretended. Those vast and inevitable Expences, that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my Opinion without any other consideration; but you will, doubtless, be altogether of my mind, when I shall have represented to you these two things, which I am very well informed of.

The *one* is, that the *Great Mogol*, now reigning, about the end of this last Revolution, though the Kingdom was everywhere in peace (except in *Bengale*, where *Sultan-Sujah* yet held out) was much perplexed where to find means for the subsistence of his Armies, though they were not so well paid as at other times, and the War lasted no longer than five years, or thereabout, and though also he had laid hold of a good part of the Treasury of his Father *Chah-Jehan*.

The *other* is, That all this Treasure of *Chah-Jehan*, who was very frugal, and had Reigned above Forty years without considerable Wars, never mounted to six *Kourours*

of

of *Roupies*. A *Roupy* is about twenty nine pence. An hundred thouſand of them make a *Lecque*, and an hundred *Lecques* make one *Kourour*. [*So that the ſix* Kourours *would make about ſeven Millions and an half* Engliſh *Money.*] 'Tis true, I do not comprehend in this great Treaſure that great abundance of Goldſmiths work, ſo variouſly wrought in Gold and Silver; nor that vaſt ſtore of precious Stones and Pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any King in the World that hath more. The Throne alone, cover'd with them, is valu'd at leaſt three *Kourors*, if I remember aright: But then, it is to be conſider'd alſo, that they are the ſpoils of thoſe ancient Princes, the *Patans* and *Rajas*, gather'd and piled up from immemorial times, and ſtill increaſing from one King to another, by the Preſents which the *Omrahs* are obliged yearly at certain Feſtival-days to make him; and which are eſteemed to be the Jewels of the Crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of *Mogol* in caſe of neceſſity would find it very hard to procure the leaſt Sum.

But before I conclude, I ſhall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this Empire of *Mogol* be thus an Abyſs of Gold and Silver, (as hath been ſaid,) yet notwithſtanding there appears no more of it among the people, than elſewhere; yea, rather that the People is there leſs Monied than in other places.

The *firſt* reaſon is, that much of it is conſumed in melting over and over all thoſe Noſe and Ear-rings, Chains, Finger-rings, Bracelets of Hands and Feet, which the Women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of Manufactures, wherein ſo much is ſpent, which is loſt, as in all thoſe Embroideries, Silk-ſtuffs, enterwoven with Gold and Silver, Cloth, Scarf, Turbants, *&c.* of the ſame. For generally all that *Militia* loveth to be guided from the *Omrahs* to the meaneſt Soldiers with their Wives and Children, though they ſhould ſtarve at home.

The *ſecond*, That all the Lands of the Kingdom being the Kings propriety, they are given either as Benefices, which they call *Jah-ghirs*, or, as in *Turky*, *Timars*, to men of the *Militia* for their Pay or Penſion (as the word *Jah-ghir* imports:) Or elſe they are given to the Governours for their Penſion, and the entertainment of their Troops, on condition that of the ſurplus of thoſe Land-revenues they give yearly a certain ſum to the King, as Farmers; Or laſtly, the King reſerveth them for himſelf as a particular Domaine of his Houſe, which never or very ſeldom are given as *Jah-ghirs*, and upon which he keeps Farmers, who alſo muſt give him a yearly ſum; which is to ſay, that the *Timariots*, *Governours* and *Farmers* have an abſolute Authority over the Country-men, and even a very great one over the Tradeſmen and *Merchants* of the Towns, Boroughs, and Villages, depending from them: ſo that in thoſe Parts there are neither great Lords nor Parliaments, nor Preſidial Courts, as amongſt us, to keep theſe People in awe: nor *Kadis* or Judges, powerful enough to hinder and repreſs their violence; Nor, in a word, any perſon, to whom a Country-man, Tradeſ-man, or *Merchant*, can make his complaints to, in caſes of extortion and tyranny, often practiſed upon them, by the Soldiery and Governors, who every where do impunely abuſe the Authority Royal, which they have in hand, unleſs it be perhaps a little in thoſe places that are near to Capital Cities, as *Dehli* and *Agra*, and in great Towns and conſiderable Sea-ports of the Provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more eaſily conveyed to the Court. Whence it is, that all and every one ſtand in continual fear of theſe people, eſpecially of the Governors more than any Slave doth of his *Maſter*: that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and money-leſs, very mean in their Apparel, Lodging, Houſhold-ſtuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with Trade, leſt they ſhould be thought Rich, and ſo fall into the danger of being ruined: So that at laſt they find no other remedy to ſecure their Wealth, than to hide and dig their money deep under Ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and ſo Dying, neither the King nor the State having any benefit by it. Which is a thing not only happens among the Peaſants and Artizans, but (which is far more conſiderable) amongſt all ſorts of *Merchants*, whether *Mahumetans* or *Heathens*, except ſome that are in the Kings, or ſome *Omrahs* Pay, or that have ſome particular Patron and ſupport in power: But principally among the *Heathen*, which are almoſt the only *Maſters* of the Trade and *Money*, infatuated with the belief, that the Gold and Silver, which they hide in their life-time, ſhall ſerve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reaſon, why there appears ſo little money in Trade among the People.

But thence ariſeth a Queſtion very conſiderable, *viz.* Whether it were not more expedient,

dient, not only for the Subjects, but for the State it ſelf, and for the Sovereign, not to have the Prince ſuch a Proprietor of the Lands of the Kingdom, as to take away the *Meum* and *Tuum* amongſt private perſons; as 'tis with us; For my part, after a ſtrict comparing the State of our Kingdoms, where that *Meum* and *Tuum* holds, with that of thoſe other Kingdoms, where it is not, I am thoroughly perſwaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the Sovereign himſelf, to have it ſo as 'tis in our parts. Becauſe that in thoſe parts where 'tis otherwiſe, the Gold and Silver is loſt, as I was juſt now obſerving: There is almoſt no perſon ſecure from the violences of thoſe Timariors, Governours, and Farmers: The Kings, how well ſoever they be diſpoſed toward their people, are never almoſt in a condition (as I lately noted) to get Juſtice adminiſtred to them, and to hinder tyrannies; eſpecially in thoſe great Dominions, and in the Provinces remote from the Capital Towns; Which yet ought to be, as doubtleſs it is, one of the chief employments and conſiderations of a King. Beſides, this tyranny often grows to that exceſs, that it takes away what is neceſſary to the life of a Peaſant or Tradeſman, who is ſtarved for hunger and miſery; who gets no Children, or if he does, ſees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his Land, and turns ſome Cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his Neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the Land is not tilled but almoſt by force, and conſequently very ill, and much of it is quite ſpoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the courſe of waters to be convey'd to neceſſary places; nor any body that care to build Houſes, or to repair thoſe that are ruinous; the Peaſant reaſoning thus with himſelf: Why ſhould I toil ſo much for a Tyrant that may come to morrow to take all away from me, or at leaſt all the beſt of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, ſo much as to ſuſtain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the Governor and the Farmer, will reaſon thus with himſelf; Why ſhould I beſtow mony, and take pains of bettering or maintaining this Land, ſince I muſt every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for my ſelf, nor for my Children; and that place which I have this year, I may, perhaps, have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilſt we poſſeſs it, though the Peaſant ſhould break or ſtarve, though the Land ſhould become a Deſart, when I am gone!

And for this very reaſon it is, that we ſee thoſe vaſt Eſtates in *Aſia* go ſo wretchedly and palpably to ruine. Thence it is, that throughout thoſe Parts we ſee almoſt no other Towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruin'd and deſerted Towns and Villages, or ſuch as are going to ruine. Even thence it is, that we ſee (for Example) thoſe *Meſopotamia's*, *Anatolia's*, *Paleſtina's*, thoſe admirable Plains of *Antioch*, and ſo many other Lands, anciently ſo well tilled, ſo fertile, and ſo well peopled, at the preſent half deſerted, untill'd and bandon'd, or become peſtilent and uninhabitable Bogs. Thence it is alſo, that of thoſe incomparable Lands of *Egypt* it is obſerv'd, that within leſs than *fourſcore* years, more than the *tenth* part of it is loſt, no people being to be found, that will expend what is neceſſary to maintain all the Channels, and to reſtrain the River *Nile* from violently overflowing on one hand, and ſo drowning too much the low Lands, or from covering them with Sand, which cannot be remov'd from thence but with great pains and charges. From the ſame root it comes, that Arts are languiſhing in thoſe Countries, or at leaſt flouriſh much leſs than elſe they would do, or do with Us. For what heart and ſpirit can an Artizan have to ſtudy well, and to apply his mind to his work, when he ſees, that among the people, which is for the moſt part beggarly, or will appear ſo, there is none that conſiders the goodneſs and neatneſs of his Work, every body looking for what is cheap, and that the Grandees pay them but very ill, and when they pleaſe. The poor Tradeſman often thinking himſelf happy, that he can get clear from them without the *Korrah*, which is that terrible Whip that hangs nigh the Gate of the *Omrahs*. Further, when he ſeeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an Office, or ſome Land for himſelf and Children, and that even he dares not appear to have a Penny in Caſh, or to wear good Cloaths, or to eat a good Meal, for fear he ſhould be thought rich. And indeed the beauty and exactneſs of Arts had been quite loſt in thoſe Parts long ago, if it were not that the Kings and Grandees there did give Wages to certain Workmen, that work in their Houſes, and there teach their Children, and endeavour to make themſelves able in order to be a little more conſider'd, and to eſcape the *Korrah*; and if alſo it were not, that thoſe great and rich Merchants of Towns, who are protected by good and

powerful

powerful Patrons, pay'd thoſe Workmen a little better; I ſay, *a little Better*; for, what fine ſtuffs ſoever we ſee come from thoſe Countries, we muſt not imagine, that the Workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; 'tis nothing but meer Neceſſity, or the Cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no ſmall matter, when he hath wherewith to live, and to cloath himſelf narrowly. If there be any mony to gain of the Work, that is not for him, but for thoſe great Merchants of Towns, I was juſt now ſpeaking of; and even theſe themſelves find it often difficult enough to maintain themſelves, and to prevent Extortion.

'Tis from the ſame cauſe alſo, that a groſs and profound Ignorance reigns in thoſe States. For, how is it poſſible, there ſhould be Academies and Colleges well founded, where are ſuch Founders to be met with? And if there were any, Whence were the Scholars to be had? Where are thoſe that have means ſufficient to maintain their Children in Colleges? And if there were, who would appear to be ſo rich? And if they would, Where are thoſe Benefices, Preferments, and Dignities, that require Knowledg and Abilities, and that may animate young men to ſtudy?

Thence it is likewiſe, that Traffick languiſhes in all that Country, in compariſon of ours. For how many are there, that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a Governor, that ſhall extort, if he be not in league with ſome conſiderable Sword-man, whoſe Slave he in a manner is, and that makes his own Conditions with him?

It is not there, that the Kings find for their ſervice, Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, Sons of rich and good Families, Officers, Citizens, Merchants, and even Tradeſmen, well born, well educated, and well inſtructed; men of Courage, that have a true affection and reſpect for their King, that often live a great while at the Court, and in the Army, at their own Expences, entertaining themſelves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aſpect of the Prince; and who, upon occaſion, fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their Anceſtors and Families. Thoſe Kings, I ſay, never ſee about them, but men of nothing, Slaves, Ignorants, Brutes, and ſuch Courtizans as are raiſed from the Duſt to Dignities; and that for want of good Education and Inſtruction, almoſt always retain ſomewhat of their Offſpring, of the temper of Beggars, enriched, proud, unſufferable, heartleſs, inſenſible of honour, diſingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their King and Country. Here it is, where thoſe Kings muſt ruine all, to find means to defray all thoſe prodigious Charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great Court, which hath no other ſource to ſubſiſt but their Coffers and Treaſure, and for maintaining conſtantly the vaſt number of Soldiers, neceſſary for them to keep the People in ſubjection, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being ſo many Deſperado's, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is alſo, that in an important War that may happen (which may be almoſt at all times) they muſt almoſt of neceſſity ſell the Government for ready Mony, and immenſe Sums, whence chiefly that ruine and deſolation comes to paſs which we ſee. For the Governor, which is the Buyer, muſt not he be re-imburſed of all thoſe great Sums of mony, which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high intereſt? Muſt not a Governor alſo, whether he have bought the Government or not, find means as well as a Timariot and a Farmer, to make every year great Preſents to a *Viſir*, an *Eunuch*, a Lady of the *Seraglio*, and to thoſe other perſons that ſupport him at Court? Muſt he not pay to the King his uſual Tributes, and withal enrich himſelf, that wretched Slave, half famiſh'd, and deeply indebted when he firſt appear'd, without Goods, Lands, and Revenues of his Houſe, ſuch as they all are. Do not they ruine all, and lay all waſte? I mean thoſe, that in the Provinces are like ſo many ſmall Tyrants with a boundleſs and unmeaſur'd Authority, there being no body there, as hath been already ſaid, that can reſtrain them, or to whom a Subject can have refuge, to ſave himſelf from their Tyranny, and to obtain Juſtice?

'Tis true, that in the Empire of the *Mogol*, the *Vakea-nevis*, that is, thoſe Perſons, whom he ſends into the Provinces to write to him whatever paſſeth there, do a little keep the Officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almoſt always happens) to devour all; as alſo that the Governments are not there ſo often ſold, nor ſo openly as in *Turky*; I ſay, *not ſo openly* (for thoſe great Preſents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almoſt equivalent to Sales) and that the Governors ordinarily remain longer in their Governments; which maketh them not ſo hungry, ſo beggarly,

garly, and ſo deep in debt, as thoſe new Comers, and that conſequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with ſo much cruelty; even apprehending, leſt they ſhould run away to the *Raja's*; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis alſo true, that in *Perſia* the Governments are not ſo frequently nor ſo publickly ſold as in *Turky*; the Sons of the Governors alſo ſucceeding often enough to their Fathers; which is alſo the cauſe, that the people there is often not ſo ill treated as in *Turky*, and occaſions withal, that there is more politeneſs, and that even ſome there are that addict themſelves to ſtudy. But all that is really but a ſlight matter; thoſe three States of *Turky*, *Perſia* and *Indoſtan*, foraſmuch as they have all three taken away the *Meum* and *Tuum* as to Land, and propriety of Poſſeſſions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the World) cannot but very near reſemble one another: they have the ſame defect, they muſt at laſt, ſooner or later, needs fall into the ſame inconveniencies, which are the neceſſary conſequences of it, *viz.* Tyranny, Ruine, and Deſolation.

Far be it therefore, that our Monarchs of *Europe* ſhould thus be Proprietors of all the Lands which their Subjects poſſeſs. Their Kingdoms would be very far from being ſo well cultivated and peopled, ſo well built, ſo rich, ſo polite and flouriſhing as we ſee them. Our Kings are otherwiſe rich and powerful; and we muſt avow that we are much better and more royally ſerved. There would be Kings of Deſarts and Solitudes, of Beggars and *Barbarians*, ſuch as thoſe are whom I have been repreſenting; who, becauſe they will have all, at laſt loſe all; and who, becauſe they will make themſelves too rich, at length find themſelves without riches, or, at leaſt, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind Ambition and Paſſion, of being more abſolute than the Laws of God and Nature do permit. For, where would be thoſe Princes, thoſe Prelates, thoſe Nobles, thoſe rich Citizens, and great Merchants, and thoſe famous Artizans, thoſe Towns of *Paris*, *Lyons*, *Thoulouſe*, *Rouen*, *London*, and ſo many others? Where would be that infinite number of Burroughs and Villages, all thoſe fair Country-houſes and Fields, and Hillocks, tilled and maintained with ſo much Induſtry, Care and Labour? And where would conſequently be all thoſe vaſt Revenues drawn thence, which at laſt enrich the Subjects and the Sovereign both? We ſhould find the great Cities, and the great Boroughs rendred inhabitable, becauſe of the ill Air, and to fall to ruine without any bodies taking care of repairing them; the Hillocks abandoned, and the Fields overſpread with the Buſhes, or filled with peſtilential Mariſhes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienc'd Travellers: They would not find thoſe fair conveniencies of Travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the *Bohemians*; and all thoſe good Inns, for example, that are found between *Paris* and *Lyons*, would be like ten or twelve wretched *Caravans-ſerrahs*, that is, great Barns, raiſed and paved, ſuch as our *Pont-neuf* is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their Horſes, Mules and Camels, where one is ſtifled with heat in Summer, and ſtarved of cold in Winter, if it were not for the breathing of thoſe Animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be ſaid, we ſee ſome States, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not, (as for example, that of the *Grand Seignior*, which we know better than any, without going ſo far as the *Indies*) that do not only ſubſiſt, but are alſo very powerful, and encreaſe daily.

'Tis true, that that State of the *Gr. Seignior*, of ſuch a prodigious Extent as it is, having ſo vaſt a quantity of Lands, the Soil of which is ſo excellent, that it cannot be deſtroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain alſo, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours, (which it would be, if there were propriety among the Subjects throughout) it would be a quite different thing; it would have people enough to raiſe ſuch prodigious Armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almoſt all the parts of it; we have ſeen how ſtrangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the Capital City there now need three whole months to raiſe five or ſix thouſand men. We know alſo, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of Chriſtian Slaves that are brought into it from all Parts. And no doubt but that, if the ſame Government were continued there for a number of years, that State would deſtroy it ſelf, and at laſt, fall it by its own Weakneſs, as it ſeems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of Governors;

there being not one Governor, nor any one man in the vvhole Empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the leaſt thing, or that can almoſt find any men, if he had money. A ſtrange manner to make States to ſubſiſt! There vvould need no more for making an end of the Seditions, than a *Brama* of *Pegu*, who killed the half of the Kingdom with hunger, and turned it into Foreſts, hindring for ſome years the Lands from being tilled, though yet he hath not ſucceeded in his Deſign, and the State have afterwards been divided, and that even lately *Ava*, the Capital Town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of *China* Fugitives. Mean time we muſt confeſs, that we are not like to ſee in our days that total ruine and deſtruction of this Empire we are ſpeaking of, (if ſo be we ſee not ſomething worſe) becauſe it hath Neighbors, that are ſo far from being able to undertake any thing againſt him, that they are not ſo much as in a condition to reſiſt him, unleſs it be by thoſe ſuccours of ſtrangers, which the remoteneſs and jealouſie would make ſlow, ſmall, and ſuſpect.

But it might be yet further objected, that it appears not, why ſuch States as theſe might not have good Laws, and why the People in the Provinces might not be enabled to come and make their Complaints to a Grand *Viſir*, or to the King himſelf. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether deſtitute of good Laws, and that, if thoſe which are amongſt them were obſerved, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the World. But what are thoſe Laws good for, if they be not obſerved, and if there be no means to make them to be executed? Is it not the Grand *Viſir*, or the King that appoints for the People ſuch beggarly Tyrants, and that hath no others to ſet over them? Is it not He that ſells thoſe Governments? Hath a poor Peaſant or Tradeſman means to make great Journies, and to come and ſeek for Juſtice in the Capital City, remote, perhaps, 150 or 200 Leagues from the place of his Abode? Will not the Governor cauſe him to be made away in his journy (as it hath often hapned) or catch him ſooner or later? And will he not provide his Friends at Court, to ſupport him there, and to repreſent things quite otherwiſe than they are? In a word, this Governor, hungry as well as the Timariots and Farmers (that are all men for drawing Oyl out of Sand, as the *Perſian* ſpeaks, and for ruining a World, with their heap of Women-harpies, Children and Slaves) this Governor, I ſay, is he not the abſolute Maſter, the Superintendant of Juſtice, the Parliament, the Receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, That the Lands, which our Kings hold in *Domaine*, are no leſs well tilled and peopled, than other Land. But there is a great difference between the having in propriety ſome Lands here and there in a great Kingdom (which changes not the Conſtitution of the State and Government) and the having them all in propriety, which would alter it altogether. And then we in theſe Parts have Laws ſo rational, which our Kings are willing to be the firſt to obſerve, and according to which they will that their particular Lands ſhall be governed as thoſe of their Subjects are, ſo as to give way, that Actions of Law may be laid againſt their own Farmers and Officers, ſo that a Peaſant or Tradeſman may have means to obtain Juſtice, and to find remedy againſt the unjuſt violence of thoſe that would oppreſs him: Whereas in thoſe Parts of *Aſia*, I ſee almoſt not any refuge for thoſe poor People; the Cudgel and the Hammer of the Governor being in a manner the only Law that rules, and decides all Controverſies there.

Laſtly, It may be ſaid, that 'tis at leaſt certain, that in ſuch States there is not ſuch a multitude of long-laſting Suits of Law, as in theſe Parts, nor ſo many Lawyers of all ſorts, as amongſt us. It is in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old *Perſian* Saying, *Na-hac Kouta Beter-Ez hac Deraz*, that is, *Short Injuſtice is better than long Juſtice*; and that the length of Law-Suits is unſufferable in a State, and that it is the indiſpenſable duty of the Sovereign, by all good means, to endeavor a remedy againſt them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the Root would be cut of an infinite number of Law-Proceſſes, and eſpecially of almoſt all thoſe that are of importance, and long and perplexed; and conſequently there would not need ſo great a number of Magiſtrates, which our Sovereigns do employ to adminiſter Juſtice to their Subjects, nor that ſwarm of men, which ſubſiſt only by that way. But 'tis alſo manifeſt, that the Remedy would be an hundred times worſe than the Diſeaſe, conſidering thoſe great inconveniences that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the Magiſtrates would become ſuch as thoſe of the *Aſiatick* States, who deſerve not that Name; for, in a word, our Kings have yet cauſe to glory upon the account of good Magiſtracy under them. In thoſe Parts, ſome Merchants

chants excepted, Juſtice is only among the meaneſt ſort of People, that are poor, and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the Judges, and to buy falſe Witneſſes, that are there in great numbers, and very cheap, and never puniſhed. And this I have learn'd every where by the experience of many years, and by my ſolicitous Enquiries made among the People of the Country, and our old Merchants that are in thoſe Parts, as alſo of Ambaſſadors, Conſuls and Interpreters; whatever our common Travellers may ſay, who, upon their having ſeen by chance, when they paſſed by, two or three Porters, or others of the like Gang, about a *Kady*, quickly diſpatching one or other of the Parties, and ſometimes both, with ſome laſhes under the ſole of their Feet, or with a *Maybalé Baba*, ſome mild words, when there is no Wool to ſheer; who, I ſay, upon ſight of this, come hither, and cry out, O the good and ſhort Juſtice! O what honeſt Judges are thoſe in reſpect of ours! Not conſidering in the mean time, that if one of thoſe Wretches, that is in the wrong, had a couple of Crowns to corrupt the *Kady*, or his Clerks, and as much to buy two falſe Witneſſes, he might either win his Proceſs, or prolong it as long as he pleaſed.

In concluſion, to be ſhort, I ſay, That the taking away this Propriety of Lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the ſame time Tyranny, Slavery, Injuſtice, Beggary, Barbariſm, Deſolation, and to open a Highway for the ruine and deſtruction of Mankind, and even of Kings and States: And that on the contrary, this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one ſhall keep, what he works and labours for, for himſelf and his Children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the World: Inſomuch that whoſoever ſhall caſt his eyes upon the different Countries and Kingdoms, and taketh good notice of what follows upon this Propriety of Sovereigns, or that of the People, will ſoon find the true ſource and chief cauſe of that great difference we ſee in the ſeveral States and Empires of the World, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diverſifieth the Face of the whole Earth.

The End of the SECOND TOME.

A LETTER TO *Monſieur de la* MOTHE *le* VAYER, WRITTEN At DEHLI, *JULY* 1. 1663.

CONTAINING

The Deſcription of DEHLI *and* AGRA, *and divers Particulars diſcovering the* Court *and* Genius *of the* Mogols *and* Indians.

SIR,

I Know that one of the firſt Queſtions you are like to ask me, at my return in *France*, will be, Whether *Dehli* and *Agra* are Cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as *Paris*. Concerning its *Beauty*, I ſhall tell you by way of Preface, that I have ſometimes wonder'd to hear our *Europeans*, that are here, deſpiſing the Towns of the *Indies*, as not coming near ours, in reſpect of the Edifices. Certainly they ought not to reſemble them; and if *Paris*, *London*, and *Amſterdam*, ſtood in the place where *Dehli* is, the greateſt part of them muſt be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our Cities indeed have great Beauties and Embelliſhments, but they are ſuch that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold Climat. *Dehli* alſo may have its Beauties peculiar to it, and ſutable to a very hot Climat: For you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all People, even the great Lords, and the King himſelf, to go without Stockings, in a kind of Slippers only, a fine and ſlight Turbant on their Heads, and the other Garments accordingly; that there are months in the Summer ſo exceſſively hot, that in the Chambers one can hardly hold ones hands againſt a Wall, nor ones head on a Cuſhion: And that People are oblig'd for the ſpace of more than ſix months to lie without covering, at the door of their Chamber, as the Rabble doth in the open Streets, or as the Merchants, and other People of ſome Quality do, in ſome airy Hall or Garden, or upon ſome Terraſs well watered at Night: thence you may judge, whether if there were ſuch ſtreets as that of St. *Jacques*, or St. *Denis*, with their Houſes ſhut, and of ſo many Stories high, they would be habitable? And whether in the Night, eſpecially when the heats are without wind and ſtuffing, it would be poſſible to ſleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in Summer, when he returns on Horſeback from the City half dead, and in a manner ſtifled of the heat and duſt, and all in a Sweat, (for ſo it is) to go climbing up an high pair of Stairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth Story, and to abide in this hot and ſuffocating Air? On ſuch occaſions they deſire nothing, but to throw down into the Stomack a Pint of freſh Water, or Lemonade, to undreſs, to waſh the Face, Hands and Feet, to lie down in ſome cool and ſhady place all along, having a Servant or two to fan one by turns, with their great *Panhas*, or Fans. But, to leave this, we ſhall now endeavour to entertain you with the repreſentation of *Dehli* as it is, that ſo you may judge, whether it be truly ſaid, that it is a fair City.

It

It is now about forty years that *Chah-Jehan*, Father of the Grand-Mogol *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, to eternize his memory, cauſed to be built a Town contiguous to old *Debli*, which he called after his Name *Chah-Jean-Abad*, and by way of abbreviation *Jean-Abad*; that is to ſay, a Colony of *Chah-Jehan*, deſigning to make it the Capital of the Empire, inſtead of *Agra*, where he ſaid, that the Summer heats were too violent. This nearneſs hath occaſioned, that the ruines of old *Debli* have ſerved to build a new City; and in the *Indies* they ſcarce ſpeak any more of *Debli*, but only of *Jehan-Abad*. Yet notwithſtanding, ſince the City of *Jehan-Abad* is not yet known amongſt us, I intend to ſpeak of it under the old name of *Debli*, which is familiar to us.

Debli then is a Town altogether new, ſeated in a plain Campagne, upon a River like our *Loire*, called *Gemna*, and built along one ſide of the River only; there being but one Boat-bridge to paſs over into the Plain. This Town is ſurrounded with Walls, except the River ſide: theſe Walls are of Bricks, and without a conſiderable defence, they being without a Ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round Towers after the old way, diſtant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them, four or five foot thick. The compaſs of theſe Walls, comprizing the Fortreſs, is not ſo big as is commonly believed: I have gone it round with eaſe in three hours; and I believe not, though I was on Horſeback, that I diſpatched more than one league in an hour: 'tis true, that if you will take into the Town a very long Suburb, which goeth towards *Labor*, as alſo what remains inhabited of old *Debli*, which is likewiſe a great and very long Suburb, and beſides, three or four ſmall Suburbs more, all that would make in a direct line above a league and a half, and ſuch a compaſs which I cannot well determine, becauſe that between the Suburbs are great Gardens, and large ſpaces not built; but I may ſay, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigneſs.

The Fortreſs, in which is the *Mehalle*, or *Seraglio*, and the other Royal Apartments, which I ſhall hereafter ſpeak of, is built round upon the River; yet there is between the Water and the Walls a pretty large and long ſandy ſpace, where commonly Elephants are exerciſed, and where frequently the *Militia* of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas* is muſtered in the King's preſence, who looks out of the Windows of one of his Apartments. The Walls of the Fortreſs, as to their round antick Towers, are very near like thoſe of the Town, but they are partly of Bricks, and partly of a certain red Stone reſembling Marble, which maketh them look fairer than thoſe of the Town; beſides that, they are much higher, ſtronger and thicker, being able to bear ſome Field-pieces that are there planted towards the Town; and incompaſſed alſo, excepting that ſide which reſpects the River, with a fair Ditch, walled up with Free-ſtone, full of Water and Fiſh. But yet whether they are conſiderable for ſtrength; a battery of ſome middle ſized Canons would, in my opinion, ſoon caſt them down.

Round about the Ditch there is a pretty large Garden, at all times full of Flowers and green Apricocks, which together with thoſe great Walls all red, maketh a very fine ſight.

About this Garden is the great Street, or rather the great Place Royal, to which the two great and principal Gates of the Fortreſs do anſwer, and to theſe Gates the two chief Streets of the Town.

In this great Place it is, where the Tents of the *Rajas* are, that are in the King's Pay, to keep there every one in his turn their weekly Guard; whereas the *Omrahs* and the *Manſebdars*, or ſmall *Omrahs*, keep it within the Fortreſs. Theſe little Soveraigns are not pleaſed to ſee themſelves thus and ſo long ſhut up in a Fort.

In this very Place it is, where at the break of day are exerciſed the Horſes of a long Royal Stable, near it. And here 'tis alſo, that the *Kobat-kan*, or great Commiſſioner of the Cavalry, carefully vieweth the Horſes of thoſe Cavaliers, that have been received into Service, to the end that if theſe Horſes are of *Turkiſtan*, or *Tartary*, and large and ſtrong enough for Service, the King's Mark, and that of the *Omrahs*, under whom ſuch Cavaliers are to be liſted, may be branded upon them: A thing not ill deviſed, to prevent the mutual Loan of Horſes in the Muſters.

This ſame Place is alſo a kind of *Bazar*, or Market, of an hundred things ſold there, and a Rendezvous of Players, and Juglers of all ſorts, as the *Pont-neuf* at *Paris*. It is no leſs the Meeting-place of the poor *Aſtrologers*, as well *Mahumetan* as *Heathen*. Theſe Doctors (forſooth) ſit there in the Sun upon a piece of Tapeſtry, all covered with duſt, having about them ſome old Mathematical Inſtruments, which they make ſhew of to draw Paſſengers, and a great open Book repreſenting the Animals of the *Zodiack*. Theſe

men are the Oracles, but rather the Affronters of the Vulgar, to whom they pretend to give, for one *Payſſa*, that is, a penny, good Luck; and they are they, that looking upon the Hands and the Face, turning over their Books, and making a ſhew of Calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a Buſineſs is to be begun to make it ſucceſsful. The mean Women, wrapt up in a white Sheet from Head to Foot, come to find them out, telling them in their Ear their moſt ſecret Concerns, as if they were their Confeſſors, and (which ſmells very ſtrongly of Stupidity and Folly) entreat them to render the Stars propitious to them ſuitable to their Deſigns; as if they could abſolutely diſpoſe of their Influences.

The moſt ridiculous of all theſe Aſtrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel *Portugueſe*, fugitive from *Goa*, who ſate in that Place with much Gravity upon his piece of Tapeſtry, like the reſt, and had a great deal of Cuſtom, though he could neither write nor read, and as for Inſtruments and Books, was furniſhed with nothing elſe but an old Sea-Compaſs, and an old *Romiſh* Prayer-Book in the *Portugueſe* Language, of which he ſhewed the Pictures for Figures of the *Zodiack: A tal Beſtias, tal Aſtrologuo:* For ſuch Beaſts, ſuch Aſtrologer, ſaid he to the Reverend Father *Buze*, a Jeſuit, who met him in that Place.

I here ſpeak only of the pitiful Aſtrologers of the *Bazar*; for there are others in theſe Parts, that are in the Courts of the Grandees, and are conſidered as great Clerks, and are very rich; whole *Aſia* being overſpread with this Superſtition. The Kings and the great Lords, who would not undertake the leaſt things without conſulting them, allow them great Salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the Heavens, (for ſo they ſpeak here) and take out for them that fortunate moment, I was lately ſpeaking of; or find out, at the opening of the *Alcoran*, the deciſion of all their Doubts.

To return; theſe two principal Streets, which I ſaid do anſwer to the two Gates of the Fortreſs, and to the Place, may have twenty five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a ſtreight line as far as you are able to ſee: Yet that which leads to the Gate of *Lahor*, is much longer than the other; but they are both alike as to the Houſes. There is on both ſides nothing but Arches, as in our *Place Royal*; yet with this difference, that they are but of Bricks, and that there is not any Building upon them, but only the Terraſs. There is alſo this difference, that they are not continued Galleries. Theſe Arches are generally ſevered by Rails that make Shops which are not to be ſhut, where Tradeſ-men work in the day, where Bankers ſit for their Buſineſs, and where Merchants ſet out their Wares, which at night they lock up in a Magazin, the little Door of which, to be ſhut, is in the bottom of every Arch.

It is upon this Magazin, which is in the back-part of the Arches, that the Houſes of Merchants are built and raiſed, which make a Shew good enough towards the Street, and are alſo pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the duſt, and having for their Floor the terraſſes of the Arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the Street, and to ſleep at night in *freſco*. But excepting theſe Houſes of the chief Streets, and a few others, there are not many of theſe fair Houſes, that are thus raiſed upon Terraſſes; nor are even theſe two Streets univerſally furniſht with them, there being moſtly upon the Magazin, or on the ſide, nothing but a ſmall Building, not ſeen from the Street, the great Merchants having their Houſes ſomewhere elſe, whither they retire at night.

Beſides theſe *two* principal Streets, there are yet *five* others, which indeed are not ſo long nor ſo ſtreight, but for the reſt are altogether like them. There are alſo a great many other Streets croſſing thoſe on all ſides, whereof there are alſo ſome furniſht with Arches; but becauſe they have been built piece-meal by ſuch particular perſons, as have not obſerved the Symmetry that was requiſite, they are, for the moſt part, neither ſo large nor ſo ſtreight, nor ſo well built as the others.

Amongſt all theſe Streets are ſpread every where the Houſes of the *Manſebdars*, or little *Omrahs*, and thoſe of the men of the Law, as alſo of many great Merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are paſſable. It is true, there are but few that are all of Brick or Stone, and there is even a good number of theſe, that are made all of Earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, becauſe they are generally airy, being furniſhed with Courts and Gardens. Nor are they diſagreeable within, foraſmuch as beſides the fine moveables, theſe thatched Coverings are ſupported by a layer of certain long Canes, that are hard and ſtrong, and very pretty, and becauſe alſo theſe earthen Walls are plaſtered over with very fine and very white Chalk.

Amongſt

Amongſt theſe Houſes I have been ſpeaking of, that are tolerable, there is alſo a prodigious number of other ſmall ones, that are only made up of Earth and Straw, where all the ſimple Cavaliers, and their Servants, and all thoſe little people of the Market, that follow the Court and the Army are lodged.

It is from theſe thatched Houſes that *Debli* is ſo ſubject to Fires. This laſt year there were burnt above ſixty thouſand ſuch, at two or three times that they took Fire, when there blew certain impetuous Winds, that riſe chiefly in Summer. The Fire was ſo quick and ſo violent, that it ſurpriſed the Houſes, and many Horſes alſo that could not be time enough looſened; and there were even ſome of theſe poor Women burnt, that never had been out of the *Seraglio*, and that are ſo weak and ſhamefaced when they ſee people, that they know nothing elſe but to hide their Faces.

And it is upon the account of theſe pitiful Houſes of Earth and Straw, that I look upon *Debli* almoſt no otherwiſe than as many Villages joyned together, and (which I have already ſaid in another place) as a Camp of an Army, a little better and more commodiouſly placed, than in the Field.

As to the Houſes of the *Omrahs*, that are alſo up and down in this City, and principally upon the River, and even in the Suburbs: You are to know that in theſe hot Countries, to entitle an Houſe to the name of Good and Fair, it is required it ſhould be commodious, ſeated in a Place well aired, and capable to receive the Wind from all ſides, and principally from the North; having Courts, Gardens, Trees, Conſervatories, and little jets of Waters in the Halls, or at leaſt at the Entry; furniſhed alſo with good Cellars with great Flaps to ſtir the Air, for repoſing in the freſh Air from twelve till four or five of the Clock, when the Air of theſe Cellars begins to be hot and ſtuffing: or having in lieu of Cellarage certain *Kas-kanays*, that is, little Houſes of Straw, or rather of odoriferous Roots, that are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midſt of a *Parterre* near ſome Conſervatory, that ſo the Servants may eaſily, with their Pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an Houſe, that it be ſeated in the midſt of ſome great *Parterre*, that it have four great Divans or Ways raiſed from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and expoſed to the four Parts of the World, to receive the Wind and the Cold from all the Parts it may come from. Laſtly, it is requiſite for a good Houſe to have raiſed *Terraſſes*, to ſleep upon in the night, ſuch as are of the ſame Floor with ſome great Chamber, to draw in ones Bed-ſtead upon occaſion; that is to ſay, when there comes ſome Tempeſt of Rain or Duſt, or when that rouſing freſhneſs of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a Covering: or elſe when you apprehend that ſmall and light Dew of the morning, which pierceth, and cauſeth ſometimes benumming and paralitical Symptoms in the Limbs.

As to the interior part of an Houſe, it is requiſite that the whole Floor be covered with a mattereſs of Cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linnen Sheet during Summer, and with a piece of ſilk Tapeſtry in Winter: That in the moſt conſpicuous part of the Chamber, near the Wall, there be one or two cotton Quilts, with fine flowered Coverings, and ſet about with ſmall and fine embroidery of Silk, wrought with Gold and Silver, for the Maſter of the Houſe, or Perſons of Quality coming in, to ſit upon; and that every Quilt have its croſs Board, purfled with God, to lean upon: that round about the Chamber, along the Walls, there be ſeveral of theſe croſs Boards, as I juſt now mentioned, handſomly covered with Velvet or flowred Sattin, for Byſtanders alſo to lean upon. The Walls five or ſix foot from the Floor, muſt be almoſt all with *Niches*, or little Windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or ſhapes, very fine, well meaſured and proportioned to one another, with ſome porcelain Veſſels and Flower-pots in them; and the Ground muſt be painted and guilded, yet without any figure of Man or Beaſt, their Religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know, the Idea of a handſom and convenient Houſe in theſe Parts: And as there is a good number of them in *Debli*, that have all theſe Qualities mentioned, or at leaſt in part, according to which they are more or leſs fair and gallant: I believe one may ſay, without any injury to our Towns, that *Debli* is not without Houſes that are truly handſom, although they be not like ours in *Europe*.

Concerning the Appearance and Riches of the Shops, (which is the thing that contributeth moſt to the beauty of our Towns in *Europe*) although *Debli* be the Seat of a very potent and magnificent Court, and conſequently the reſort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich Wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you ſhall find there our Streets

of St. *Denis*; I know not whether there be any ſuch in all *Aſia*. And even as to the moſt fine and the moſt rich Stuffs, they are commonly but in the Magazins, their Shops are not furniſht with them: So that for one Shop that maketh any ſhew, that is, where there are ſold thoſe fine ſorts of Linnen, thoſe Stuffs of Silk ſtreaked with Gold and Silver, Cloth of Gold, Turbands embroidered with Gold, and other Commodities of great price; you ſhall always find five and twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but Pots of Oyl and Butter, and Panniers one upon another full of Rice, Barley, Peaſe, Corn, and many other ſorts of Grain and Legume; which are the ordinary Food not only of all the *Gentiles*, that never eat any meat, but alſo of the meaner ſort of the *Mahumetans*, and of a good part of thoſe of the Souldiery.

It is true that there is a Fruit-market that maketh ſome ſhew. One may there ſee in Summer abundance of Shops full of dry Fruit, that come out of *Perſia*, *Balk*, *Bokara*, and *Samarkand*, as Almonds, Piſtaches, ſmall Nuts, Raiſins, Prunes, Apricocks, and the like. And in Winter there are found excellent Raiſins freſh, black and white, brought from the ſame Countries, well wrapt up in Cotton; alſo Apples and Pears of three or four ſorts, and of theſe admirable Melons that laſt all Winter. But all this Fruit is very dear; I have ſeen Melons ſold even for a Crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the *Omrahs*. I have often ſeen in the Houſe of my *Aga*, that there was eaten in Melons in one morning for more than twenty Crowns. There are none but the Melons of the Country that are cheap in Summer, but thoſe are not ſo good. The Grandees only, that take care to ſend for Seed out of *Perſia*, and to get the Ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones; yet that but rarely neither, the Ground being not ſo proper but that the Seed degenerateth the very firſt year.

It is true, there is yet another Fruit called *Amba*, or *Mangue*, which in its ſeaſon, during two Summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap; but thoſe of *Dehli* are none of the beſt, being very looſe and flaſhly: thoſe of *Bengala*, *Golkonda*, and *Goa*, are admirable. It hath a certain ſweetneſs ſo peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any Comfit in the World ſo pleaſant. There are alſo *Pateques*, or Water-Melons in abundance, and almoſt all the year long; but they alſo do not thrive well at *Dehli*; they never have their meat ſo ruddy, firm and ſuggary; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongſt the Great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as Melons, with extraordinary care and coſt.

There be alſo up and down in *Dehli* Shops of *Comfit-makers*; but all their Comfits are very ill done, being full of Duſt and Flyes.

There are beſides many Shops of *Bread* every where, but becauſe they have no Ovens like ours, it is never well baked: yet in the Fortreſs there is ſold ſome that is reaſonably good; and the *Omrahs* cauſe ſuch to be made in their Houſes that is very delicate, ſparing no new Butter, Milk, nor Eggs: yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodneſs to our Bread of *Goneſſe*, and to thoſe other ſorts of excellent Bread of *Paris*, it ſavouring always of the Cake or Simnel.

In theſe *Bazars* there are alſo ſome Tents, where they trade in Roſt-meat, and in dreſſing I know not how many ſorts of Diſhes; but all that is but beggarly, naſty, and ill meat. I fear you ſometimes meet with the fleſh of Camels, Horſes, or Oxen, dead of ſickneſs: I do not much truſt them; ſo that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you muſt have it dreſſed at home.

There are alſo many Shops every where where they ſell Fleſh; but you muſt take heed, leſt they give you Mutton for Kid; the Mutton and Beef, but eſpecially Mutton, though well enough taſted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digeſtion. The beſt meat here is young Kid, but it is very rarely ſold in the Market by Quarters; ſo that if you have a mind to eat any, you muſt buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, becauſe the meat is ſpoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly ſo lean, that it is taſteleſs. Ordinarily you find in the Shambles nothing but the quarters of great Kids, which often alſo are very lean and hard. It is true, that ſince I have learned ſomething of the manner of the Country, I find both Meat and Bread good enough, becauſe I ſend my Servant to the Fortreſs to the King's Caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it coſt them nothing. And it was in reference to this, that one day I made my *Agah* ſmile, when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and ſtealing, and that for all the 150 Crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be ſtarved; whereas in *France* for half a Roupy, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They

They have no Capons, all that People being too tender-hearted towards all Animals but Men, whom they need for their *Seraglios*. But the Markets are full of Hens, that are very good and cheap: Among the reſt there is one ſort of little ones, that I called *Æthiopian* Hens, becauſe they have their skin black like the *Æthiopians*, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, becauſe they will not kill them young; they would be (ſay they) too ſmall, and it were ill done to kill ſuch poor little Animals.

There are alſo Partridges, but ſmaller than ours, and generally (ſeeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with Nets) they are worſe than our Pullets. The like may be ſaid of their Ducks and Hares, of which they alſo bring whole Cages full alive.

Concerning *Fiſh*, the People here are no great Fiſh-mongers; yet at times one meets with very good Fiſh, eſpecially of two ſorts, the one reſembleth our Pike, and the other our Carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the *Indians* fear that much more than we *Europeans* apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the Eunuchs, who love them exceſſively, (I know not why) carry them preſently away. None but the *Omrahs* have power to make men fiſh when they pleaſe, which they do with the *Korrah*, that great common Whip always hanging at their Gates.

From all that I have ſaid, you may by the By ſee, whether a man ought to leave *Paris* to come to *Dehli* to make good cheer. Certainly the Grandees have all things, but that is upon the account of their many Servants, of the *Korrah*, and of the plenty of Money. And thence it was I once ſaid, that at *Dehli* there is no *mean*; there you muſt either be a great Lord, or live miſerably: for I have experienced it my ſelf, in a manner dying of Hunger this good while, though I have had conſiderable Pay, and was reſolved to ſpare nothing that way, becauſe commonly there is found nothing in the Markets but the refuſe of the Grandees. Beſides that, the ſoul of a Feaſt which is good Wine, is not there; not that no Grapes do grow there to make Wine, (for I have drunk ſome at *Amadevad* and *Golkonda*, in the Houſes of *Engliſh* men and *Hollanders*, that was not ill) but becauſe it is prohibited to make Wine, in regard that not only by the Law of *Mahomet*, but alſo by that of the *Heathen*, it is not permitted to drink any: So that it is very rare to find Wine, and that which we find comes out of *Perſia* from *Chiras* by Land to *Banderabaſy*, from thence by Sea to *Suratte*, and from *Suratte* hither by Land in forty ſix days: or it comes from the *Canaries*, brought alſo over Sea to *Suratte* by the *Dutch*. And both are ſo dear, that the coſt (as the ſaying is) maketh it loſe the taſte; for a Bottle holding about three *Pariſian* pints cometh often to ſix or ſeven Crowns, and more. That which is of this Countreys growth is called *Arac*, a ſtrong Water made of Sugar not refined, and even this is expreſly prohibited to be ſold, and there are none but *Chriſtians* that dare drink of it, except others do it by ſtealth. This is a Drink very hot and penetrant, like the Brandy made of Corn in *Poland*. It ſo falls upon the Nerves, that it often cauſeth ſhaking Hands in thoſe that drink a little too much of it, and caſts them into incurable Maladies. Here we muſt accuſtom our ſelves to fair and good Water, and to Lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with ſmall charges, and doth not ſpoil the Stomach. But to ſay all, a man hath no great inclination, in ſuch hot Countries as theſe to drink Wine; and I am willing notice ſhould be here taken together with me, that the abſtinence from Wine in theſe Parts, joyned to the general ſobriety of the Natives, and to the ſweats and perpetual tranſpiration made by the pores, are the cauſe (in my opinion) that we almoſt know not what is the Gout, the Stone, Aches of the Kidneys, Rheumatiſms, Quartans; and that thoſe that bring any of theſe Sickneſſes hither, as I did, are at length totally freed from them: and further, that the Pox it ſelf, though very frequent, is not ſo cruel nor ſo pernicious here as in *Europe*: ſo that People generally live here more healthily than with us. But then on the other hand, there is not ſo much vigour here in People, as in our cold Climat; and this feebleneſs and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troubleſom to all, eſpecially in the great heats of Summer, and eſpecially to the *Europeans*, whoſe bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for Shops of excellent Handy-craftſmen, that is alſo a thing we muſt not look for here: all we find is but very little; not that the *Indians* have not wit enough to make them ſucceſsful in Arts, they doing very well (as to ſome of them) in many Parts of *India*, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that ſome of them make (even without a Maſter) very pretty workmanſhip, and imitate ſo well

our

our Work of *Europe*, that the difference thereof will hardly be diſcerned. I have ſeen amongſt them even of our kind of Guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of Gold-ſmiths Work ſo well done, that I doubt whether in *Europe* they could be made better. I have alſo ſeen in *Picture* and *Miniature* ſuch curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongſt others, I have ſeen the Combats of *Eckbar*, repreſented upon a Buckler by a famous Painter, who was ſaid to have been ſeven years working at it, which ſeemed to me an admirable piece of Work. It is manifeſt, that they want nothing but good Maſters, and the precepts of Art to give them juſt proportions; and above all, that life of the Face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The Reaſon therefore why in the Shops of *Dehli* there are rarely found good Handy-craftſmen, is not want of Wit, but contempt of the Workmen, who are ill treated, and whoſe Work is debaſed to too low a price. If ſome *Omrah*, or *Manſebdar*, will have any thing made by a Workman of the *Bazar*, he will ſend for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaſeth; and the man will think himſelf happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the *Korrah*. What heart then can a poor Workman have to take pains to ſucceed in his Workmanſhip? He conſiders nothing but to diſpatch his Work, thereby to earn ſomething to put Bread into his Mouth. So that if there be any of them that ſucceed, they are of thoſe whom the great Lords entertain in their Service, and that work only for them.

Touching the things within the Fortreſs, where are the *Seraglio*, and ſome other Royal Edifices, you muſt not look for a *Louvre*, or an *Eſcurial*; thoſe Buildings do not reſemble ours, nor by what I have ſaid, ought they to reſemble them: it is enough that they have that ſtatelineſs, which is proper to the Climat.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great Elephants of ſtone, which are on the two ſides of one of the Gates. Upon one of them is the Statue of *Jamel*, that famous *Raja* of *Chitar*, and upon the other, that of *Polta* his Brother. Theſe are thoſe two gallant Men, that together with their Mother, who was yet braver than they, cut ſo much Work for *Eckbar*; and who in the Sieges of Towns, which they maintained againſt him, gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of their Generoſity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their Mother, than ſubmit: and for this Gallantry it is, that even their Enemies thought them worthy to have theſe Statues erected for them. Theſe two great Elephants, together with the two reſolute Men ſitting on them, do at the firſt entry into this Fortreſs make an Impreſſion of I know not what greatneſs and awful terror.

After you have paſſed this Gate, you find a long and large Street, divided into two by a Channel of running Water, and having on both ſides, as our Pont-neuf, a long raiſed Wall five or ſix foot high, and four broad; and further off ſome Arches ſhut, that follow one another all along in the form of Gates. It is upon this long raiſed Place that thoſe Clerks, Controllers, and other ſmall Officers ſit to do their Office, without being incommoded by the Horſes and People that paſs along beneath. And it is there alſo where the *Manſeb-dars*, or little *Omrahs*, are at night to keep the Guard. The Water of the Channel runneth dividing it ſelf through the whole *Seraglio*, and at length falleth into the Ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the River by a Channel opened five or ſix leagues above *Dehli*, and conveyed croſs the Field, and that through ſome Rocks that have coſt great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be ſeen at the entry into one of the two principal Gates, that anſwer to the great *Piazza*.

If you enter at the other Gate, you alſo find preſently a pretty long and large Street, having its riſings on the ſides as the other, together with Shops upon them in lieu of the Arches. This Street is properly a *Bazar*, which is very commodious during the ſeaſon of the Rains and Summer, becauſe it is covered by a long and large Vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Beſides theſe two Streets, there are many other ſmall ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the Apartments, where the *Omrahs* keep their Guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty four hours. Theſe Places are ſtately ones for *Corps de Gardes*, the *Omrahs* ſtriving to beautifie them at their own charges. Theſe are ordinarily great raiſed Places reſpecting a *Parterre*, that hath its little Channels of running Water, ſmall Conſervatories and Jets of Water. The *Omrahs* during the twenty four hours of Guard, take no care for their Table, the King ſending them all their Meat ready dreſſed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much Ceremony and Reſpect,

ſpect, making three obeyſances of thanks, by elevating their Hand upon their Head, and bowing down to the ground, their Face turned toward the King.

There are alſo found many raiſed Walks and Tents in ſundry Places, that are the Offices of ſeveral Officers. Beſides, there are many great Halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or Places where Handy-craftſmen do work. In one of theſe Halls you ſhall find Embroiderers at work, together with their Chief that inſpects them; in another you ſhall ſee Gold-ſmiths; in a third Picture-drawers; in a fourth Workmen in *Lacca*; in others, Joyners, Turners, Taylors, Shoo-makers; in others, Workmen in Silk and purfled Gold, and in all thoſe ſorts of fine Cloth, of which they make Turbands, Girdles with golden flowers, and thoſe Drawers of Ladies, that are ſo fine and delicate, as that ſometimes they laſt them but one night, though they often coſt them ten or twelve Crowns, when they are of that faſhion, as I have mentioned; I mean, enriched with thoſe fine Embroideries of Needle-work.

All theſe Handy-craftſmen come in the morning to thoſe *Kar-kanays*, and work there all day long, and at night return to their ſeveral homes, every one paſſing his Life quietly, without aſpiring above his condition: for the Embroiderer maketh his Son an Embroiderer, the Gold-ſmith maketh his Son a Gold-ſmith, and a Phyſician in a Town maketh his Son a Phyſician; and no body marrieth but with thoſe that are of his Trade: which is religiouſly obſerved, not only among the *Heathen*, that are obliged to it by their Law, but almoſt always among the *Mahometans* themſelves: Whence it is that you may often ſee very handſom young Women, that remain unmarried, paſſing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good Matches, if their Parents would or could marry them into another Family, eſteemed leſs noble than their own.

After all theſe Apartments, we come at length to the *Am-kas*, which is ſomething very Royal. This is a great ſquare Court with Arches, as may be our *Place Royal*: with this difference, that there are no Buildings atop, and that the Arches are ſevered from one another by a Wall, yet ſo that there is a ſmall Gate to paſs from one to the other. Over the great Gate, which is in the middle of one of the ſides of this Square, there is a large raiſed Place, all open on the ſide of the Court, which is called *Nagar-kanay*, becauſe that is the Place where the Trumpets are, or rather the Hoboys and Timbals, that play together in conſort at certain hours of the day and night: but this is a very odd conſort in the Ears of an *European* that is a new comer, not yet accuſtomed to it: for ſometimes there are ten or twelve of thoſe Hoboys, and as many Timbals, that ſound altogether at once; and there is an Hoboy which is called *Karna*, a fathom and an half long, and of half a foot aperture below; as there are Timbals of Braſs or Iron, that have no leſs than a fathom in diameter: whence it is eaſie to judge, what a noiſe they muſt needs make. Indeed this Muſick in the beginning did ſo pierce and ſtun me, that it was unſufferable for me; yet I know not what ſtrange power cuſtom hath, for I now find it very pleaſing, eſpecially in the night, when I hear it afar off in my bed upon my Terraſs; then it ſeemeth to me to carry with it ſomething that is grave, majeſtical and very melodious. And there is ſome Reaſon for this melody; for ſeeing it hath its Rules and Meaſures, and that there are excellent Maſters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualifie and temper thoſe ſtrong ſounds of the Hoboys and Timbals, it cannot be otherwiſe, but they muſt thence obtain ſome ſympathy that cannot be diſpleaſing to the Ear, provided (as I ſaid) that it be heard at a diſtance. And even for this Reaſon it is, that they have placed the *Nagar-kanay* very high, and remote from the Ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over againſt the great Gate of the Court, upon which is the *Nagar-kanay*, beyond the whole Court, there is a great and ſtately Hall, with many ranks of Pillars high raiſed, very airy, open on three ſides, looking to the Court, and having its Pillars and Ground painted and guilded. In the midſt of the Wall, which ſeparateth this Hall from the *Seraglio*, there is an opening, or a kind of great Window high and large, and ſo high that a Man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: There it is where the King appears ſeated upon his Throne, having his Sons on his ſides, and ſome Eunuchs ſtanding, ſome of which drive away the Flyes with Peacocks-tails, others fan him with great Fans, others ſtand there ready with great reſpect and humility for ſeveral Services. Thence he ſeeth beneath him all the *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and Ambaſſadors, who are alſo all of them ſtanding upon a raiſed Ground encompaſſed with ſilver Rails, with their Eyes downwards, and their Hands croſſing their Stomachs: ſomewhat further off he

ſeeth

ſeeth the *Manſebdars*, or leſſer *Omrahs*, which are alſo all ſtanding in the ſame poſture and reſpect as the *Omrahs* do: and ſomewhat further off, in the remaining part of the Hall, and in the Court, he ſeeth a great crowd of all ſorts of People. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general Audience to all; which is the Reaſon that this great Hall is called *Am-kas*, that is, Place of Audience, or a Place of Meeting common to great and ſmall.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilſt this Aſſembly laſteth, the King is diverted by ſeeing paſs before him a certain number of the handſomeſt Horſes of his Stables, to ſee whether they be well dreſſed, and in good plight. So he doth ſee a good number of Elephants paſſing alſo before him, whoſe dirty bodies are then well waſhed and cleanſed, and painted black like Ink, except that they have two great ſtreaks painted red, which from the top of their Head come down to their Trunk, where they meet. Theſe Elephants have then alſo certain deckings embroidred with a couple of ſilver Bells hanging down on the ſides, faſtened to the two ends of a great ſilver Chain, paſſing over their Shoulders; as alſo certain Cow-tails of the great *Tibet*, white and very dear, hanging at their Ears like great Muſtachoes: and two little Elephants well accoutred going by their ſides, as if they were their Slaves and appointed to ſerve them. Theſe great Coloſſes, as if they were proud to ſee themſelves ſo bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the King, the Conductor that ſits upon their Shoulders, with a pointed Iron in his Hand pricketh them, and ſpeaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one Knee, and lift up the Trunk into the Air and make a noiſe, which the People take for a *Taſlim*, or deep Salute.

After theſe Elephants there are brought divers tamed *Gazelles*, which are made to fight with one another; as alſo ſome *Nilgaux*, or grey Oxen, which in my opinion are a kind of *Elands* and *Rhinoceroſs*, and thoſe great *Buffalos* of *Bengala* with their prodigious Horns to combat with a Lion or Tiger; likewiſe *Leopards*, or Panthers tamed, which he uſeth in the hunting of *Gazelles:* further, ſome of thoſe handſom hunting *Dogs* of *Usbeck* of all ſorts, every one with his little red Cover; ſtore of *Birds* of prey of all kinds, ſome of which are for Partridges, others for Cranes, others to fall upon Hares, and, as they ſay, upon the very Gazelles, beating their Heads and blinding them with their Wings and Claws.

Often alſo one or two of the *Omrahs* cauſe at that time to paſs their Cavalry for a review before the King: the *Omrahs* coveting that their Horſemen ſhould appear gallant, advantagiouſly decked with extraordinary Garments, and their Horſes trapped with Iron, and harneſſed with I know not how many different and odd faſhions.

The King taketh ſometimes pleaſure himſelf to cauſe Cutlaſes, or ſhort Swords, to be tryed upon dead Sheep, brought to him without the bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young *Omrahs*, *Manſeb-dars* and *Gourze-berdars*, or Mace-bearers, ſtrive to ſhew their force and dexterity by cutting aſunder the four Legs joyned together, and the Body of the Sheep all in one ſtroke.

Mean time all theſe Divertiſements are nothing but an Interlude of ſerious Affairs: for as I have ſaid, the King omits not to make a Muſter of his Cavalry, and well to view them himſelf. We have ſeen, that the War being ended, there is not one Cavalier, nor any other Souldier, but He hath ſeen him and examined him, either to increaſe his Pay, or to leſſen it, or quite to caſhier him. Beſides it is ſeen every day, that he commands the Petitions, which are ſhewed him afar off in the crowd of the People, to be brought to him and to be read: ordering the Parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often cauſing Juſtice to be done them immediately, although he hath the *Adalet-kanay*, the Chamber of Juſtice, where he ordinarily is preſent once a week, attended by his two firſt *Kadys*, or Chief Juſtices: and though alſo at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the ſpace of two hours, ten Perſons of the common People, whom a good and rich old Man preſents to him. Whence it appears (to note that by the By) that thoſe Kings, how barbarous ſoever eſteemed by us, do yet conſtantly remember, that they owe Juſtice to their Subjects.

All what I have been relating to you of what is tranſacted in this Aſſembly of the *Am-kas*, ſeems to me great and royal; but that which hath extreamly offended me there, is a kind of Adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that Place. For the King cannot ſay a word to any purpoſe, but he is preſently exalted, and ſome of the firſt *Omrahs* lifting up their Hands, as if they were to receive ſome Benediction from Heaven,

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cry out, *Karamat ! Karamat !* Wonder! Wonder! Neither is there any *Mogolian* but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this Proverb in *Perſian* Verſe:

Aguer chach ronzra Gonyed cheb eſt in
Bubayed Gouſt inek mah ou peruin.

If the King ſaith at Noon-day, it is Night, you are to ſay, behold the Moon and the Stars. This Vice paſſeth even unto the People. I have ſeen an hundred times People of *Mogol*, who having need of me in ſome Buſineſs, made no ſcruple to come and tell me to my Face for a Preamble, that I was *Ariſtotalis*, *Bocrate*, and *Abouyſina Ulzaman*; the *Ariſtotle*, the *Hippocrates*, and the *Avicenna* of the Time. At firſt I endeavoured to fence my ſelf againſt it by this ordinary Complement, that I was none ſuch, and was far inferior to the merit of thoſe Men: but that made them worſe; ſo that I thought it better to accuſtom my Ears to their Flattery, as I have done to their Muſick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of Flattery, becauſe *that* will let you ſee the more how far they carry it. A *Pendet Brachman*, or *Heathen* Doctor, whom I had put to ſerve my *Agah*, at the entring into his Service would needs make his Panegyrick, and after he had compared him to the greateſt Conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred groſs and impertinent Flatteries, at laſt concluded ſeriouſly with this; *When you put your Foot into the Stirrup, my Lord, and when you march on Horſe-back in the front of the Cavalry, the Earth trembleth under your feet, the eight Elephants, that hold it up upon their Heads, not being able to ſupport it.* I could not hold laughing, and I ſtrove ſeriouſly to tell my *Agah*, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on Horſe-back but very ſeldom, to prevent Earthquakes, which often cauſe ſo great Miſchiefs. Who quickly made this Reparty with a conſtrained Countenance between ſerious and ſmiling: *And it is therefore that I cauſe my ſelf ordinarily to be carried in a Palekey.*

But no more of this: from the great Hall of the *Am-kas* one enters into a more retired Place, called the *Goſelkane*, that is, the Place to waſh in. But few are ſuffered to enter there; neither is the Court of it ſo great as that of the *Am-kas*: but the Hall is very handſom, ſpacious, painted and guilded, and its Floor raiſed four or five foot high. There it is where the King is ſeated in a Chair, his *Omrahs* ſtanding round about him, and giveth a more particular Audience to his Officers, receiveth their Accompts, and treateth of the moſt important Affairs of State. All the *Omrahs* are obliged to be without fail every evening at this Aſſembly, as in the morning at the *Am-kas*; elſe ſomething is retrenched of their Pay. There is only my Agah *Danechmend-kan*, that becauſe he is a Perſon of Learning, and perpetually buſie in ſtudying, or in foreign Affairs, is diſpenſed with, except Wedneſday, which is his day of being upon the Guard. Theſe are indiſpenſible Cuſtoms, and it is very juſt they ſhould be ſo in reſpect of the *Omrahs*, becauſe they are in a manner ſo in reſpect of the King: for he almoſt never faileth to be at theſe two Aſſemblies, unleſs ſome urgent Affair do ſupervene, or he be exceeding ſick. And we did ſee, that *Aureng-Zebe*, even in his laſt Sickneſs, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himſelf to be carried thither once a day at leaſt. It is true, he being ſick to extremity, that if he had not been ſeen there, the whole Kingdom would preſently have been in diſorder, and the Shops ſhut up in the City.

Whilſt the King in this Hall of *Goſle-kanay* is buſie, as I was ſaying, they omit not to let paſs before him moſt of the things that are made to paſs at the *Am-kas*. There is only this difference, that this Aſſembly being held in the evening, and the Court being then leſs, the review of the Cavalry of the *Omrahs* is not made, as in the morning at the *Am-kas*: but then there is this of particular, that all the *Manſeb-dars* that are upon the Guard do ſalute the King, and paſs before him with Ceremony enough: before them marcheth with ſufficient Pomp that which is called the *Kours*, which are many Figures of Silver carried at the end of ſome great ſilver Sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made; of which there are two that repreſent two great Fiſhes, two others that exhibit a phantaſtick Animal of an horrid figure, by them called *Eiedeha*; others that repreſent two Lions, others two Hands, others Scales, and many more whereof they make Myſteries. Amongſt theſe *Kours* and *Manſeb-dars*, are mixt many *Gourze-berdars*, or Mace-bearers, who are choſen Men, tall of Stature, and of a good Mean, (ſpoken of elſewhere) and appointed to prevent Diſorders in Aſſemblies, and to run about with ſpeed to carry the Orders, and to execute the Commands of the King.

I now wiſh I could lead you about in the *Seraglio*, as I have done in the reſt of the Fortreſs: but who is the Traveller that can ſpeak of that as an Eye-witneſs? I have ſometimes entred into it when the King was not at *Dehli*, and I think pretty far, upon the occaſion of a great Lady, that was ſo ſick that ſhe could not be carried to the Gate, according to cuſtom; but I had always a Covering of *Kachemire* over my Head, which like a great Scarf hung down to my Feet, and an Eunuch conducted me by the Hand, like a blind Man, ſo that I cannot particularly deſcribe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from ſome Eunuchs, that in it there are very handſom Apartments ſevered one from another, more or leſs great and ſtately, according to the Quality and the Penſions of the Women; that there is almoſt no Chamber but it hath at its Door a Store-houſe of running Water; that 'tis full of Parterres, pleaſant Walks, ſhady Places, Rivolets, Fountains, Jets of Water, Grotta's, great Caves againſt the heat of the day, and great Terraſſes raiſed high, and very airy, to ſleep upon in the cool: in a word, you know not there what 'tis to be hot. They principally boaſt of a little Tower reſpecting the River, being, ſay they, covered with Plates of Gold, as thoſe two that are at *Agra*, and within all Gold and Azure, very handſom and rich Pictures and Looking-glaſſes.

This is very near what I can tell you of the Fortreſs, yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the *Am-kas*. I am now going to repreſent it to you after the manner I ſaw it at certain Feſtivals of the Year, eſpecially at that which was kept after the War for an extraordinary rejoycing; for this is one of the moſt remarkable things I have ſeen.

The King appeared ſitting upon his Throne, in the bottom of the great Hall of the *Am-kas*, ſplendidly apparelled. His Veſt was of white Sattin flowred, and raiſed with a very fine Embroidery of Gold and Silk. His Turban was of Cloth of Gold, having a Fowl wrought upon it like an Heron, whoſe foot was covered with Diamonds of an extraordinary bigneſs and price, with a great Oriental Topas, which may be ſaid to be matchleſs, ſhining like a little Sun. A Collar of big Pearls hung about his Neck down to his Stomach, after the manner that ſome Heathens wear here their great Beads. His Throne was ſupported by ſix high Pillars, or Feet, ſaid to be of maſſie Gold, and ſet with Rubies, Emeralds and Diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious Stones, becauſe it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can ſay, that the big Diamonds are there in confuſion, and that the Throne is eſtimated to be worth four *Kourroures* of Roupies, if I remember well. I have ſaid elſewhere, that a *Roupie* is almoſt equivalent to half a Crown, a *Lecque* to an hundred thouſand Roupies, and a *Kourour*, to an hundred Lecques: ſo that the Throne is valued forty millions of Roupies, which are worth about ſixty millions of *French* Livers. *Chah-Jehan*, the Father of *Aureng-Zebe*, is he that cauſed it to be made, to ſhew ſo many precious Stones as ſucceſſively had been amaſſed in the Treaſury, of the Spoyls of thoſe ancient *Patans* and *Rajas*, and of the Preſents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain Feſtival days. The Art and Workmanſhip of this Throne is not anſwerable to the Matter: that which I find upon it beſt deviſed, are two Peacocks covered with precious Stones and Pearls, which are the work of a *French-man*, called——————that was an admirable Workman, and that after having circumvented many Princes with his Doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this Court, where he made his Fortune. Beneath this Throne there appeared all the *Omrahs* in ſplendid Apparel, upon a raiſed Ground covered with a great Canopy of purfled Gold with great golden Fringes, and incloſed by a ſilver Baliſtre. The Pillars of the Hall were hung with Tapeſtries of purfled Gold, having the ground of Gold; and for the roof of the Hall, there was nothing but great Canopies of flowred Sattin, faſtened with red ſilken Cords, that had big tufts of Silk mixt with threads of Gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be ſeen but great ſilken Tapeſtries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the Court there was ſet abroad a certain Tent they call the *Aſſex*, as long and large as the Hall and more. It was joyned to the Hall by the upper part, and reached almoſt as far as to the middle of the Court; mean time it was all incloſed by a great Baliſtre covered with Plates of Silver. It was ſupported by three Pillars, being of the thickneſs and height of a Barge-maſt, and by ſome leſſer ones, and they all were covered with Plates of Silver. It was red from without, and lined within with thoſe fine *Chittes*, or Cloth painted by a Pencil of *Maſlipatan*, purpoſely wrought and contrived with

with ſuch vivid Colours, and Flowers ſo natural drawn of an hundred ſeveral faſhions and ſhapes, that one would have ſaid, it were an hanging Parterre. Thus was the great Hall of the *Am-kas* adorned and ſet out.

As to thoſe arched Galleries, which I have ſpoken of, that are round about the Court, each *Omrah* had received order to dreſs one of them at his own charges. And they now ſtriving who ſhould make his own moſt ſtately, there was ſeen nothing but purfled Gold above and beneath, and rich Tapeſtries under foot.

The third day of the Feaſt, the King cauſed himſelf to be weighed with great Ceremony, and after him divers *Omrahs*, in great Scales, and with Weights ſaid to be of maſſie Gold. I remember that all the *Omrahs* expreſſed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceding.

Every year there are held ſuch kind of Feſtivals, but never any was ſeen done with ſo much ſplendor and charge. It is ſaid, that that which induced *Aureng-Zebe* to celebrate this ſplendid Feaſt, was nothing elſe but to make the Merchants of purfled Gold recover themſelves, who had whole Magazins full of it, much ſpoiled in thoſe four or five years of War, wherein they could not ſell them. Theſe Expences of the *Omrahs* were great; but the ſimple Cavaliers paid their ſhare of it, becauſe that the *Omrahs* after the Feaſt made them take off that Commodity to make Veſts thereof.

There is an ancient Cuſtom accompanying theſe Feaſts, which little pleaſeth the *Omrahs*: And it is this, that then they are by reſpect obliged to make ſome fair Preſents to the King in proportion of their Pay. There are ſome, that to appear brave, or for fear of being ſearched for the Rapines by them committed in their Offices and Governments; or to purchaſe the Favour of the King, in the hopes of having their Penſions augmented, make him Preſents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do preſent fine Veſſels of Gold ſet with precious Stones; others preſent fair Pearls, Diamonds, Emeralds, or Rubies; others (which alſo is very common) give him, without other Ceremony, a quantity of thoſe pieces of Gold, that are worth about a Piſtol and an half. I remember, that *Aureng-Zebe*, being gone to viſit (during this great Feſtival) his Viſir *Jafer-kan*, not as Viſir, but as a Kinſman, and under the pretence of deſiring to ſee a piece of Building, which he had cauſed to be raiſed anew, *Jafer-kan* preſented him in theſe pieces of Gold, with the value of an hundred thouſand Crowns, ſome good Pearls, and one Ruby valued forty thouſand Crowns; but which *Chah-Jehan*, who was admirably well skill'd in Jewels, diſcovered not to be worth five hundred Crowns; the which perplexed the firſt Jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing ſometimes attending theſe Feaſts, which is odd enough: And that is a kind of Fair, then held in the *Mehale*, or the King's *Seraglio*. The Women of the *Omrahs* and of the great *Manſeb-dars*, or little *Omrahs* (I mean thoſe that are the handſomeſt and the moſt gallant) are the She-Merchants that keep the Fair, and ſell Commodities; the King is the Merchant that buyeth, as alſo all thoſe *Begums* or Princeſſes, and other great Ladies of the *Seraglio*. The Wares are fine purfled Gold, or rich Embroideries of the new faſhion, ſome rich Ribbons well wrought upon Cloth of Gold, or ſome pieces of that fine Cloth which is worn by the great Ladies, and other ſuch Merchandize of great price. If they have ever a handſom Daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King ſee her, and ſo make her known to thoſe *Begums*. The jeſt of this Fair is, that the King comes to bargain with thoſe She-Merchants, like a petty Merchant, penny by penny, conteſting that they are not in earneſt, that it is too dear, that he will give no more than ſo much; that the Merchandize of ſuch an one is far better, and the like. The Women, on the other hand, do their beſt to make good their part, and without conſidering that 'tis the King, (which is the beſt of the ſport) they contend and ſtand upon their price, till ſometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a Merchant of Snow, (one of their phraſes) that he underſtands nothing in the matter of Wares, that he may go to another Place, that that Commodity is not for him, *&c.* The *Begums* do the like, or worſe, for they ſometimes fall to downright railing, ſo that there is ſuch a cry and noiſe, and bouſonnery, that it cannot be parallel'd. But when any price is agreed on, who ever buyeth on this or that ſide, the King payeth, and the *Begums* pay, all with ready money: and it alſo falls out often enough, that the King and the *Begums*, inſtead of Silver Roupies, let ſlide (in favour of the handſom She-Merchant, or her Daughter) ſome Roupies of Gold, as if 'twere by miſtake, and without taking notice of any thing. The She-Merchants alſo

take it in like manner, all paſſeth with expreſſions of rallery and gallantry. *Chah-Jehan*, who did not hate the Sex, would ſtill multiply this Fair, and have it at all Feſtival days, though he knew it did not very well pleaſe ſome *Omrahs*. But there is one thing, which to me ſeems to be a little too extravagant; which is, that the publick Women, I mean not thoſe of the *Bazar*, but thoſe more retired and conſiderable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houſes of the *Omrahs* and *Manſeb-dars* to ſing and dance, thoſe that are called *Kenchen*, as if you ſhould ſay, the *guilded*, the *bloſſoming* ones; that thoſe, I ſay, did alſo enter in the time of *Chah-Jehan* into the *Seraglio* at ſuch Fairs, and there paſſed even the whole night in ſinging and dancing. Theſe are not of that ſort which proſtitute themſelves promiſcuouſly to all; and they are moſt of them handſome and well apparelled, and excellent ſingers and dancers, after the mode of the Country, ſurpriſing in the ſuppleneſs of their body, and the nimbleneſs of their motions, yet in the upſhot of the rank of Publick Women. *Chah-Jehan* was not content only to have them come to the Seraglio at thoſe Feaſts, but when they came to ſalute him, according to that antient cuſtom that obligeth them to come every Wedneſday to do obeyſance to the King in the *Amkas*, he often made them to enter there, and to paſs all night with him in ſuch ſports and bouſonries, *Aureng-Zebe* is more ſerious, he ſuffers them not to come into the Seraglio: he permits only (not to abrogate the cuſtom) that they may ordinarily come every Wedneſday to give him the *Salam*, or Salute, in the *Am-kas*, at a diſtance, but they muſt preſently return home again.

But ſince we are upon theſe Feaſts and Fairs, and ſpeak of theſe *Kenchens*, what hurt were it if I ſhould tell you a ſtory to make you merry, of one of our French Men; ſince *Plutarch* is of opinion, that *little* things are not always to be paſſed by, and that they often mind us more of the genius and temper of men than the *greateſt*. This French Man called *Bernard*, was at this Court about the latter years of King *Jehan-Guire*. He muſt needs have been ſome good Phyſitian, and withal Excellent in Chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome to *Jehan-Guire*, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this *Jehan-Guire* ever think on any thing, but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the State to his Wife, the renowned *Nour-Mehale*, or *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, which he uſed to ſay, had wit enough to govern the Empire without his giving himſelf any trouble about it. Beſides that this our Country-man had of the King ten Crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating thoſe great Ladies of the Seraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made uſe of him, and preſented him who could beſt, becauſe he was both ſucceſsful in his Cures, and extraordinarily favoured by the King: But he was a man that could keep nothing, what he received with one hand, he at the ſame time gave away with the other, ſo that he was known and loved by all, eſpecially by thoſe *Kenchens*, upon whom he made great expences, having always a ſet of them that paſſed the night at his houſe in ſinging and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of theſe Women that was young and beautiful, and danced exceeding well; but the Mother apprehending leaſt the Daughter, by proſtituting her ſelf, ſhould loſe her ſtrength and vigor (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her ſight: ſo that *Bernard* could never find any other way to compaſs his ends but this. One day when the King made him a Preſent in the *Am-kas*, before all the Omrahs, for a conſiderable Cure he had done in the Seraglio, he very ſubmiſſively gave his Majeſty thanks, waving the Preſent, but inſtead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchſafe to give him this young *Kencheny*, which he was amorous of, and which ſtood behind him, ready to make the uſual obeyſance to the King. The whole Aſſembly brake out out into laughter to ſee him wave the Preſent, and to hear him make ſo ridiculous a demand, he being a Chriſtian, and the Woman a Mahometan and a *Kencheny*. But *Jehan-Guire*, who never troubled his head much with Mahometaniſm, and could not hold laughing aloud, preſently commanded that this young Woman ſhould be given him, ſaying, Lay her on his ſhoulders, and let him carry her away. So ſaid, ſo done; and in the preſence of the whole Aſſembly this *Kenchen* was put on *Bernard*'s back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his houſe.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of a divertiſement, which uſually theſe Feaſts end with, and which is unknown to us in *Europe*: and that is the *combat* of the *Elephants*, which the King, the Ladies of the Court, and the Omrahs do behold from ſeveral apartments of the Fortreſs, and which is ſhewn before all the people in this great ſandy place which looks to the River.

They

They raiſe a wall of earth three or four foot broad, and five or ſix foot high. The two Elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one ſide of the wall, the other on the other, each having two Riders upon him, that ſo, if the firſt, who ſits on his ſhoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the Beaſt on the right or left hand) ſhould fall, the other, who ſits backward, may caſt himſelf into his place. Theſe four Riders or Guides, do animate their Elephants to the Combat, and vigorouſly to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while thus chafed and puſht on, then you ſhall ſee theſe two bulky maſſes come to the wall, and bluntly aſſault one another, and give ſuch cruel blows with their teeth, head and trunk, that you would think they would ſoon ſtrike one another dead. This fight continues a while, then ceaſeth, and begins afreſh ſeveral times, until the mud-wall being overthrown, the ſtouteſt of the two paſſeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, purſueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets ſuch an hold-faſt upon him, that there is no means of ſeperating them, except it be with the *Cherkyr*, that is, certain artificial fires caſt betwixt them, this Animal being very fearful of fire: whence it comes, that ſince Fire-arms have been uſed in Armies, Elephants do almoſt no good at all. It is true indeed, that ſome of thoſe brave ones that come out of *Ceilan*, are not ſo timerous; but that is not till they have been whole years accuſtomed to it, by diſcharging every day Muskets before them, and by caſting ſquibs between their legs. Mean time, this conflict of the Elephants would be no ſuch diſpleaſing ſight, if it were not ſo cruel, it often happening, that ſome of thoſe poor Guides are trod under foot and periſh: for the Elephants in the combat have this malice, that they ſtrive above all things to ſtrike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adverſary; and thence it is, that on the day when theſe poor Riders know they are to make the Elephants fight, they bid farewel to their Wives and Children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they eſcape and quit themſelves well of their duty, the King increaſes their pay, and commands a ſack of *Peyſſas*, which amounts to about fifty French Livres, to be forthwith given them, or if they be killed upon the ſpot, he orders that pay to be made to the Widow, and the Office to be given to his Son, if he have any. There is another miſchief, which often accompanieth this combat; which is, that in this great throng there are always ſome perſons overthrown by the Elephant, or trod under foot by the Horſes and People, that on a ſudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the Elephants are enraged, and the one purſueth the other, ſo that then one cannot at any nearneſs look on but with danger. For my part, the ſecond time I ſaw it, I did ſufficiently repent for having approached ſo nigh, and if I had not had a good Horſe, and two good Servants, I believe I ſhould have paid for my curioſity as dear as others.

But 'tis time we ſhould leave the Fortreſs, and return into the City, there to obſerve to you two things I had forgot. The firſt is the great *Moſquee*, ſeen afar off in the midſt of the Town, ſtanding upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair Streets to end upon, and anſwering to the four ſides of the Moſquee, *viz.* one to the principal Gate, or Frontiſpiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two Gates that are in the middle of the two remaining ſides. To come to the Gates, there are twenty five or thirty ſteps of fair and large Stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great Quarry-ſtones to cover the unevenes of the cut Rock: which contributes much to make this Fabrick make a ſhew. The three Entries are ſtately, there is nothing but Marble, and their large Gates are covered with Copper Plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal Gate, which is much ſtatelier than the two others, there are many ſmall Turrets of white Marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the reſt of the Moſquee, I mean from theſe three Domes unto the great Gate, is without covering, becauſe of the heat of the Country; and the whole Pavement is of large ſquares of Marble. I grant willingly, that this ſtructure is not according to the rules and orders of Architecture, which we eſteem is indiſpenſably to be followed; yet I obſerve nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned: And I do even believe, that if in *Paris* we had a Church of this way of Architecture, it would not be diſliked, if there were nothing elſe in it but that 'tis of an extraordinary and ſurpriſing aſpect, and becauſe that, excepting the three great Domes and all the Turrets, which are of white

white Marble it appears all red, as if all were nothing elſe but great Tables of red Marble, though it be nothing elſe but a ſtone very eaſie to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I ſhall add by the by, that if it be true what is ſaid of the quarries of this ſtone, 'tis remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petreſcent water yearly filling it, or otherwiſe, I decide not.

This Moſquee it is to which the King repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahumetans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the Fortreſs, the Streets he is to paſs, are conſtantly watered becauſe of the heat and duſt. Two or three hundred Muſquetiers are to ſtand and make a lane about the Gate of the Fortreſs, and as many more on the ſides of a great Street that ends at the Moſquee. Their Muſquets are ſmall, but well wrought, and they have a kind of Scarlet-caſe with a little ſtreamer upon them. Beſides there muſt be five or ſix Cavaliers well mounted ready at the Gate, and ride at a good diſtance before the King, for fear of raiſing duſt; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the King is ſeen to come out of the Fortreſs ſeated upon an Elephant richly harnaſſed, under a Canopy with Pillars painted and guilded; or elſe on a Throne ſhining of Gold and Azure, upon two beams, covered with Scarlet or purfled Gold, carried by eight choſen and well accoutred men. The King is followed by a body of Omrahs, ſome of which are on horſeback, ſome in a *Palekey*. Among theſe Omrahs there are many *Manſeb-dars*, and Mace-Bearers, ſuch as I have before ſpoken of. And though this be not that ſplendid and magnificent Proceſſion, or rather Maſcarade of the Grand Seignior, (I have no properer name for it) nor the warlike order of our Kings, it being altogether of another faſhion, yet for all that there is ſomething great and royal in it.

The *other* thing I had forgot to acquaint you with, is an Edifice in the City, called the *Karvanſarah* of the Princeſs; the renowned *Begum-Saheb*, eldeſt Daughter of *Chah-Jehan*, having cauſed it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute ſomething to the decoration of the Town, as all the Omrahs ſtrove to do to pleaſe *Chah-Jehan*. This is another great Square, arched like our *Palace-Royal*, but ſtill with this difference, that one Arch is ſeparate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every Arch there is a little Chamber; and beſides that, above the Arches there is a Gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high Chambers, as there are below. This Place is the Rendezvous of all the great Merchants, *Perſians*, *Vsbecks*, and other Strangers that ordinarily do *there* find empty Chambers convenient enough, to ſtay in for ſome time in great ſafety, the Gate being ſhut every night. If there were a ſcore of ſuch Structures in divers parts of *Paris*, Strangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find ſafe Lodgings; for *there* they might be until they had ſeen their Acquaintance, and looked for good Accomodation: beſides that they would ſerve for Magazins of all ſorts of Commodities, and for the Rendezvous of all Merchants Strangers.

Before we leave *Dehli*, I ſhall add a few lines in reference to this queſtion, which doubtleſs you'l make, *viz.* Whether in *Dehli* there be as much People and Gallantry as at *Paris*? Certainly when I conſider thoſe three or four Cities of *Paris* that are one above another, all thoſe Chambers and other Rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther conſider that incredible throng and confuſion of Men and Women, of Horſe-men and Paſſengers on foot, of Chariots, Sedans and Coaches, and that there are but few great Piazzas and Gardens in *Paris*; this City ſeems to me a Nurſery of the World, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many People in *Dehli*. Yet notwithſtanding when I reflect upon that multitude of Shops on one ſide of *Dehli*, and on the other, upon the vaſt extent of that City, and that there are never leſs in it then 35000 Cavaliers, not to ſpeak of the Houſes of the *Omrahs*; that of all theſe Cavaliers, there are very few but have Wives and Children, and a great number of Servants having their Houſes apart as their Maſters; and that all theſe Houſes ſwarm with Women and Children: that in many places of *Dehli*, though the Streets be broad, and there be but few Chariots and no Coaches, yet at the hours when the heat ſuffers People to come abroad for their buſineſs, there is great confuſion: When (I ſay) I conſider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the queſtion, and I imagine, that if there be not altogether ſo much People in *Dehli* as in *Paris*, at leaſt there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant People, it muſt be acknowledged, that there is this difference between thoſe of *Paris* and *Dehli*, that of ten Perſons met with upon the Streets of *Paris*, you ſhall ſee ſeven or eight well cloathed and of ſome faſhion, which

no

no Man will count raſcally or beggerly People; whereas in *Dehli*, for two or three Perſons that are pretty well covered, you ſhall always find ſeven or eight poor and ragged People; the Army which is there drawing after it all that crew of Beggers and Raſcals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in *Dehli*, as well as in *Paris*, one meets with a very great quantity of Perſons well made, gallant, well mounted, well dreſſed, and well attended: And indeed, to be upon the great Place before the Fortreſs at the hours when all thoſe Omrahs, Rajas, and Manſeb-dars go to the Aſſembly and to the Guard, that hath ſomething, great and ſplendid in it: when you ſhall ſee there every where arrive thoſe *Manſeb-dars* well accoutred, ſhining with Gold, and well mounted, a couple of Men going before them to make place, and as many behind; when you ſhall alſo ſee many of thoſe great *Omrahs* and *Rajas* riding upon proud Elephants, and ſome of them on Horſe-back like the *Manſeb-dars*, and moſt of them ſitting in their rich *Palekys*, carried upon the ſhoulders of ſix men, their back leaning againſt ſome thick Cuſhion of purfled Gold, chewing their *Betele*, to have a good breath and vermilion lips, with a Servant on the ſide carrying a Tooth-pick, and a Porcelain or ſilver Spitting-Veſſel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and duſt from him with Peacocks-tails; and three or four others marching before to put by the People; to which is to be added part of their Cavalry (I mean the braveſt and beſt mounted of them) following after: When, I ſay, all this is ſeen together marching, as hath been ſaid, with the crowd made there as well as at *Paris*, it will not be denied to be ſomething great and very gallant.

As to the Country about *Dehli*, it is conſiderable for its fertility; for it beareth Rice, Millet, and three or four other ſorts of Legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common People) Corn, Sugar, Indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the City on *Agra's* ſide, in a place by the Mahumetans called *Koja Kotubeddine*, there is a very antient Edifice which hath been a Temple of Idols, where are Inſcriptions that muſt alſo be very antient, the Characters of them being ſuch that no body knows what they are, and different from thoſe of all the Languages of the Indies,

On another ſide, at two or three leagues diſtance from the Town, you ſee an Houſe of pleaſure of the Kings, which indeed is a ſtately and Royal Houſe, but yet you muſt not think it approach to *Fontain-bleau*, or to St. *Germain*, or to *Verſaille*. Neither muſt you imagine that in this Campagne of *Dehli* there are any *St. Cloux*, *Chantilly's*, *Meudons*, *Liancours*, *Vaux*, *Ruelles*, and many ſuch others; or that you ſee there any of thoſe other inferior Houſes of pleaſure belonging to ſimple Gentlemen, Citizens and Merchants. The Maxime, That the Subjects of a Kingdom have no propriety in any thing, hinders all that.

Laſtly, to make you paſs quickly theſe fifty or ſixty leagues, which are betwixt *Dehli* and *Agra*, you are not to think, that upon this road you ſhall ſee any ſuch large and rich burroughs as there upon our roads. Set aſide *Maturas*, where you ſee ſtill an antient and ſtately Temple of Idols, and excepting ſome *Karavan-ſarrahs*, that are well enough, found on the high-way to ſerve for night-lodgings, I find nothing conſiderable there, but that Royal Alley of Trees planted by the command of *Jehan-Guire*, and continued by the ſame order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little Pyramids or Turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to Paſſengers, and to water the young Trees.

Of AGRA.

TO paſs to the deſcription of *Agra*, you have the *Idea* of it, if you have well taken that of *Dehli*; at leaſt in reſpect of its ſcituation, which is alſo upon the Gemma, and in regard of the Fortreſs, or Royal Houſe, and of moſt of the Buildings. It is true, that *Agra* hath this advantage over *Dehli*, that being a City where the Kings have already reſided a long while, *viz.* ſince *Akber*, who cauſed it to be built, and called it after his name *Akber-abad*, it is of greater extent then *Dehli*, and hath more of thoſe fine Houſes of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas*, and more of the fair *Karvanſarrahs*, as alſo more of thoſe pretty Houſes of Stone and Brick belonging to particular Perſons; beſides that it hath two famous Tombs, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter: But then it hath theſe diſadvantages, that it wants Walls; that having been built altogether by one deſign, it hath not thoſe fair and large Streets of uniform buildings as *Dehli*; and that excepting four or five of thoſe principal Streets of Merchants, which are very long and well enough

enough built, all the reſt for the moſt part, is nothing but a number of little Streets, ſtreight without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which cauſes ſtrange confuſions when the Court is there. I ſee no other difference between *Agra* and *Dehli*, then that I have been juſt now ſpeaking of; except it be that *Agra* hath more of a Country Town then *Dehli*, eſpecially when we look upon it from an higher place: But 'its not ſuch a Country-aſpect as diſgraceth it, but a very agreeable and divertiſing one; for, there being betwixt the Houſes of *Omrahs*, Rajas and others, ſtore of big green Trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his Garden and in his Court for ſhade; and beſides, thoſe high Houſes of the *Banians*, or Heathen Merchants, appearing here and there between thoſe Trees, as Reliques of old Caſtles of Forreſts; all that cauſeth within the Town very pleaſing ſights and perſpectives, eſpecially in a dry and hot Country, where Peoples eyes ſeem to deſire nothing but verdure and ſhade.

Mean time you need not go out of *Paris*, to find the moſt pleaſing and the moſt gallant ſight in the World. Take onely a walk upon the *Pontneuf*, attentively beholding in the day-time all things ſurrounding you, together with that incredible and ſtrange confuſion of People: and at night the infinite number of lights in the windows, of thoſe high buildings that are round about you; and the ſame confuſion which continues till after mid-night; the good Citizen, and (which you ſhall not ſee in any part of *Aſia*) the fair She-Citizen walking without fear of Robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt: and then the long files of Stars that brave the wind, the rain and darkneſs. Take only, I ſay, ſuch a walk upon that Bridge, obſerving all thoſe things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the ſpot of the faireſt, braveſt and moſt magnificent artificial view of the Earth, unleſs it be ſome part of *China* or *Japan*, where I have not been. What will it be then when the *Louvre*, that work which was once thought would never be ſeen but in deſigu and upon paper, ſhall be finiſht? I have purpoſely added the word *Artificial*, becauſe ſpeaking of the beſt Perſpectives that are, we muſt always except *Conſtantinople*, when one is in a Boat in the midſt of that great Channel, over againſt the point of the *Seraglio*: For *there* you ſhall find your ſelf altogether ſurprized, as 'twere in the midſt of ſome great and vaſt inchanted Amphitheater; but in this Perſpective the Workmanſhip of *Nature* is moſt conſiderable, whereas in that of *Paris*, *Art* and *Dexterity* is moſt conſpicuous, which doubtleſs renders it more eminent, foraſmuch as thereby it looks more like the Seat of a great King, the Capital of a great Empire, and is really, without flattering our ſelves, and all thoſe beauties of *Dehli*, *Agra*, and *Conſtantinople*, well conſidered and compared, the faireſt, the richeſt, and the chiefeſt City of the World.

In *Agra* the Reverend Fathers the Jeſuits have a Church and a Colledge, where in private they teach the Children of ſome twenty five or thirty Chriſtian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and ſettled themſelves there by the charity of thoſe Fathers the Chriſtian Doctrine. It was *Ekbar* who (in the time of the great power of the *Portuguezes* in the *Indies*) called them, and gave them a penſion for their ſubſiſtence, permitting them to build Churches in the capital Cities of *Agra* and *Labor*. And his Son *Jehan-Guire* favoured them yet more. But *Chah-Jehan*, Son of *Jehan-Guire*, and Father of *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, took from them their penſion, cauſed their Church at *Labor* to be pulled down, and the greateſt part of that in *Agra*, overthrowing alſo the Steeple of the Church, wherein that Bell was that could be heard over all the Town.

Theſe Fathers the Jeſuits entertained great hopes of the progreſs of Chriſtianity in the time of King *Jehan-Guire*, becauſe of his contempt of the *Mahumetan* Law, and the eſteem he profeſſed to the *Chriſtian*, even giving way to two of his Nephews to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and to a certain *Mirza-Zul-Karnin* (that had been bred in the Seraglio, and was circumciſed) to turn Chriſtian too, under the pretence that he born of Chriſtian Parents, and Son of the Wife of a rich *Armenian*, which *Jehan-Guire* had cauſed to be brought to him into the Seraglio.

The ſame Fathers ſay, that this King, to begin in good earneſt to countenance the Chriſtian Religion, deſigned to put the whole Court into the habit of the *Franqui*, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dreſſed himſelf in that faſhion, he called to him one of the chief Omrahs, asking his opinion of this dreſs; but that this Omrah altogether ſurprized at it, having anſwered him very ſeriouſly, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himſelf obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

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Theſe Fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, comm anded that they ſhould be called to make him a Chriſtian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many ſay, that this is not ſo, and that he died as he had lived, without any Religion, and in the deſign he had, as well as his Father *Ekbar*, to ſet himſelf up for a Prophet, and to become the Head of a particular Religion of his own compoſure. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a Mahumetan, that was Son to an Officer of *Jehan-Guire*, namely, that this King being one day in a debauche, called to him a certain Religious man of *Florence*, whom he called Father *Atech*, as being a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to ſay all he could *againſt* the Law of Mahumet, and *for* the Law of Chriſt, in the preſence of many knowing *Mullahs*, he would have made this terrible tryal of both thoſe Laws, *viz.* That a great Pit ſhould be made, and a good Fire in it, and that Father *Atech* with the *Goſpel* under his arm, and one of thoſe *Mullahs* with the *Alcoran* under his, ſhould caſt themſelves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the Law of him that ſhould not burn. But that the ſad countenance of the *Mullahs*, altogether aſtoniſht, and the compaſſion he had of the *Florentine* Father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this ſtory, 'tis certain, that whilſt *Jehan-Guire* lived, theſe Fathers were reſpected and honoured in this Court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Chriſtianity in thoſe parts; but that ſince that time they have had no great cauſe to hope much of it, except perhaps what they received by that familiarity, which our Father *Buzé* had with *Dara*. But I ſhall ſay no more of this matter of our Miſſions, intending to give you a particular long Letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of Miſſions, and the good Miſſionaries, eſpecially our *Capucins* and *Jeſuits*, and ſome others of our neighborhood, becauſe they give meek inſtructions, without that indiſcreet zeal and tranſport which is expreſſed by ſome others, and they charitably entertain the Chriſtians of the Country in their Religion, whether they be Catholicks, or Greeks, or Armenians, Neſtorians, Jacobites, or others; and foraſmuch alſo as they are the refuge and comfort of poor Strangers and Travellers, and by their knowledge, ſober and exemplary life, they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the Infidels: which ſome others do not always practiſe; who therefore would do better to keep themſelves cloſe in their Convents, and not come hither and give us a maſquarade of our Religion, and by doing ſo, and by their ignorance, jealouſie, looſneſs, and the abuſe of their authority and character, become a ſtumbling-block to the Law of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithſtanding thoſe miſcarriages, I very much applaud the Miſſions, and pious and learned Miſſionaries, they are abſolutely neceſſary: it is the honour and prerogative of Chriſtianity, to have every where thorow the World Subſtitutes of the Apoſtles. But after all that I have ſeen, and after all the converſe and diſcourſe I have ſo often had with thoſe obſtinate Infidels, I may take leave to ſay, that I almoſt deſpair to ſee ſtruck ſuch great ſtroaks, as the Apoſtles did, who converted two or three thouſand People in one Sermon: finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the Miſſions in the *Eaſt*, that all the Miſſionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahumetan Dominions, do indeed by their Inſtructions, accompanied with Charity and Alms, make ſome progreſs among the *Gentils*, but do in ten years not make one Chriſtian of a *Mahumetan*. Truly theſe *Infidels* have high thoughts of our Religion, they never ſpeak of *Jeſus Chriſt* but with great veneration; and they never pronounce the word *Ayſa*, that is to ſay, *Jeſus*, without adding that of *Azeret*, which is *Majeſty*. They even agree with us, that he was miraculouſly born of a Virgin-Mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah*, and the *Rouh-Allah*, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God: but 'tis not to be hoped, that they will approve the reſt of our Religion, ſo as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their falſe Prophet, to embrace ours, what reaſons ſoever be given them. Our Chriſtians of *Europe* ought to wiſh, and even to employ their Power, Care and Charity, that Miſſionaries may be ſent over all, ſuch as may be no charge to the People of the Country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reaſons already alledged, as for this cauſe, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occaſions, always to bear witneſs to the Truth, and to labour in the Vineyard when it ſhall pleaſe God to give them an overture. But for the reſt we ought to be diſabuſed, and not to ſuffer our ſelves to be ſo eaſily perſwaded of ſo many ſtories, and not to believe the thing to

be ſo facil as ſome make it. The Sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernitious Law, which hath been introduced by Arms and Force, and ſtill gets ground by thoſe means: and I hardly know any other way capable to ſhake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not ſome of thoſe grand and extraordinary ſtroaks of Heaven, and God by his powerful and particular Providence interpoſe not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearance there have been in *China*, in *Japan*, and in the Perſon of King *Jehan-Guire*) conſidering the irreverence of the Chriſtians in their Churches, ſo diſſonant from our belief of the particular preſence of God upon our Altars, and ſo different from that deep and aſtoniſhing reſpect which thoſe Infidels bear to their Moſquees, where they would not ſo much as turn their heads, or ſpeak the leaſt word to one another; there will alwayes be great obſtacles to their Converſion.

In *Agra* the *Hollanders* have alſo an Houſe, where ordinarily they keep four or five perſons. Formerly they had a good trade there in ſelling Scarlet, great and ſmall Looking-glaſſes, plain Lace, and Gold and Silver Lace, and ſome ſmall Wares; and in buying *Indigo*, which is gathered round about *Agra*, but eſpecially at *Bianes*, but two leagues diſtant from it, and whither they go once a year, having an houſe there for that purpoſe; as alſo in buying thoſe cloths of *Jelapour* and *Laknau*, at ſeven or eight days journey from *Agra*, where they alſo keep an houſe, and whither they ſend ſome Factors once a year. But now they ſay, that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the *Armenians* drive the ſame traffick, or that 'tis ſo far from *Agra* to *Suratte*, or that commonly ſome miſchief or other befalls their *Caravanes*, which muſt paſs by *Amadavad* over all the Countries of the *Rajas* to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains that are on the ſide of *Gonleor* and *Brampour*, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, they will never (I believe) abandon this Factory, as the *Engliſh* have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing elſe but their Spices, which there they ſell very well, and for having ſome of their People near the Court taking care of their concerns: ſince it cannot be otherwiſe, but that frequently ſome trouble will befal their Factories by the tyranny of the Governors and other Officers, now from the ſide of *Bengala* and *Patna*, another time from *Suratte* and *Amadavad*.

We will conclude this part with thoſe two wonderful *Mauſolees*, or Tombs, that give to *Agra* ſo much advantage over *Dehli*. It was *Jehan-Guire* that cauſed the firſt to be erected to honour the memory of his Father *Eckbar*; and *Chah-Jehan* raiſed the other in honour of *Taje-Mehale* his Wife, that extraordinary and celebrated Beauty of the Indies, whom he loved ſo paſſionately, that 'tis ſaid, he never enjoyed any other Woman but her whilſt ſhe lived, and that when ſhe died, he was in danger to die himſelf.

I ſhall not ſtay to diſcourſe of the Monument of *Eckbar*, becauſe whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of *Taje-Mehale*, which I am now going to deſcribe unto you. You may therefore repreſent to your ſelf, that at the going out of the City of *Agra* Eaſt-ward, you enter into a long and broad paved ſtreet, which riſeth gently, and hath on one ſide an high and long wall, making the ſide of a ſquare Garden that is much bigger then our *Palace-Royal*; and on the other ſide a row of new houſes arched, ſuch as are thoſe of the principal Streets of *Dehli* above ſpoken of. Having gone the length of half the Wall, you ſhall find on the right hand of the ſide of the Houſes a great Gate well made, by which one enters into a *Carvan-ſerah*, and over againſt it on the walls ſide, a ſtately Gate of a great ſquare Pavilion, by which you enter into the Garden between two Conſervatories built up with Freeſtone. This Pavilion is longer then 'tis large, built of a Stone like red Marble, but not ſo hard. The Frontiſpiece ſeems to me very magnificent after their way, and as high as that of St. *Louys* in the Street of St. *Antony*. It is true, you do not there ſee Columns, Archi-traves, and Corniſhes cut out after the proportion of thoſe Five Orders of Architecture ſo religiouſly obſerved in our Palaces: it is a different and particular kind of ſtructure, but ſuch an one as wants no agreeableneſs even in the unuſualneſs of its contrivance, and which in my opinion, would very well deſerve a place in our Books of Architecture. 'Tis almoſt nothing but Arches upon Arches, and Galleries over Galleries, diſpoſed and ordered an hundred different ways; and yet all appears ſtately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleaſing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The laſt time I ſaw it, I was there with one of our French Merchants, who alſo could not behold it enough. I durſt not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending I might have ſpoiled my guſt, and framed it according

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ing to that of *Indoſtan*: but he being lately come from *France*, I was very glad to hear him ſay, he had never ſeen any thing ſo auguſt and bold in *Europe*.

After you are ſomewhat entred into the Pavilion to paſs into the Garden, you find your ſelf under an high Vault made like a Cap, which hath Galleries above round about and below, on the right and left ſides two Divans or Cauſeys, made up of earth of eight or ten foot high. Oppoſite to the Gate there is a great Arch quite open, by which you enter into an Alley, which cuts almoſt the whole Garden into two equal parts. This Alley is by way of terraſſe ſo large, as that ſix Coaches can paſs on it abreſt, paved with great ſquares of hard Stone, raiſed ſome eight foot high above the Garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a Channel walled up with Free-ſtone, having jets of water at certain diſtances. After you have gone twenty five or thirty paces upon this Alley, turning your eye to behold the Entry, you ſee the other face of the Pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the Street, yet wants not its ſtatelineſs, being high and of a ſtructure approaching the other. And on both ſides of the Pavilion, along the wall of the Garden, yon ſee a long and profound gallery by way of terraſſe, ſupported by many low columns near one another. And in this Gallery 'tis, that during the ſeaſon of the rains, the Poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving Alms from a foundation made there by *Chah-Jehan* for ever.

Advancing further in this Alley, you diſcover at a diſtance before you a great *Dome*, where is the Sepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you ſee divers Alleys of a Garden ſet with Trees, and ſeveral Parterres covered with Flowers. At the end of this Alley, beſides the Dome before you, you diſcover on the right and left two great Pavilions, built of the ſame Stone, and conſequently looking all red as the firſt. Theſe are great and ſpacious ſquare Edifices, made by way of Terraſſe, opening by three Arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the Garden, ſo that you march under them as if they were high and large Galleries.

I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe unto you the Ornaments within theſe Pavilions, becauſe in reſpect of their Walls, Ground-plot, and Pavement, they are not much unlike the Dome, which I am going to delineate unto you, after I ſhall have obſerved, that between the end of the Alley (which we have ſpoken of) and the Dome, there is a pretty large ſpace of a floor, which I call a Water-Parterre, becauſe that the diverſly cut and figured Stones you march upon, are there inſtead of the Box-Wood of *our* Parterres. And 'tis from the midſt of this Parterre, that you may conveniently ſee a part of this Edifice, where the Sepulchre is, which remains now to be conſidered.

It is a great and vaſt *Dome* of white Marble, which is near the height of that of our *Val de Grace* in *Paris*, ſurrounded with many Turrets of the ſame matter with Stairs in them. Four great Arches ſupport the whole Fabrick, three of which are viſible, the fourth is cloſed in by the wall of an Hall, accompanied with a Gallery, where certain *Mullahs* (entertained for that end) do continually read the *Alcoran*, with a profound reſpect to the honour of *Taje-Mehalle*. The mould of the Arches is inriched with Tables of white Marble, wherein are ſeen engraven large *Arabian* Characters of black Marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this Dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is covered with white Marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with Art, and hath not its peculiar Beauty. You ſee ſtore of Agat, and ſuch ſorts of Stones, as are employed to inrich the Chappel of the great Duke of *Florence*; much Jaſper, and many other kinds of rare and pretious Stones, ſet a hundred ſeveral ways, mixt and enchaſed in the Marble that covers the body of the Wall. The Quarries of white and black Marble, that make the floor, are likewiſe ſet out with all imaginable beauty and ſtatelineſs.

Under this Dome is a little Chamber incloſing the Sepulchre, which I have not ſeen within, it not being opened but once a year, and that with great Ceremony, not ſuffering any Chriſtian to enter, for fear (as they ſay) of Prophaning the Sanctity of the place: but really by what I could learn, becauſe it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing elſe, then to give you occaſion to take notice of an Alley in the faſhion of a Terraſſe, twenty or twenty five ordinary paces large, and as many or more high; which is betwixt the Dome and the extremity of the Garden, whence you ſee below you, at the foot of it, the River of *Gemna* running along, a great campagne of Gardens, a part of the Town of *Agra*, the Fortreſs, and all thoſe fair Houſes of the *Omrahs* that are built along the water. There remains no more, I ſay, then to cauſe you to obſerve this *Terraſſe*, which taketh up almoſt the whole length of one ſide of the

Garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the *Mausoleum*, or Tomb of *Taje-Mehale*, is something worthy to be admired. For my part, I do not yet well know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with *Indianisme*; but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the World, rather then those unshapen masses of the Ægyptian Pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing *without*, but pieces of great Stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and *within* nothing but very little Art and Invention.

A Letter written to Mr. *Chapelain*, sent from *Chiras* in *Persia*, *Octob.* 4. 1667. concerning the Superstitions, strange Fashions, and Doctrin of the Native Indies, or Gentiles of *Indostan*. Whence may be seen, that there are no Opinions so ridiculous, and so extravagant, which the spirit of Man is not capable of.

SIR,

IF I should live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget those two Eclipses of the Sun, of which I saw one in *France* in the Year 1654. and the other in the *Indies* at *Dehli* in the Year 1666. if I remember aright. The former seemed very remarkable to me upon the account of the childish credulity of our common people; and of that pannick terror which had so seized the heart, that some bought Drugs against the Eclipse; others kept themselves close in the dark in their Caves, and their well-closed Chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the Churches: *Those* apprehending some malign and dangerous influence, and *these* believing that they were come to their last day, and that the Eclipse would shake the foundations of Nature, and overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the *Gassendi's*, *Robervals*, and many other famous Philosophers could say or write against this perswasion, when they demonstrate, that this Eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but what some cheating Astrological Mountebanks might have devised.

That which I saw at *Dehli* seemed also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous Errors and Superstitions of the *Indians*. At the time when the said Eclipse was to appear, I went up to the Terrasse of my house, which was scituate on the side of the River *Gemna*, thence I saw both sides of the River, for near a league in length, covered with the Heathen Idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the Eclipse should begin. The little Boys and Girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a kind of scarf round about their thighs to cover their nakedness: and the married Women, together with the young Maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the *Rajas*, or soveraign Princes of those Gentils, (who commonly are about the Person, and in the pay of the King) and the *Serrabs* or Exchangers, the Banckers, Jewellers, and other great Merchants, were most of them gone to the other side of the water with all their family, and had there put up their Tents, and fastned in the River certain *Kanates*, which are a kind of skreens, to perform their Ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with there Wives, so as not to be seen by others. These Idolaters no sooner saw the Eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standgin

ing up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to Heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the Sun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying and apiſhneſs unto the end of this Eclipſe; at which time every one retired, caſting ſome pieces of Silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the *Brachmans* or men of the Law, who failed not to be at that Ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new cloathes that were laid ready for them folded up on the ſand, and that many of the devouter ſort left there their old garments for the Brachmans. And in this manner did I ſee from my Terraſſe this great ſolemnity of the Eclipſe; which was celebrated after the ſame manner in the River *Indus* and *Ganges*, and in all the other Rivers, as alſo in the Receivers of water in the *Indies*, but eſpecially in that of the *Tanaiſer*, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons, come together from all parts of the Indies, becauſe the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The great Mogol, though he be a Mahumetan, ſuffers theſe Heathens to go on in theſe old ſuperſtitions, becauſe he will not, or dareth not croſs them in the exerciſe of their Religion, and beſides it is not performed without preſenting him, by the hands of the *Brachmans* as Commiſſioners, a *Lecque* or an hundred thouſand Roupies, which are worth above fifty thouſand Crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few Veſts and an old Elephant. Now you ſhall ſee thoſe ſolid reaſons (forſooth) which they alledge for this Feaſt, and for the Ceremonies by them obſerved in it.

We have (ſay they) our four *Beths*, that is, Books of the Law, Sacred and Divine Writings, given us by God through the hands of *Brahma*. Theſe Books do teach us that a certain *Deuta*, which is a kind of corporeal Divinity, very malign and miſchievous, very black and very filthy (theſe are their own expreſſions in their language) ſeizeth on the Sun, blackens it as 'twere with ink, and ſo darkens it: That this Sun, which is alſo a *Deuta*, but of the beſt and the moſt beneficent and perfect Divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguiſh, to ſee himſelf thus ſeized on and miſuſed by that black villain: That 'tis a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miſerable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, waſhings and alms, and that theſe actions are of a very extraordinary merit to ſuch a degree, that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there, ſay they, that would not give *cent pour cent?*

Sir, theſe are the two Eclipſes I ſpoke of which I ſhall hardly ever forget, and which miniſter occaſion to me to proceed to ſome other extravagancies of theſe Gentils, whence you may draw what conſequences you ſhall pleaſe.

In the Town of *Jagannat*, which is ſeated upon the Gulf of *Bengala*, and where is that famous Temple of the Idol of the ſame name, there is yearly celebrated a certain Feaſt, which laſts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was antiently in the Temple of *Hammon*, and as 'tis at this day at *Mecca*. This number, 'tis ſaid, amounts ſometimes to above an hundred and fifty thouſand perſons. They make a ſtately Engin of wood, as I have ſeen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almoſt ſuch as we are wont to paint Monſters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beaſt, or gigantick and terrible heads, Satyrs, Apes or Devils; which Engin is put upon fourteen or ſixteen wheels, ſuch as the Carriages of Cannons may be, which fifty or ſixty perſons more or leſs do draw, or thruſt forwards: Upon the middle of it appears moſt conſpicuouſly the Idol *Jagannat*, richly dreſſed and adorned, which is thus tranſported from one place to another.

The firſt day that they ſhew this Idol with Ceremony in the Temple, the crowd is uſually ſo great to ſee it, that there is not a year, but ſome of thoſe poor Pilgrims, that come afar off, tired, and haraſſed, are ſuffocated there; all the people bleſſing them for having been ſo happy, as to die on ſo holy an occaſion. And when this Helliſh Triumphant Chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no Fable) perſons ſo fooliſhly credulous and ſuperſtitious as to throw themſelves with their bellies under thoſe large and heavy wheels, which bruiſe them to death, having ſuffered themſelves to be perſwaded, that there is no action ſo heroick nor ſo meritorious as that, and that *Jagennat* will at the ſame time receive them as his Children, and cauſe them to be born again in a ſtate of felicity and glory.

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The *Brachmans* for their particular advantage and intereſt, I mean that of Alms and Reſpect given to them as Perſons devoted to theſe Myſteries, do entertain the People in theſe errors and ſuperſtitions, and they proceed even to ſuch infamous cheats and Villanies, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed my ſelf of it. Theſe Impoſtors take a young Maid, of the faireſt they can meet with, to be the Bride (as they ſpeak, and bear the beſotted people in hand) of *Jagannat*, and they leave her all night in the Temple (whither they have carried her) with the Idol, making her believe that *Jagannat* himſelf will come and embrace her, and appointing her to ask him, Whether it will be a fruitful Year, what kind of Proceſſions, Feaſts, Prayers and Alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of theſe luſtful Prieſts enters at night by a little back-door into the Temple, deflowreth this young Maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaſeth; and the next day, being tranſported from this Temple into another with the ſame magnificence, ſhe was carried before upon the Chariot of Triumph on the ſide of *Jagannat* her Bridegroom; theſe *Brachmans* make her ſay aloud before all the people, whatſoever ſhe had been taught of theſe Cheats, as if ſhe had learnt it from the very mouth of *Jagannat*. But let us go on (if you pleaſe) to follies of another kind.

Before this Chariot, and often in the very Temples of the Idols, on Feſtival days, you ſhall ſee publick Women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant poſtures; and yet the *Brachmans* find a way to accord all that with their Religion. I have ſeen ſome Women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but alſo for great reſervedneſs, which refuſed very conſiderable preſents of certain Mahumetans and Chriſtians, and even of Heathen ſtrangers, as if they were only dedicated to the Miniſtery and the Miniſters of *Deura*, or the Idol Temple to the *Brachmans* and theſe *Fakires*, which are there ſeated moſt of them upon aſhes round about, altogether naked with their fearful hair of *Megera*, and in the poſture I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. But let us ſtay no longer upon theſe follies.

There are ſo many Writers of voyages relating the cuſtom of the *Indian* Women, burning themſelves with their Husbands, that I think ſomething will at laſt be believed of it. For my part, I am going to take my turn alſo, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time obſerving withall, that 'tis not all true what is ſaid of it, and that now they do not burn themſelves in ſo great a number as formerly, becauſe the Mahumetans, that bear ſway at preſent in *Indoſtan*, are enemies to that barbarous cuſtom, and hinder it as much as they can; not oppoſing it abſolutely, becauſe they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous then themſelves, in the free exerciſe of their Religion, for fear of ſome revolt: but by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the Women, ready to burn themſelves, to go and ask permiſſion of the reſpective Governors, who ſend for them, make converſe with their own Women, remonſtrate things to them with annexed promiſes, and never give them this permiſſion, but after they have tryed all theſe gentle ways, and till they find them fixt in their ſottiſh reſolution. Which yet hinders not but that many burn themſelves, eſpecially of thoſe that live upon the Lands of the *Rajas*, where no Mahumetan Governors are. I ſhall not ſtay togive you the hiſtory of all thoſe, which I have ſeen burn themſelves; that would too be long, and too tedious: I ſhall only relate unto you two or three Examples of them, whence you may judge of the reſt; but firſt you ſhall have the relation of a Woman, which I was ſent unto to divert her from ſuch a miſchievous deſign.

A friend of mine, called *Bendidas*, the firſt Clerk of my *Agah Danechmend-kan*, died of an Hectick, having been treated by me above two years. His Wife immediately reſolv'd to burn her ſelf, together with the Body of her Husband; but her Parents, by the order of my *Agah*, whoſe ſervants they were, endeavour'd to diſſwade her from it, repreſenting to her, that though it were indeed a generous and laudable reſolution, and would be a great honour and happineſs in the Family, yet ſhe ought to conſider, that her Children were yet little, that ſhe could not abandon them, and that ſhe was to prefer their good, and the affection ſhe had for them, to the love ſhe had for her Huſband, and to her own ſatisfaction. Theſe Parents not having been able to prevail with her by all theſe repreſentments, bethought themſelves to deſire me to go to her, as ſent from my *Agah*, and as an antient friend to the Family. I went and when I came, I did, as ſoon as I came in, ſee a cluſter of ſeven or eight fearful old Women, together with four or 5 infatuated and brain-ſick *Brachmans*, who all cried by turns, beating their hands

about

about the dead Corps, and the Widow in her looſe hair, looki ng pale, yet with dry and ſparkling Eyes, ſitting and crying alſo aloud, and beating her Hands, as the reſt with a kind of Cadency, upon the Feet of her Husband. The out-cry and noiſe being ended, I approach'd to this Company of people, and addreſſing my ſelf to the Widow, I gave her ſoftly to underſtand, that I came from *Danechmend-kan*; that he had appointed a monthly Penſion of two Crowns, to each of her two Sons, but on condition that ſhe ſhould not burn her ſelf, to the end, that ſhe might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that elſe we knew ways enow to hinder her from burning her ſelf, if ſhe were obſtinate for it, and to make thoſe repent, that ſhould allure and incite her to ſuch an unreaſonable reſolution, eſpecially ſince none of her Kindred was ſatisfied with it, and that ſhe would not be counted infamous, as thoſe are that want the reſolution to burn themſelves after the death of their Husbands, when they have no Children. I often inculcated to her all theſe conſiderations, without hearing a word of anſwer from her; though at laſt ſhe ſaid, looking fiercely upon me: Well, if I am hindred to burn my ſelf, I am reſolved to break my head againſt the Wall. Then ſaid I by my ſelf; What Diabolical fury doth poſſeſs thee? And to her I anſwer'd, full of indignation: Then take thy Children, thou unhappy Creature, and cut their Throats, and burn them with thee; for they will be ſtarved, I being now ready to return to *Danechmend-kan*, and to annull their Penſion. Theſe words being ſpoken by me, with the loudeſt and moſt menacing tone I could, made impreſſion upon the ſpirit of this Woman, and upon that of all the aſſiſtants: She preſently, without any reparty, let her Head ſink down upon her knees, and moſt of the old Women and *Brachmans* went away. Whereupon her Relations, that were come with me, entred and parlied with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took Horſe, and came away to my Lodgings, ſuppoſing they would do the reſt well enough. In ſhort, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my *Agah* of what I had done, I met with her Parents, who thank'd me, and ſaid, that the dead Corps had been burnt, and the Widow perſwaded to remain alive.

Concerning the Women that have actually burn'd themſelves, I have ſo often been preſent at ſuch dreadful ſpectacles, that at length I could endure no more to ſee it, and I retain ſtill ſome horrour when I think on't. Yet I ſhall repreſent to you ſome of them, but pretend not to expreſs to the life, with what courage and reſolution theſe poor Women atchieved ſuch a direful Tragedy; for there is nothing but the Eye it ſelf that can exhibit a right *idea* thereof.

When I was paſſing from *Amadevad* to *Agra*, over the Lands of the *Rajas*, that are in thoſe parts, there came news to us in a Burrough, where the Caravane reſted under the ſhade (ſtaying for the cool of the evening, to march on in their journey) that a certain Woman was then upon the point of burning her ſelf with the Body of her Huſband. I preſently roſe and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great Pit, with a Pile of wood raiſed in it, whereon I ſaw laid a dead Corps, and a Woman, which at a diſtance ſeem'd to me pretty fair, ſitting near it on the ſame Pile; beſides four or five *Brachmans*, putting the Fire to it from all ſides; five Women of a middle age, and well enough dreſſed, holding one another by the Hand, and dancing about the Pit, and a great Crowd of People, Men and Women, looking on. The Pile of Wood was preſently all on fire, becauſe ſtore of Oyl and Butter had been thrown upon it, and I ſaw at the ſame time through the flames, that the Fire took hold of the Cloaths of the Woman, that were imbued with well-ſented Oyls mingled with Powder of Santal and Saffron. All this I ſaw, but obſerved not, that the Woman was at all diſturbed; yea, it was ſaid, that ſhe had been heard to pronounce with great force theſe two words, *Five*, *Two*, to ſignifie, according to the Opinion of thoſe that hold the Souls Tranſmigration, that this was the 5*th*. time ſhe had burnt her ſelf with the ſame Husband, and that there remain'd but *two* times for perfection; as if ſhe had at that time this Remembrance, or ſome Prophetical Spirit. But here ended not this Infernal Tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that theſe five Women ſung and danced about the Pit; but I was altogether ſurpriſed, when I ſaw, that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, ſhe caſt her ſelf with her Head foremoſt into the Pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and ſmoak did the like: And my aſtoniſhment redoubled afterwards, when I ſaw, that the remaining three took one another again by the Hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themſelves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me ſufficiently, that I knew not what that

meant;

meant; but I learnt ſhortly after, that theſe had been five Slaves, who, having ſeen their Miſtreſs extreamly afflicted at the ſickneſs of her Husband, and heard her promiſe him, that ſhe would not ſurvive him, but burn her ſelf with him, were ſo touch'd with compaſſion and tenderneſs towards this their Miſtreſs, that they engaged themſelves in a promiſe to follow her in her reſolution, and to burn themſelves with her. Many perſons, whom I then conſulted about this cuſtome of Women burning themſelves with the Bodies of their Husbands, would perſwade me, that what they did was from an exceſs of affection they had for them: But I underſtood afterwards, that it was only an effect of Opinion, prepoſſeſſion and cuſtome; and that the Mothers, from their youth beſotted with this ſuperſtition, as of a moſt vertuous and moſt laudable action, ſuch as was unavoidable to a Woman of honour, did alſo infatuate the ſpirit of their Daughters from their very infancy: Although, at the bottom, it was nothing elſe but an Art of the Men, the more to enſlave their Wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poiſoning of them.

But let us proceed to another Tragedy, which I ſhall rather repreſent to you than many others, at which I have been preſent, becauſe it hath ſomething uncommon in it. 'Tis true, I was not there my ſelf; but you may do as I, who do not ſtand out againſt crediting theſe things, becauſe I have ſeen ſo many of them which ſeem'd incredible to me. This action is grown ſo famous in the *Indies*, that no body doubts of it, and it may be, that even your ſelf have already heard of it in *Europe*.

'Tis of a Woman, that was engaged in ſome Love-intrigues with a young Mahumetan her Neighbour, that was a Tailor, and could play finely upon the Tabor. This Woman in the hopes ſhe had of marrying this young man, poiſon'd her Husband, and preſently came away to tell her Tailor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or elſe that ſhe ſhould be obliged to burn her ſelf. The young Man fearing, leſt he might be entangled in a miſchievous buſineſs, flatly refuſed her. The Woman, not at all ſurprized at it, went to her Relations, and advertiſed them of the ſudden death of her Husband, and openly proteſted that ſhe would not ſurvive him, but burn her ſelf with him. Her Kindred well ſatisfied with ſo generous a reſolution, and the great honour ſhe did to the whole Family, preſently had a Pit made, and filled with Wood, expoſing the Corps upon it, and kindling the Fire. All being prepar'd, the Woman goes to embrace and bid farewell to all her Kindred that were there about the Pit, among whom was alſo the Tailor, who had been invited to play upon the Tabor that day, with many others of that ſort of Men, according to the cuſtome of the Country. This fury of a Woman being alſo come to this young Man, made as if ſhe would bid him farewell with the reſt; but in ſtead of gently embracing him, ſhe taketh him with all her force about his Collar, pulls him to the Pit, and tumbleth him together with her ſelf into the Ditch, where they both were ſoon diſpatch't.

She which I ſaw burn her ſelf, when I parted from *Suratte* to travel into *Perſia*, in the preſence of Monſieur *Chardin* and *Paris*, and of many Engliſh and Dutch, was of a middle age and not unhandſome. To repreſent unto you the undaunted chearfulneſs, that appear'd in her countenance, the reſolution with which ſhe marched, waſh'd her ſelf, ſpoke to the people; the confidence with which ſhe look'd upon us, view'd her little Cabin, made up of very dry Millet-ſtraw and ſmall Wood, went into this Cabin, and ſate down upon the Pile, and took her Husband's Head into her Lap, and a Torch into her own Hand, and kindled the Cabin, whilſt I know not how many *Brachmans* were buſie in kindling the fire round about: To repreſent unto you, I ſay, all this, as it ought, is not poſſible for me; I can at preſent ſcarce believe it my ſelf, though it be but a few days ſince I ſaw it.

'Tis true, that I have ſeen ſome of them, which at the ſight of the Pile and Fire, appear'd to have ſome apprehenſion, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late: Thoſe Demons, the *Brachmans*, that are there with their great Sticks, aſtoniſh them, and hearten them up, or even thruſt them in; as I have ſeen it done to a young Woman that retreated five or ſix paces from the Pile, and to another that was much diſturbed when ſhe ſaw the Fire take hold of her Cloaths, theſe Executioners thurſting her in with their long Poles. Yet I have often ſeen one, that is ſtill a handſome Woman, and had ſaved her ſelf out of their Hands, falling into the Hands of the *Gadous*, that ſometimes meet there in great numbers, when they know that 'tis ſome fair and young Woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great Kindred, nor much Company with her: For the Women that are afraid of the Pile, and fly away from it,

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knowing that they cannot be received again amongſt the Gentiles, nor live with them, becauſe they repute them infamous, after they have committed ſuch a fault, and brought ſuch a diſgrace upon their Religion, ſuch Women, I ſay, are ordinarily the prey of this kind of Men, who are alſo counted infamous in the *Indies*, and that have nothing to looſe. A *Mogolian* durſt not ſave, nor receive any, for fear of bringing himſelf into great trouble. Some *Portugueſes* living in Sea-ports, where they were ſtrongeſt, have ſometimes carried away ſome of them. For my part, I have often been ſo enraged againſt thoſe *Brahmans*, that if I durſt, I had ſtrangled them. I remember, among others, that at *Labor*, I ſaw a very handſome and a very young Woman burn'd: I believe ſhe was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy Creature appear'd rather dead then alive, when ſhe came near the Pile; ſhe ſhook, and wept bitterly: Mean time three or four of theſe Executioners, the *Brahmans*, together with an old Hag, that held her under the Arm, thruſt her on, and made her ſit down upon the Wood, and leaſt ſhe ſhould run away, they tied her Legs and Hands, and ſo burn'd her alive. I had enough to do to contain my ſelf for indignation; but I was forced to content my ſelf with deteſting this horrid Religion, and to ſay by my ſelf, what the Poet once ſaid of ſuch another, upon the occaſion, of *Iphigenia*, whom her own Father *Agamemnon* ſacrificed to *Diana*, for the intereſt of the *Grecians*, amongſt whom he was one of the principal Leaders.

———*Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum!*

Theſe are certainly very barbarous and very cruel Cuſtomes, but that which the *Brahmans* do in ſome other places of the *Indies* is yet more ſo: For inſtead of burning thoſe Women that will dye upon the death of their Husbands, they bury them in the ground alive up to the very Throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them, and wring their Neck round, and ſo choak them, covering them quickly with ſome earth, and then marching over their Heads. But let us paſs to ſome other Cuſtomes of thoſe Countries.

Moſt of the Gentiles burn their dead; but ſome there are, that do no more than with ſome Straw broil them on a Rivers ſide, caſting them thereupon from the height of a ſteep Bank into the Water: Which I have often ſeen upon the River *Ganges*.

Some of theſe Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a ſick perſon near death carry him to the ſide of a River (at which barbarous action I have been once preſent) and then firſt put his Feet into the Water, and afterwards let him ſlide down as far as to his Throat, and then when they think he is now expiring, they ſink him quite under Water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their Hands: And this, *ſay they*, to the end that the Soul leaving the body may be waſh'd from all the impurities, ſhe may have contracted in the Body. And this is not only a reaſon given by the Vulgar; for I have ſpoken with the moſt Learned of them, who deliver'd the ſame with great ſeriouſneſs. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongſt that vaſt number and great variety of *Fakires*, *Derviches*, or Religous Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have Convents, in which there are Superiours, and wherein they make certain vows of Chaſtity, Poverty, and Obedience, leading ſo odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. Theſe are commonly called *Jauguis*, as if you ſhould ſay, *United to God*. You ſhall ſee many of them ſit ſtark naked, or lie days and nights upon Aſhes, and commonly enough, under ſome of thoſe large trees, that are on the ſides of the *Talabs* or Ponds, or elſe in thoſe Galleries that are about their *Deurus* or Idol-temples. Some of them have their Hair hanging down to the middle of their Legs, and that wreathed into ſeveral parcels, as the large Main of our Barbes, or rather as the Hair of thoſe that have the ſickneſs of *Poland* called the *Plica*. Of theſe I have ſeen ſome in divers places, who held one Arm, and ſometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their Heads, and that had at the end of their Fingers wreathed Nails, that were longer by meaſure than half my little finger. Their Arms were ſmall and lean as of hectical perſons, becauſe they took not ſufficient nouriſhment in that forced poſture, and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, becauſe the Nerves were retired, and the Joints were filled and dried up: wherefore alſo they have young Novices, that ſerve them as Holy men with very great reſpect. There is no *Megera* in Hell ſo terrible to look on, as thoſe Men are, all

naked, with their black skin, long Hair, dried Arms, and in the poſture mention'd, and with crooked Nails.

I have often met in the Field, eſpecially upon the Lands of the *Rajas*, whole ſquadrons of theſe *Faquires*, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their Arms lifted up in the poſture mention'd; others had their terrible Hair hanging about them, or elſe they had wreathed them about their Head; ſome had a kind of *Hercules's* Club in their Hand; others had dry and ſtiff Tiger-skins over their Shoulders. I ſaw them paſs thus quite naked, without any ſhame, through the midſt of a great Burrough, I admired how Men, Women, and Children could look upon them ſo indifferently, without being moved no more than if we ſhould ſee paſs ſome Eremite through our ſtreets; and how the Women brought them almes with much devotion, taking them for very holy Men, much wiſer and better than others.

I have ſeen for a long while a very famous one in *Debli*, called *Sarmet*, who went thus ſtark naked along the ſtreets, and who at length would rather ſuffer his Neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promiſes or menaces ſoever *Aureng-Zebe* might ſend to him.

I have ſeen *many* of them, who out of devotion went long Pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with Iron-chains, like thoſe that are put about the Legs of Elephants. *Others*, who, out of a particular vow, ſtood for ſeven or eight days upright upon their Legs, which thereupon ſwell'd as big as their Thighs, without ſitting or lying down, or without repoſing themſelves otherwiſe than by leaning ſome hours of the night upon a ſtretched Cord: *Others*, who ſtood for whole hours upon their Hands without wavering, the Head down, and the Feet upward: And ſo of many others ſorts of poſtures ſo conſtrain'd, and ſo difficult, that we have no Tumbler able to immitate them; and all this it ſeems upon the account of Religion, of which yet their appears not the leaſt ſhadow in it.

All theſe ſo extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth) exceedingly ſurprize me at firſt, I knew not what to ſay or think of it. Sometimes I look'd upon them as a remainder, or rather as the Authors of that antient and infamous Sect of the *Cynicks*, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they ſeem'd to me a kind of Trees, ſomewhat moving from one place to another, rather than rational Animals. Another time I conſider'd them as Men altogether Enthuſiaſtical; though as I lately ſaid, I could not find any ſhadow of true Piety in all they did. Sometimes I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent Life of Beggars might have ſomething attractive in it. Sometimes I imagin'd that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched Mantle of *Diogenes*, as under the comely Garment of *Plato*, there might lurk that Spring, which might ſet a going ſo many Engins; and then reflecting withal upon the miſerable and auſtere life they led, I knew not what Judgment to make of them.

'Tis true, that many ſay, that they do not exerciſe theſe ſtrange auſterities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming *Rajas* in their renaſcence, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their Faces, how is't poſſible for any Man to reſolve upon ſuch a miſerable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath alſo, in the upſhot, but very little happineſs in it, though one ſhould return a *Raja*, and even a *Jeſſeingue* or a *Jeſſomſeingue*, which are the two moſt puiſſant *Rajas* of the *Indies*? There muſt needs, ſaid I, lie ſomething elſe under it, which you have no mind to diſcover to us, or you muſt be arrant Fools.

Amongſt thoſe I have been ſpeaking of, there are ſuch that are believed to be true Saints, illuminated and perfect *Jauguis*, entirely united to God. Theſe are people that have altogether abandon'd the World, and ſequeſter'd themſelves into ſome very remote corner or Garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to Town. If you carry them any meat, they receive it; if they do not, 'tis believed that they can live without it, and ſubſiſt by the ſole favour of God in perpetual faſting, prayer, and profound meditations: For they ſink themſelves ſo deep into *theſe* raptures, that they ſpend many hours together in being inſenſible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himſelf, like a very bright and ineffable Light, with an unexpreſſible joy and ſatisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forſaking of the World: For thus much one of them, that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleaſed, and had been often in it, told me; and others that are about them, affirm the thing with ſo much ſeriouſneſs, that they ſeem to believe in earneſt, as if there were no impoſture in it.

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God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this ſolitude and faſting the imagination debilitated, may not ſuffer it ſelf to be carried away into theſe illuſions: Or whether they be not of that kind of natural Raptures, into which *Cardan* ſaid he fell when he liſted; and this the rather, becauſe I ſee, there is uſed ſome Art in what they do, foraſmuch as they preſcribe to themſelves certain Rules, by little and little to bind up their Senſes: For they ſay, for Example, that after they have faſted many days, uſing nothing but Bread and Water, 'tis requiſite firſt to keep themſelves alone retired from all company, directing the Eyes ſteadily towards Heaven for a while, then gently caſting them down again, and then fixing them both ſo as to look at one and the ſame time upon the tip of their Noſe equally, and as much on one ſide as the other (which is troubleſome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that poſture, until ſuch a Light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that theſe Raptures, and theſe ways of falling into them, make the great Myſtery of the Cabala of *Jauguis*, as the *Soufys* do alſo. I call it *Myſtery*, becauſe they keep it very ſecret amongſt them; and if it had not been for this *Pendet* or Indian Doctor, to whom *Danechmend-kan* gave a Penſion, and who durſt hide nothing from him; and if alſo *Danechmend-kan* had not known the Myſteries of the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, I ſhould not have diſcover'd ſo much of it. I know beſides, that as for the extremity of Poverty, of Faſtings and Auſterities, that alſo can do much to it. We muſt not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our Religious Fryars or Eremites go in this point beyond thoſe Men, nor generally beyond all the Aſiatick Monks; witneſs the Life and Faſtings of the *Armenians*, *Copthites*, *Greeks*, *Neſtorians*, *Jacobites*, and *Maronites*. We muſt rather avow, that we are but Novices, when compared with thoſe Religious Men: But then we muſt alſo acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in reſpect of thoſe of the *Indies*, that they can much more eaſily bear hunger than we can in our colder Climates.

There are others very differing from thoſe, but very ſtrange Men likewiſe; they are almoſt perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, Men that brag of ſecrets, and who, as the people ſay, know no leſs than to make Gold, and ſo admirably to pepare *Mercury*, that a grain or two of it taken every morning reſtoreth the body to perfect health, and ſo ſtrengthens the Stomach, that it feeds greedily and digeſts with eaſe. This is not all: When two of theſe *Jauguis*, that are eminent, do meet, and you ſtir them up in the point and power of their knowledge or *Jauguiſme*, you ſhall ſee them do ſuch tricks out of ſpight to one onother, that I know not whether *Simon Magus* could have out-done them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the Branch of a Tree bloſſome and bear fruit in leſs than an hour, hatch Eggs in their boſome in leſs than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth ſuch Birds as you demand, which they make fly about the Chamber, and many ſuch other prodigies. I mean, if what is ſaid of them be true; for I remember, that one day my *Agah* ſent for one of theſe famous Diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300 Roupies, which is about 150 Crowns, if he ſhould tell him, as he ſaid he would, his preſent thought, which he was to write before him upon a paper: As alſo, that I my ſelf made a bargain with the ſame, to give him 25 Roupies, if he ſhould divine mine; but the Prophet failed us, as alſo did at another time one of thoſe pretended producers of Birds, to whom I had alſo promiſed 20 Roupies. I am ſtill to be underſtood, if it be true what is ſaid of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curioſity none of thoſe happy Men, that are preſent at, and ſee thoſe great feats; and if I ſhould chance to ſee any of ſuch things as are thought ſtrange, I am always conſidering and ſeeking, whether the thing may not be done by ſome Juggle, Art, or Trick of Leger-demain: and I am ſometimes even ſo unhappy, or, if you will, ſo fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did him, that made a Cup run, to diſcover who it was, that had ſtolen money from my *Agah*.

Laſtly, there are ſome in many places, that are quite of another way than all thoſe I have diſcourſed of. Their Life and their Devotion is more meek and more poliſht; they go over the ſtreets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a Scarfe hanging down to their Knees, and having a white Sheet which paſſeth under their right Arm, and comes out over their left Shoulder like a Cloak, without other Cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with great modeſty, holding in their Hand a ſmall Earthen Trevet with two handles, very neat. They do not go goſſiping from Shop to Shop, as many of the other *Fakires* do. They go freely every where into the Houſes of the Gentiles, where they are wel-

come, and much made of; they being eſteem'd a Bleſſing to the Houſe. They are by no means to be accuſed of any thing, though it be well enough known, what in ſuch viſits among the Women paſſeth. But 'tis the cuſtom, they are in poſſeſſion of being Saints for all that, and any Houſe thinks it ſelf honour'd with their viſit. But it is not only there ſo; many other places there be in the World, where things are not ſo ſtrictly look'd to. But that which I find moſt ridiculous in thoſe people is, That they are impertinent enough, to compare themſelves with our Religious Men, they meet with in the *Indies*. I have often taken pleaſure to catch them uting much ceremony with them, and giving them great reſpect; but I ſoon heard them ſay to one another, This *Franguis* knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the *Indies*, he knows that we are the *Padrys* of the *Indians*. A fine compariſon, ſaid I within my ſelf, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of Men!

But we ſtay too long upon theſe Heathen-Beggers: Let us go on to their *Books* of *Law* and *Sciences*: you may afterwards judge, whether moſt of what I am going to ſay of it, may be put, as I think it may, in the number of Extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the *Hanſcrit*, the language of the Learn'd (of which ſomewhat may be ſaid hereafter, and which is perhaps the ſame with that of the old *Brahmans*) do notwithſtanding tell you many things taken out of Books written in that Tongue. For you muſt know, that my *Agah Danechmend-kan*, partly upon my ſolicitation, partly out of his own curioſity, took into his ſervice one of the famouſeſt *Pendets* that was in all the *Indies*, and that formerly had had a Penſion of *Dara*, the Eldeſt Son of King *Chah-jehan*; and that this *Pendet*, beſides that he drew to our Houſe all the moſt Learned *Pendets*, was for three years conſtantly of my converſation. When I was weary of explaining to my *Agah* thoſe late diſcoveries of *Harvey* and *Pecquet* in *Anatomy*, and of diſcourſing with him of the Philoſophy of *Gaſſendi* and *Deſ-cartes*, which I tranſlated to him into *Perſian* (for that was my chief employment for five or ſix years) that *Pendet* was our refuge, and then he was obliged to diſcourſe, and to relate unto us his ſtories, which he deliver'd ſeriouſly and without ever ſmiling. 'Tis true, that at laſt we were ſo much diſguſted with his tales and uncouth reaſonings, that we ſcarce had patience left to hear them.

They ſay then, that God, whom they call *Achar*, that is to ſay, Immoveable or Immutable, hath ſent them four Books, which they call *Beths*, a word ſignifying *Science*, becauſe they pretend that in theſe Books all Sciences are comprehended. The firſt of theſe Books is call'd *Athen-habed*, the ſecond *Zager-bed*, the third *Jek-bed*, the fourth *Sama-bed*. Conform to the doctrine of theſe Books, this people ought to be diſtinguiſh't, as really they are, into four Tribes: The firſt is of *Brachmans*, Men of the Law; the ſecond of *Quetterys*, Men of Arms; the third, Men of *Beſcue* or *Trafick*, commonly called *Banians*; and the fourth, Men of *Seydra*, that is, Handy-crafts Men and Labourers. And theſe are ſo diſcriminated, that thoſe of one Tribe cannot marry into another, that is, a *Brahman* cannot marry with a Woman *Quettery*, and ſo of the reſt.

They all agree in one Doctrine, which is that of *Pythagoras* concerning the *Metempſychoſis* or Tranſmigration of Souls, and in this, that they muſt not kill or eat of any Animal. However there are ſome of the *ſecond* Tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither *Cows* nor *Peacocks*-fleſh, they all having a great veneration for theſe two creatures, eſpecially the *Cow*, becauſe they fancy I know not what River lying between this Life and that to come, which they are to paſs by holding themſelves faſt on a Cows-tail. Poſſibly their ancient Legiſlators had ſeen thoſe Shepherds of *Egypt*, croſſing the *Nile*, by holding with their left-hand the Tail of an Oxe, and in their right-hand a Stick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this reſpect for Cows, becauſe they draw from them Milk and Butter, which is a great part of their ſubſiſtance; and becauſe alſo they are ſo ſerviceable for the Plough, and conſequently for the Life of Man; and that the rather becauſe it is not ſo in the *Indies* as in our Parts, for maintaining ſo great a number of Cattle as we do: if but half as many of them ſhould be killed in the *Indies*, as there are in *England* or *France*, the Country will quickly be deſtitute of them, and the Land remain Untilled. The heat is there ſo violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and that Oxen and Cows are often ſtarved, or dye of eating traſh in the Fields like Hogs. And 'tis upon the account of the ſcarcity of Cattle, that in the time of *Jehan-Guire*, the *Brahmans* obtain'd an Edict, that no Cattle ſhould be kill'd for a certain number of years, and that of late they preſented a Petition to *Aureng-Zebe*, and offered him a conſiderable ſum, if he would make the like Prohibition.

hibition They remonſtrated, that for 50 or 60 years paſt much Land had remained Unploughed, becauſe the Oxen and Cows were become too ſcarce and too dear. It may be alſo, that theſe Law-givers conſidered, that Cows and Ox-fleſh in the *Indies* is not very ſavoury, nor wholeſome, unleſs it be for a little time in Winter, during the cooler ſeaſon: Or laſtly, that they would take the People off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined) by obliging them, as by a Maxime of Religion, to exerciſe humanity to the very Beaſts, and by making them believe, that killing or eating an Animal, it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their Grand-fires; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the Doctrine of theſe *Beths*, they are obliged to ſay their Prayers at leaſt thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the Eaſt. They are alſo bound to waſh their whole body thrice, or at leaſt before they eat; and they believe, that 'tis more meritorious to waſh themſelves in running water then in any other. And it may be, that the Legiſlators in this point alſo have had a reſpect to what is proper and convenient for this Countrey, where nothing is more deſirable then waſhing and bathing. And they find it troubleſome enough to obſerve this Law, when they are in cold Countries: I have ſeen ſome of them that were like to die, becauſe they would *there* alſo obſerve their Law of waſhing their Body by plunging themſelves into Rivers or Ponds, when they found any near; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them upon occaſion, that in cold Countries it would not be poſſible to obſerve that Law of theirs in Winter (which was a ſign of its being a meer human invention) they gave this pleaſant anſwer: That they pretended not their Law was univerſal; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a Stranger into their Religion: that they thought not our Religion was therefore falſe, but that it might be it was good for us, and that God might have appointed ſeveral differing ways to go to Heaven; but they will not hear that our Religion ſhould be the general Religion for the whole earth, and theirs a fable and pure device.

Theſe ſame Books do teach them, that God having determined to create the World, would not execute it immediately, but made firſt three Perfect Beings: the firſt was *Brahma*, which ſignifieth Penetrating into all things; the ſecond *Beſcheu*, that is Exiſting in all things; and the third *Mehahden*, that is, great Lord. That by the means of *Brahma* he created the World, by the means of *Beſcheu* he preſerveth it, and by the means of *Mehahden* he will deſtroy it. That it is *Brahma*, who by the command of God did publiſh the four *Beths*, and that therefore he is in ſome of their Churches repreſented with four Heads.

As to thoſe three *Beings*, I have ſeen ſome *European* Miſſionaries that were of opinion, that theſe Gentils had ſome *Idea* of the Myſtery of the *Trinity*; and ſaid, it was expreſly contained in their Books that there are three Perſons, and one only God. For my part, I have made the *Pendets* ſufficiently diſcourſe upon this point; but they declare themſelves ſo poorly, that I could not clearly underſtand their ſenſe. I have even heard ſome of them, who ſaid, that theſe are three Creatures very perfect, which they called *Deütas*, yet without explaining well what they underſtood by this word *Deütas*; as our antient Idolaters never explained what they meant by theſe words *Genius* and *Numina*, which is (I think) the ſame with *Deüta* among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have ſpoken with others of the moſt knowing amongſt them, who ſaid, that theſe three Beings were indeed nothing but one and the ſame God, conſidered three manner of way, *viz.* as he is the Producer, Conſervator, and Deſtroyer of things; but they ſaid nothing of three diſtinct Perſons in one onely Deity.

Moreover I have ſeen the Reverend Father *Roa*, a German Jeſuit and Miſſionary at *Agra*, who being well verſed in their *Hanſcrit*, maintained that their Books did not onely import, there was one God in three Perſons, but that even the *ſecond* Perſon of their Trinity was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to aſcribe to my ſelf the writings of others, I ſhall relate unto you word for word, what a certain *Carmelite* of *Chiras* hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned Father *Roa* paſſed that way to come back to *Rome*. The *Gentils* (ſaith he) do hold, that the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity was incarnated nine times, and *that* becauſe of divers neceſſities of the World, from which he hath delivered it: But the *eighth* Incarnation is the moſt notable; for they hold, that the World being inſlaved under the power of Giants, it was redeemed by the ſecond Perſon, incarnated and born of a Virgin at midnight,

midnight, the Angels ſinging in the Air, and the Heavens pouring down a ſhower of flowers all that night. This ſavours much of Chriſtianity: But then there follows a Fable again, which is, That this God incarnate killed firſt of all a Giant that flew in the Air, and was ſo big as to obſcure the Sun, and by his fall to make the Earth to ſhake, and that by his great weight he ſunk as deep as Hell; that this God incarnate being wounded in the ſide, in the firſt conflict with this Giant, fell, but by his fall put his Enemies to flight; that after he had raiſed himſelf again, and redeemed the World, he aſcended into Heaven; and that by reaſon of his wound, he is commonly called the *Wounded in his Side*. In the *tenth* Incarnation, which ſhall then be, when according to our ſupputation Antichriſt ſhall come, the World ſhall be delivered from the ſlavery of the Mahumetans: But this is only a vulgar Tradition, which is not found in their Books.

They ſay alſo, that the *Third* Perſon of the Trinity hath manifeſted himſelf to the World; concerning which they relate, That the Daughter of a certain King, being fit to be married, and asked by her Father, whom ſhe would marry, anſwered, that ſhe would not be united but to a Divine Perſon; and that at the ſame time, the Third Perſon of the Trinity appeared to the King in the form of Fire; that that King forthwith gave notice of it to his Daughter, who preſently conſented to the Marriage; That this Perſon of the Trinity, though altogether in a firy appearance, was called before the King's Council, and ſeeing that the Counſellors oppoſed this Marriage, took hold of their Beards and burned them, together with the whole Royal Palace, and then married the Daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the firſt Incarnation of the ſecond Perſon, was in the nature of a *Lion*; the ſecond, in that of a *Swine*; the third, in that of a *Tortoiſe*; the fourth, in that of a *Serpent*; the fifth in that of a Brahma *She-Dwarf*, onely a foot and a half high; the ſixth, in that of a Monſter, a *Man-Lion*; the ſeventh, in that of a *Dragon*; the eighth, as hath been ſaid already; the ninth, in an *Ape*; the tenth, in that of a great *Cavalier*.

Concerning this I ſhall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the Reverend Father *Roa*, hath taken all he ſaith of this matter out of the Books of the *Gentiles*, and that is the main ground of their *Mythology*. I had written many things of it at large in my Papers, and had alſo taken the Figures of their Gods or Idols, which I had ſeen in their Temples, having alſo got of them the Characters of their Language *Hanſcrit*; but finding at my return all thoſe things, or at leaſt the beſt part of it Printed in the *China Illuſtrata* of Father *Kircher*, who had obtained it at *Rome* from the ſame Father *Roa*; I ſhall content my ſelf to have named the Book to you. 'Tis true, that the word *Incarnation*, which the Reverend Father uſeth, was new to me, having never ſeen it ſo expreſly uſed; I had only heard ſome *Pendets* thus explaining the thing, *viz.* That God had formerly appeared in thoſe Figures when he did all thoſe wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, That it was the Soul of certain Great Men, ſuch as we might call *Hero*'s, that had paſſed into theſe Bodies, and that theſe Hero's were thus become *Deütas*, or to ſpeak in the phraſe of our old Idolaters, ſome powerful and conſiderable Divinities, *Numens*, *Genio's*, *Demons*, *Spirits*; for I ſee not that this word *Deüta* can ſignifie any other thing: But this ſecond Explication of the *Pendets*, cometh in effect to the firſt, for as much as moſt of them believe, that our Souls are Portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much ſublimer Explication, ſaying, That all thoſe *Incarnations* or Apparitions, which their Books ſpeak of are not to be underſtood according to the Letter, but Myſtically, foraſmuch as thereby are explained the ſeveral Attributes of God. Some there were, and thoſe of the moſt learned, acknowledging to me candidly, that there was nothing more fabulous then thoſe *Incarnations*, and that they were only the Inventions of Legiſlators, to retain People in ſome Religion: And though this were ſo, if there were nothing elſe but this, (which is common to them all) that our Souls were Portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in ſound Phyloſophy, without making any Myſteries in Religion of it, ſeeing that in reſpect of our Souls we ſhould be *God*, and that in effect it ſhould be our ſelves that had impoſed upon us a Religious Worſhip, Metempſychoſes, Paradice and Hell, which would be ridiculous.

I ſhall here add a few words, to declare that I am not leſs obliged to Monſieur *Henry Lor*, and to Monſieur *Abraham Roger*, then to the Reverend Fathers *Kircher* and *Roa*. I had compil'd an hundred things relating to the *Gentiles*, which I found in the Books of thoſe Gentlemen, and which would have been a great trouble to me to range them as they

they have done. I ſhall therefore content my ſelf to ſay ſomething in General to you of their *Studies* and *Sciences*, not indeed in that good order which poſſibly you might expect, but juſt as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their Books; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The Town of *Benares*, which is ſeated upon the *Ganges* in a very fine and rich Country and place, is the General School, and as 'twere the *Athens* of the Gentry of the Indies; where the *Brachmans* and the *Religious* (thoſe that addict themſelves to ſtudy) come together. They have no Colledges nor *Claſſes* ordered as with us, me thinks, 'tis more after the way of the School of the Antients; the Maſters being diſperſed over the Town in their Houſes, and eſpecially in the Gardens of the Suburbs, where the great Merchants do ſuffer them. Of theſe Maſters ſome have four Diſciples; others ſix or ſeven; and the moſt famous, twelve or fifteen at moſt, who ſpend ten or a dozen years with them. All this ſtudy goeth on very cooly, becauſe moſt Indians are of a ſlow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the Country contributes much; and becauſe they are not animated to induſtry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They ſtudy leaſurely, and without much tormenting themſelves; eating their *Kichery* or mixture of Legums, which the rich Merchants cauſe to be dreſſed for them.

Their firſt ſtudy is of the *Hanſcrit*, which is a Language altogether different from the common *Indian*, and not known but by the *Pendets*. And this is that Tongue, of which Father *Kircher* hath publiſht the Alphabet received from Father *Roa*. It is called *Hanſcrit*, that is, a pure Language; and becauſe they believe this is to be the Tongue, in which God, by the means of *Brahma*, gave them the four *Beths*, which they eſteem *Sacred* Books, they call it an Holy and Divine Language. They pretend alſo, that it is as antient as *Brahma*, whoſe Age they do not reckon but by *Leeques*, or hundred thouſands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for ſuch an extraordinary Antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the Books of their Religion, which certainly is very antient, are written in this Tongue, and beſides that, it hath it's Authors in Philoſophy and Phyſick in Verſes, and ſome other Poems, and many other Books, of which I have ſeen a great Hall quite full in *Benares*.

After they have learned the *Hanſcrit* (which is very difficult to them, becauſe they have no Grammar worth any thing) they commonly apply themſelves to read the *Purane*, which is as it were the interpretation and ſum of the *Beths*, which are very large, at leaſt if thoſe be they which were ſhewed me at *Benares*: and beſides they are ſo very rare, that my *Agah* could never find them to be ſold, what induſtry ſoever he uſed in it. And they keep them very ſecret, for fear leaſt the Mahumetans ſhould lay their hands on them and burn them, as they have already done ſeveral times.

After the *Purane* ſome fall upon Philoſophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a ſlow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain ſome good place by their ſtudy.

Among their Philoſophers there have principally been ſix very famous, who make ſo many different Sects; which cauſeth alſo a difference and an emulation among the *Pendets* or Doctors: For they know, that ſuch an one is of this Sect, another of another, and every one of them pretends his Doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the *Beths*. There is indeed another, a ſeventh Sect, which is called *Bauté* whence do proceed twelve other different Sects; but this is not ſo common as the others, the Votaries of it being hated and deſpiſed as a company of irreligious and atheiſtical people, nor do they live like the reſt.

All theſe Books ſpeak of the *firſt principles* of things, but very differently. Some ſay, that all is compoſed of little Bodies that are indiviſible, not by reaſon of their ſolidity, hardneſs, and reſiſtance, but ſmalneſs; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, but with ſo much confuſion that one knows not where to faſten, all ſeeming like a rope of ſand: which yet may be as much or more the fault of the *Pendets*, which ſeem to me very ignorant, then of the Authors.

Others ſay, that all is made up of *matter* and *form*; but not one of them explains himſelf clearly about the *matter*, and leſs about the *form*. Yet ſo much I have found, that they underſtand them not at all as they are wont to be explained in our Schools, by educing the Form out of the power of the Matter: For they always alledge Examples of things Artificial, and among them that of a Veſſel of ſoft Clay, which a Potter turns and ſhapes divers ways.

Others

Others hold, that all is compoſed of *four Elements* and a *nothing*; but they do not at all explain themſelves concerning Mixtion and Tranſmutation. And as for their *nothing*, which comes near to our *privation*, they admit I know not how many ſorts of them, which (I believe) they underſtand not at all, nor are able to make out to others.

There are alſo ſome, that maintain *light* and *darkneſs* to be the firſt Principles, and ſay a thouſand impertinent and confuſed things upon it, making long-winded diſcourſes, which ſavour nothing at all of Philoſophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit *privation* for the Principle, or rather *privations*, which they diſtinguiſh from *nothing*, and of which they make long enumerations, ſo uſeleſs and little philoſophical, that I can ſcarce imagine them to be in their Books, or that their Authors could have entertained themſelves with ſuch uncouth things.

Laſtly, ſome of them do pretend that all is compoſed of *accidents*; of which alſo they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and ſuch as ſavour only ſome Pettifogger, that can amuſe the common People.

Touching theſe Principles in general, they all agree that they are *eternal*; our production out of nothing not having come (it ſeems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the antient Philoſophers: Yet they ſay, that there is one of them that hath touched ſomething of it.

As to *Phyſick*, they have many little Books that are rather collections of *receits* then any thing elſe; the moſt antient and chief wherefore is in Verſe. I ſhall here tell you, that their *practice* is ſufficiently different from ours, and that they ground themſelves upon theſe Principles: *That* one who is ſick of a Feaver, needs no great nouriſhment: *That* the main Remedy of ſickneſſes, is Abſtinence: *That* nothing is worſe for a ſick Body then Fleſh-broth, nor which corrupts ſooner in the Stomach of a feveriſh Patient: *That* no Blood is to be let but in great and evident neceſſity, as when you apprehend ſome tranſlation into the Brain, or finde ſome conſiderable part, as the Cheſt, Liver, Kidneys, enflamed.

Whether this Practice be better then ours, I leave to Phyſitians to decide; but I ſee that 'tis ſucceſsful among *them*. The ſame practice is not peculiar to the Phyſitians of the Gentils, but the Mogolian and Mahumetan Doctors, that follow *Avicen* and *Averroes*, do alſo very ſtrictly obſerve it, eſpecially as to Meat-broths. 'Tis true that the *Mogols* are ſomewhat more prodigal of their Blood then the *Gentils*, for in thoſe ſickneſſes wherein they fear thoſe accidents lately ſpecified, they commonly blood once or twice: but theſe are none of thoſe petty veneſections of the new invention of *Goa* and *Paris*, but they are of thoſe plentiful ones uſed by the Antients, of 18. or 20. ounces of Blood, which often come to a ſwounding, and frequently choak the Diſeaſe in the very beginning, as *Galen* ſaith, and as I have often experimented.

Concerning *Anatomy*, I may ſafely ſay, that the Gentils underſtand nothing at all of it, and they can ſpeak nothing as to that ſubject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are ſo ignorant in it, ſince they never open any Body of Man or Beaſt: they do ſo much abhor it, that when I opened ſome living Kids and Sheep before my *Agah*, to make him underſtand the Circulation of the Blood, and to ſhew him the *Pecquetian* Veſſels, through which the Chyle at laſt comes into one of the ventricles of the Heart, they trembled for fear and ran away. Yet notwithſtanding they affirm, that there are five thouſand Veins in Man, neither more nor leſs, as if they had well counted them all.

Touching *Aſtronomy*, they have their Tables, according to which they foreſee the *Eclipſes*; and though they do it not with that exactneſs as our European Aſtronomers, yet they come pretty near. Mean time they diſcourſe of the Eclipſe of the Moon, as they do upon that of the Sun, believing that it is the *Rah*, that black Villain, and miſchievous *Deita*, who at that time ſeizeth on the Moon and blackens her. They hold alſo, *that* the Moon is an hundred thouſand *keſſes*, that is, above fifty thouſand Leagues above the Sun: *that* ſhe is lucid of her ſelf; and *that* 'tis ſhe, from whom we receive a certain Vital Water, which gathereth and diſpoſeth it ſelf in the Brain, deſcending thence as from a ſource into all the members for their functions. Beſides this, they are of opinion, that the Sun and Moon, and generally all Stars are *Deitas*; that 'tis night when the Sun is behind the *Someire*, that imaginary Mountain, which they place in the midſt of the Earth, and make I know not how many thouſand Leagues high, and to which they give the ſhape of an inverted Sugar-loaf; ſo that 'tis not day with them, but when the Sun gets out from behinde this Mountain.

In

In *Geography* they have ſped no better. They believe the Earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath ſeven ſtories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompaſſed, they ſay, by its Sea; that of theſe Seas one is of Milk, another of Sugar, the third of Butter, the fourth of Wine, and ſo forth: ſo that after one Earth there comes a Sea, and after, Sea an Earth; and ſo on unto ſeven, beginning from *Someire*, which is in the midſt of theſe ſtories: that the firſt ſtory, which is at the foot of *Someire*, hath *Deütas* for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; that the ſecond contains likewiſe *Deütas*, but leſs perfect; and ſo the reſt, ſtill leſſening the perfection unto the ſeventh, which they ſay is ours, that is, of men far leſs perfect then all the *Deütas*; and laſtly, that this whole Maſs is ſuſtained upon the heads of divers Elephants, which when they ſtir, cauſe an Earthquake.

All theſe ſtrange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if *they* be thoſe famous Sciences of the antient *Brahmans* of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the Religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times; that 'tis written in the Language *Hanſcrit*, which cannot be but very antient, ſince its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a *dead* Language, not underſtood but by the Learned; that all their Books are only written in that Tongue: All which are as many marks of a very great Antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the *worſhip* of their *Idols*.

When I deſcended along the River *Ganges*, and paſſed through *Banares*, that famous School of all the Indian Gentility, I went to ſee the chief of the *Pendets*, who hath there his ordinary reſidence. This is a *Fakire*, or Religious Monk, ſo renowned for his knowledge, that *Chah-Jehan*, partly for his Science, partly to pleaſe the *Rajas*, gave him a Penſion of 2000 Roupies, that is, about 1000 Crowns. This was a big and proper Man, goodly to look on; who for all his Cloaths had nothing but a white ſilken Scarf, tied about his waſte, and hanging down to his mid-leg, with another red Scarf about his ſhoulders like a little Cloak. I had often ſeen him at *Dehli* in this poſture before the King, in the Aſſembly of all the *Omrahs*, and marching upon the Streets, ſometimes on foot, ſometimes in a *Palekey*. I had alſo frequently ſeen and many times converſed with him, when for a whole year together he conſtantly came to our conference before my *Agah*, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that Penſion which *Aureng-Zebe* (being come to the Crown) had taken from him, that he might appear a great Muſulman. In the viſit I made him at *Banares*, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a Collation in the Library of his Univerſity, attended with ſix of the moſt famous *Pendets* of the Town. When I found my ſelf in ſo good Company, I prayed them all to tell me their ſenſe about the Adoration of their Idols; intimating to them, that I was leaving the Indies, extreamly ſcandalized upon that ſcore; and reproaching them, that that worſhip was a thing againſt all reaſon, and altogether unworthy ſuch Scholars and Philoſophers as they were. Whereupon I received this Anſwer.

We have indeed (ſaid they) *in our Deuras or Temples, ſtore of divers Statues, as thoſe of* Braham, Mehaden, Genich *and* Gavani, *who are ſome of the chief and the moſt perfect* Deütas: *and we have alſo many others of leſs perfection, to whom we pay great honour, proſtrating our ſelves before them, and preſenting them Flowers, Rice, ſcented Oyls, Saffron and ſuch other things with much Ceremony, but we do not believe theſe Statues to be* Brahma *or* Bechen, &c. *themſelves, but only their Images and Repreſentations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they repreſent. They are in our Temples, becauſe 'tis neceſſary for praying well, to have ſomething before our eyes that may fix the mind; and when we pray, it is not the Statue we pray to, but he that is repreſented by it. For the reſt, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is abſolute, and the only Omnipotent Lord and Maſter.*

This is, without adding or ſubtracting any thing, the reſolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this ſeemed a little too much accommodated to our Chriſtianity, in reſpect of what I had learned of it from ſeveral other *Pendets*.

After this, I put them upon their *Chronology*, where they pretended to ſhew me far higher Antiquities then all ours. They will not ſay, that the World is eternal; but they make it ſo old, that I almoſt know not which is beſt. Its determined duration, *ſay they*, is of four *Dgugue*. This *Dgugue* is a certain determined number of years, as amongſt us we have a *ſeculum* (an Age) with this difference, that an Age of ours contains only an hundred *Years*, but their *Dgugue* is made up of an hundred *Leeques*, that

is, an hundred times hundred thouſand years. I do not preciſely remember the number total of the years of each *Dgugue*; but this I know very well, that the firſt, called *Sate-Dgugue*, is of twenty five *Lecques* of years: that the ſecond, which they call *Trita*, is of above twelve *Lecques*: the third, called *Duaper*, of eight *Lecques* and ſixty four thouſand years, if I remember well: and the fourth, calſed *Kale-Dgugue*, is of I know not how many *Lecques*. The three firſt, ſay they, and much of the fourth, are elapſed; ſo that the World ſhall not laſt ſo long as it hath done, becauſe it is to periſh at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their firſt Principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the World aright; but finding that that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themſelves about the number of the *Lecques*, I contented my ſelf to ſee that they make the World exceeding old. But being preſſed a little to make out this Antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little ſtories, and at length come to this, that they find it ſo in their *Beths*, or the Books of their Law, given them by the hands of *Brahma*.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of the *Deïtas*, of which I deſired to be particularly inſtructed; but I received nothing but what was very confuſed. They ſaid, *that* there were three ſorts of them, Good, Evil, and Indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad; *that* ſome thought, they were made of Fire, others of Light; others that they were *Biapek*, of which word I could not get a clear explication; only they ſaid, that God was *Biapek*, and our Soul was *Biapek*, and what is *Biapek* is incorruptible, and depends neither from Time nor Place: *That* others would have them to be nothing elſe but Portions of the Deity; and laſtly, that ſome there were, that made them certain kinds of Divinities ſevered and diſpenſed over the World.

I remember, that I alſo put them upon the nature of the *Lengue-cherire*, which ſome of their Authors do admit: But I could obtain nothing elſe of it but what I had long ſince underſtood from our *Pendet*, which was, That the ſeeds of Plants and Animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the firſt production of the World, and diſpenſed abroad every where and mixed in all things; and that they are (not only potentially but actually) the very and entire Plants and Animals, though ſo ſmall, that their parts cannot be diſtinguiſht, but when being put into a convenient womb, and there nouriſhed, they extend themſelves and increaſe: So that the ſeeds of an Apple and Pear-Tree are a *Lengue-cherire*, that is, a little entire and perfect Apple and Pear-Tree, having all its eſſential parts: And ſo the ſeeds of an Horſe, an Elephant, and a Man, &c. are a *Lengue-cherire*; a little Horſe, a little Elephant, a little Man, in which there wants nothing but the Soul and Nouriſhment to make them appear what they are.

For a concluſion, I ſhall diſcover to you the myſtery of a great *Cabala*, which in theſe laſt years hath made great noiſe in *Indoſtan*, becauſe certain *Pendets*, or Heatheniſh Doctors, had poſſeſſed with it the minds of *Dara* and *Sultan-Sujah*, the two firſt Sons of *Chah-Jehan*.

You cannot but know the Doctrine of many of the Antient Philoſophers, touching that great *Soul of the World*, which they will have our Souls and thoſe of Animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, we might perhaps find that they were of this ſentiment. It is in a manner the general Doctrine of the Heathen *Pendets* of the Indies, and 'tis the ſame which ſtill maketh the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, and of the greateſt part of the learned Men in *Perſia*, and which is found explained in *Perſian* Verſes, ſo ſublime and emphatical in their *Goultchen-raz* or Parterre of Myſteries: which is alſo the very ſame of Dr. *Flud*'s, whom our great *Gaſſendus* hath ſo learnedly refuted; and that wherein moſt Chymiſts loſe themſelves. But theſe Indian Cabaliſts or *Tendets* I ſpeak of, drive this impertinence farther than all thoſe Philoſophers, and pretend, that God, or that Soveraign Being, which they call *Achar*, (immutable,) hath produced or drawn out of his own ſubſtance, not only *Souls*, but alſo whatever is *material* and corporeal in the Univerſe; and that this production was not meerly made by way of an efficient cauſe, but by a way reſembling a Spider that produceth a Webb, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. *Creation* therefore, ſay theſe Doctors, is nothing elſe but an extraction and extenſion, which God maketh of his own Subſtance, of thoſe webbs he draws from his own bowels; as *Deſtruction* is nothing elſe but a repriſal, or taking back again this Divine Subſtance, and theſe Divine webbs into himſelf: So that the laſt day of the World, which they call *Maperlé* or *Pralca*, when they believe that all ſhall be deſtroyed, ſhall be nothing elſe but

but a general repriſal of all thoſe webbs which God had drawn forth out of himſelf. There is therefore nothing *(ſo they go on)* that is real or effactive in all we think, we ſee, hear, ſmell, taſte or touch: all this World is nothing but a kind of Dream and a meer Illuſion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diverſity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the ſame thing, which is *God himſelf*; as all thoſe ſeveral Numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, *&c.* are indeed nothing but one and the ſame unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reaſon for this phantaſie, or any explication of the manner, how this iſſuing *from* and repriſal *into* the ſubſtance of God, this extenſion, and this variety of things is made; or how it can be, that God, being not corporeal but *Biapek* and incorruptible, (as they acknowledge) ſhould yet be diviſible into ſo many portions of Bodies and Souls; they never make any other return, but of ſome pretty compariſons, as, That God is like an immenſe *Ocean*, in which if many Vials full of Water ſhould be floating, they would, wherever they ſhould move, be found always in the ſame Ocean, in the ſame Water; and that coming to break, their Water would at the ſame time be united with their whole, and with that great Ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with *Light*, which is the ſame through the whole Univerſe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diverſity of the Objects it falls upon, or according to the ſeveral colours and ſhapes of Glaſſes through which it ſhineth. They will pay you, *I ſay*, only with ſuch kind of ſimilitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to caſt duſt into the eyes of the ignorant people: And you muſt not expect any ſolid Anſwer from them, if you ſhould tell them, that thoſe Vials would indeed be in a *like* Water, but not in *the ſame*; and that it is indeed a *like* light over all the World, but not *the ſame*: or if you ſhould make any other objections againſt them, they return always to the ſame compariſons, pretty expreſſions, or as the *Soufys*, to the fine Verſes of their *Goultchen-raz*.

Now Sir, what think you? Had I not reaſon, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childiſh terror ſtruck into thoſe Indians by Eclipſes; from that ſuperſtitious compaſſion for the Sun to deliver it from that black *Dæmon*, accompanied with thoſe Apiſh Prayers, Waſhings, Plungings, and Alms caſt into the River; from that mad and infernal obſtinacy of the Women, burning themſelves with the Corps's of their Husbands; from thoſe ſeveral madneſſes of the *Fakires*; and laſtly, from all that fabulous ſtuff of the *Beths* and other Indian Books: Had I not reaſon, I ſay, to premiſe in the title of this Letter; (which is but a poor advantage to me from ſo long travelling) *That there are no opinions ſo ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.*

To conclude, I have no more to add then to deſire you, to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the Letter to Monſieur *Chapelle*. It is he that firſt procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monſieur *Gaſſendi*, your intimate and Illuſtrious Friend, that hath been ſo advantagious to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the World ſoever I am: As I am no leſs bound to honour you as long as I live; as well for the peculiar affection you have always expreſſed to me, as for the good counſel you have aſſiſted me with in your many letters during the whole courſe of my voyages, and for that favour of ſending to me with ſo much generoſity (without intereſt or mony) unto the end of the World: whither my curioſity had carried me, a Cheſt of Books, when thoſe, of whom I demanded them for mony, ordered by me to be paid at *Marſeilles*, and who ſhould have honeſtly ſent them me, abandoned me there, and laught at all my Letters, looking upon me as a loſt man, whom they ſhould never ſee again.

A Relation of a Voyage made in the year 1664. when the Great *Mogol Aureng-Zebe* went with his Army from *Debli*, the Capital of *Indoſtan*, to *Lahor*; from *Lahor* to *Bember*, and from thence to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, commonly call'd by the *Mogols*, *The PARADISE of the Indies*, &c. By way of ſeveral Letters, written by the Author to his Friends.

The firſt Letter to *Monſieur de Merveilles*, written at *Debli*, Decemb. 1664. *Aureng-Zebe* being ready to march.

CONTAINING

The Occaſion and Cauſe of this Voyage of Aureng-Zebe; *together with an account of the ſtate and poſture of his Army, and the Equipage and ordinary Proviſions of the chief of his* Cavalry; *and ſome curious particulars obſervable in the Voyages of the* Indies.

SIR,

SInce that *Aureng-Zebe* began to find himſelf in better health, it hath been conſtantly reported, that he would make a Voyage to *Lahor*, and go from thence to *Kachemire*, to change the Air, and to be out of the way of the approaching Summer heats, for fear of a relapſe: That the more intelligent ſort of men would hardly be perſwaded, that as long as he kept his Father *Chah-jean* priſoner in the Fort of *Agra*, he would think it ſafe to be at ſuch a diſtance. Yet notwithſtanding we have found, that Reaſon of State hath given place to that of Health, or rather to the Intrigues of *Rauchenara-Begum*, who was wild to breath a more free Air than that of the *Seraglio*, and to have her turn in ſhewing her ſelf to a gallant and magnificent Army, as her Siſter *Begum-ſaheb* had formerly done during the Reign of *Chah-jean*.

He departed then the 6th of *December*, about three a clock in the afternoon; a day and hour that muſt needs be fortunate for a great Voyage, if we may give credit to the Gentlemen *Aſtrologers*, who have ſo decreed it. And he arrived at *Chach-limar*, his Houſe of Pleaſure, diſtant about two Leagues from hence; where he ſpent ſix whole dayes, thereby to give to all ſufficient time to make neceſſary preparations for a Voyage, that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of *Lahor*, and that when he hath ſtay'd there two dayes, he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the Thirty five thouſand Horſe, or thereabout, and 10000 Foot, but alſo both his Artilleries, the great or heavy, and the ſmall or lighter, which is call'd, *The Artillery of the Stirrup*, becauſe it is inſeparable from the perſon of the King, whereas the Heavy ſometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten Roads.

The Great Artillery is made up of ſeventy pieces of Cannon, moſt of them caſt; of which ſome are ſo ponderous, that they need twenty yoke of Oxen to draw them; and ſome of them require Elephants to help all thoſe Oxen, by thruſting and drawing the wheels of the Wagons with their Trunks and Heads when they ſtick in any deep way, or are to paſs ſome ſteep mountain. That of the *Stirrup* is compoſed of fifty or

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ſixty ſmall Field-pieces, all of Braſs, each carried upon a little pritty and painted Chariot (as hath been already ſaid in another place) beautified with many little red Streamers, and drawn by two very handſom Horſes, driven by the Gunner himſelf, together with a third Horſe, which the Gunners Aſſiſtant leads for a relief. All theſe Chariots go alwaies a great pace, that they may be ſoon enough in order before the Tent of the King, and diſcharge all at once at the time of his entry, to give the Army notice.

All theſe great preparations give us cauſe to apprehend, that in ſtead of going to *Kachemire*, we be not led to beſiege that important City of *Kandahar*, which is the Frontier to *Perſia*, *Indoſtan* and *Usbeck*, and the Capital of an excellent Country, yielding a very great Revenue, and which for this very reaſon hath been ever the bone of contention between the *Perſians* and *Indians*. Whatever it be, there is now a neceſſity to diſpatch at *Debli*, any buſineſs whatſoever notwithſtanding; and I ſhould find my ſelf much caſt behind the Army, if I ſhould tarry any longer: Beſides I know, that my *Navab*, or *Agah Daneeh-mend-kan* ſtays for me abroad with impatience: He can no more be without philoſophiling in the afternoon upon the Books of *Gaſſendi* and *Deſ-Cartes*, upon the *Globe* and the *Sphere*, or upon *Anatomy*, than he can be without beſtowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the Kingdom, in the quality of Secretary of State for forrain Affairs, and of Great Maſter of the Cavalry. I ſhall depart this night, after I have given the laſt order for all my buſineſſes, and provided all neceſſaries for my Voyage, as all the principal perſons of the Cavalry do; that is, two good Tartarian Horſes, whereto I am obliged by reaſon of the one hundred and fifty Crowns of pay, which I have by the month; a Camel of *Perſia*, and a Groom; a Cook, and another Servant, which muſt be had ordinarily to march in theſe Countries before the Horſe, and to carry a Flagon with water in his hand. I alſo have provided the ordinary Utenſils, ſuch as are a Tent of a middle ſize, and a proportionate piece of foot-Tapiſtry; and a little Bed with girdles, made up with four ſtrong and light Canes, and a Pillow for the head; two Coverlets, whereof one folded up fourfold ſerveth for a Matraſſe; a round Table-cloth of Leather to eat upon; ſome Napkins of dyed Cloth, and three ſmall Sacks for Plate, which are put up in a greater Sack, and this ſack into a very great and ſtrong Sack made of Girdles, in which are put all the proviſions, together with the Linnen of the Maſter and Servants. I have alſo made proviſion of excellent Rice for five or ſix dayes, for fear I ſhould not alwayes find ſo good; of ſome ſweet Biſcuit, with Sugar and Anis; of a linnen ſleeve with its little iron-hook, to let, by the means thereof, run out and to keep curdled milk; and of ſtore of Limons with Sugar, to make Limonade; ſuch Milk and Limonade being the two great and ſoveraign refreſhments of the *Indies*: All which, as I ſaid, is put into the laſt named Sack, which is ſo large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up: though two men do firſt fold and turn one ſide upon the other when it is full, and though the Camel be made to ſtoop very nigh it, and there need no more than to turn one of the ſides of that Sack upon the Camel. All this equipage and proviſion is abſolutely neceſſary in ſuch Voyages as theſe. We muſt not look for ſuch good lodging and accommodations as we have in our Country. We muſt reſolve to encamp and live after the *Arabian* and *Tartarian* mode, without expecting any other Inns than Tents. Nor muſt we think to plunder the Country-man; all the Lands of the Kingdom being in propriety to the King: We are well to conſider, that we muſt be ſober and prudent, and that to ruine the Country man, were to ruine the Demeſne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march, is, that we go North-ward, and depart in the beginning of the Winter after the rains; which is the right ſeaſon for travelling in the *Indies*, becauſe it raineth not, and we are not ſo much incommoded by heat and duſt. Beſides that, I find my ſelf out of danger of eating the bread of *Bazar*, or of the Market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of ſand and duſt; nor obliged to drink of thoſe naughty waters which being all turbid, and full of naſtineſs of ſo many people and beaſts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cauſe ſuch fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed alſo certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at firſt cauſe a great inflamation, accompanied with a fever, and ordinarily come forth a little after the Voyage, although there have been ſome, that have ſtay'd a whole year and more before they appear'd. They are commonly of the bigneſs and length of a ſmall Viol-ſtring, ſo that one would ſooner take them for ſome nerve than for a worm; and they muſt be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them

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about a little twig of the bigneſs of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This, I ſay, comforteth me not a little, that I find my ſelf exempt from theſe inconveniencies; my *Navab* having vouchſafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his houſe, and a *Souray* of the water of *Ganges*, with which he hath laden ſeveral Camels of his train, as the whole Court doth. *Souray* is that Tin-flagon full of water, which the Servant, that marcheth on foot before the Gentleman on horſeback, carrieth in his hand, wrap't up in a ſleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holdeth but one pinte; but I had ſome of them expreſly made, that hold two. We ſhall ſee, whether this cunning will ſucceed. The water cooleth very well in this Flagon, provided that care be had alwayes to keep the ſleeve moiſt, and that the Servant that holds it in his hand, do march and ſtir the air, or elſe that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little ſticks, croſſing one another, that they may not touch the earth; For the moiſtneſs of the linnen, the agitation of the air, or the wind, are abſolutely neceſſary to keep the water freſh; as if this moiſtneſs, or rather the water imbibed by the ſleeve did keep out the little igneous bodies or ſpirits that are in the air, at the ſame time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water, and cauſe coolneſs; in the ſame manner as Glaſs keeps out Water, and giveth paſſage to the Light, by reaſon of the particular texture and diſpoſition of the parts of the Glaſs, and the diverſity there muſt be between the particles of Light and thoſe of Water. We do not uſe this Tin-flagon for keeping our water cool but in the field: When we are at home, we have Jars of a certain porous Earth, in which it is much better cooled, provided it be expos'd to the wind, and moiſten'd with a Linnen-cloth, as the Flagon; or elſe, uſe is made of Salt-peter, as all perſons of quality do, whether in Towns, or in the Army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long necked Tin-flagon, ſuch as are the Engliſh Bottles, and for the ſpace of half a quarter of an hour this Flagon is ſtirr'd in water, into which hath been caſt three or four handfuls of Salt-peter; this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholſome, as I did apprehend; but only that ſometimes it cauſeth gripings at firſt when one is not accuſtomed to it.

But to what purpoſe, to play ſo much the Philoſopher, when we ſhould think to depart, and to endure the Sun, which at all ſeaſons is incommodious in the *Indies*, and to ſwallow the duſt, which is never wanting in the Army; to put up, to load, and to unload every day our Baggage, to help the Servants to faſten ſticks, to draw Cords, to put up Tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night, to devour cold and heat, and in a word, to turn *Arabians* for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the Field. *Adieu*; I ſhall not fail to acquit my ſelf of my promiſe, and from time to time to inform you of our Adventures; and beſides, ſince the Army for this time will make but ſmall Journeys in its march, and paſs on with all that pomp and magnificence, which the Kings of *Indoſtan* do affect, I ſhall endeavour to obſerve the moſt conſiderable things, that I may impart them to you, as ſoon as we ſhall arrive at *Lahor*.

THE

THE SECOND LETTER;

CONTAINING

The Number and Magnificence, the Order and the Diſpoſition of the Tents o the Great Mogol *in the Field: The Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Porters, neceſſary to carry them: The Diſpoſition of the* Bazars *or Royal Markets: That of the particular Quarters of the* Omrahs, *or Lords, and of the reſt of the Army: The extent of the whole Army, when encamped: The confuſion there met with; and how it may be avoided: The Order of preventing Robberies: The different Manners of the March of the King, the Princeſſes, and the reſt of the* Seraglio: *The danger there is in being too near the Women: The ſeveral ways of the Royal Hunting, and how the King hunts with his whole Army: The abundance of people there is in the Army, and the method of making them all ſubſiſt.*

SIR,

THis indeed is called marching with gravity, and as we ſpeak here *a la Mogole*,: it is no more but fifteen or ſixteen dayes Journey from *Dehli* to *Lahor*, which make little more than ſixſcore Leagues; and yet we have ſpent almoſt two months on this way. 'Tis true, the King with the beſt part of the Army went ſomewhat aſide from the high way, the better to enjoy the divertiſements of Hunting, and for the conveniency of the water of *Gemna*, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leiſurely followed long enough in our hunting, croſſing fields of tall graſs, full of all ſorts of game, where the Horſemen could ſcarce be ſeen. At preſent, whilſt we are at reſt, I am going to make good what I have promiſed you in the Title of this Letter; hoping ſhortly to make you come to *Kachemire*, and to ſhew you one of the beſt Countries in the World.

When the King is in the field, he hath uſually two Camps, I mean two Bodies, of Tents ſeparated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have paſſed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place deſign'd to encamp it: And 'tis therefore, that they are called *Peiche-kanes* as if you ſhould ſay, Houſes going before: Theſe two *Peiche-kanes* are almoſt alike, and there are requiſite above threeſcore Elephants, more then two hundred Camels, above an hundred Mules, and as many more Porters to carry one of them. The *Elephants* carry the moſt bulky things, ſuch as are the great Tents, and their great Pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The *Camels* carry the leſſer Tents: The *Mules*, the Baggage and Kitchins. And to the *Porters* are given all the little moveables, and ſuch as are delicate and fine, that might eaſily be broken; as *Porcelain*, which the King uſually imployeth at Table: thoſe painted and guilded Beds, and thoſe rich *Kargnais*; which I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter.

One of theſe two *Peiche-kanes*, or Bodies of Tents, is no ſooner arrived at the place deſigned for encamping, but the Great Marſhal that orders the Lodging, chuſeth ſome fair place for the Kings Quarters; yet with a regard, as much as is poſſible, to the Symmitry and order that is to be obſerved for the whole Army; and he marketh out a Square, of which each ſide is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred Pikemen preſently clear and level this pace, making ſquare planes to raiſe the Tents upon, and ſurrounding all this great Square with *Kanates* or Skreens ſeven or eight foot high, which they faſten with cords tyed to ſticks, and with perches fix't in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. Theſe *Kanates* are made of a ſtrong cloth lined with ſtained Linnen. In the middle of one of the ſides of this Square is the Entry or Royal Gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian ſtuff which 'tis made of, as alſo thoſe Stuffs, of which the whole ſide of the Square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

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The first and the greatest of the Tents, that is reared in this Inclosure, is called *Amkas*, because it is the place where the King and all the Lords in the Army do assemble about nine a clock in the morning, when the *Mokam*, that is, the usual publick Meeting is held. For, the Kings of *Indostan*, although they are in a march, do not dispence but very rarely with this almost inviolable custom, which is pass'd into a kind of Duty and Law, *viz.* to appear twice a day in the Assembly, there to give order for State-Affairs, and to administer Justice.

The second, which is little less than the first, and a little further advanced into the Inclosure, is called, *Gosl-kane*, that is to say, a place to wash in: And here 'tis, where all the Lords every night meet, and where they come to salute and do obeisance to the King, as ordinarily they do when they are in the *Metropolis*. This Assembly in the evening is very inconvenient to the *Omrahs*; but it is a thing that looks great and stately, to see a far off, in an obscure night, in the midst of a Campagne, cross all the Tents of an Army, long files of Torches lighting these *Omrahs* to the Kings Quarters, and attending them back again to their Tents. 'Tis true, that these lights are not of wax as ours, but they last very long. They are only an Iron put about a stick, at the end of which are wound raggs of old Linnen from time to time, which is moistned with Oyl, held by the Link-men in their hands in a Brass, or Latton-flagon, with a long and streight neck.

The third Tent, which is not much less than the two first, and is yet further advanced into the Inclosure, is called *Kalvet-kane*, that is to say, a retired or the Privy Council-place, because none but the first Officers of the Kingdom enter into it; and 'tis there where the greatest and the most important Affairs are transacted.

Yet further into the Square are the particular Tents of the King, encompass'd with small *Kanates* or Skreens, of the height of a man, and lined with stained Indian Stuff, of that elegant workmanship of *Maslipatam*, which do represent an hundred sorts of different flowers: and some of them lined with flowred Sattin with large Silk fringes.

The Tents joyning to the Kings, are those of the *Begum* or Princesses, and the other great Ladies and She-Officers of the *Seraglio*, which are likewise encompass'd, as those of the King, with rich *Kanates*; and amidst all these Tents are placed those of the lower She-Officers, and other serving-Women, alwayes, upon the matter, in the same order, according to their Office.

The *Am-kas*, and the five or six principal Tents are raised high, that they may be seen at a good distance, and the better fence off the heat. *Without* it is nothing but a course and strong red cloth, yet beautified and striped with certain large stripes, cut variously and advantagiously to the eye: But *within* it is lined with those fine Indian flowred Stuffs, of the same work of *Maslipatam*; and this work is raised and enriched with silk, gold and silver Embroideries having great Fringes, or with some fine flowred Sattin. The Pillars supporting these Tents, are painted and guild; One marcheth on nothing but rich Tapestry, having matrasses of Cotton under them four or five inches thick, and round about these Tapestries there are great square Rails richly cover'd to lean upon.

In each of the two great Tents where the Assembly is kept, there is raised a Theater richly adorned, where the King giveth Audience under a great Canopy of Velvet, or purfled with gold. In the other Tents are found the like Canopies, and there you may see also set up certain *Karguais*, that is, fine Cabinets, whose little doors are shut with Silver-locks. To conceive what they are, you may represent to you two small Squares of our Skreens, set upon one another, and neatly round about fastned to one another with a Silken-string; yet so that the extremities of the sides of the uppermost come to incline upon one another, so as to make a kind of a little Tabernacle with this difference from our Skreens, that all the sides of these are of very thin and slight Firr-boards, painted and guild without, and enriched round about with gold and Silk-fringes, and lined within with Scarlet, or flowred Sattin, or purfled with Gold.

And this is very near what I can tell you of what is contained within the great Square.

What concerns the particulars that are without the Square; there are first two pretty Tents on both the two sides of the great Entry or Royal Gate, where are found two choice Horses sadled, and richly harness'd, and altogether ready to be mounted upon occasion, or rather for State and Magnificence.

On the two sides of the same Gate are placed in order those fifty or threescore small Field-

Field-pieces, that make up the *Artillery* of the *Sirrup* above mention'd, and which diſcharge all together to ſalute the King entring into his Tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole Army.

Before the Gate there is alwayes left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great Tent, called *Nagar-kane*, becauſe that is the place of the Timbals and Trumpets.

Near this Tent there is another great one, which is called *Tchauky-kane*, becauſe it is the place where the *Omrahs* keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty four hours together; yet notwithſtanding moſt of the *Omrahs* on the day of their guard, cauſe, cloſe by, to be rear'd one of their own Tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow room.

Round about the three other ſides of the great Square are ſet up all the Tents of the Officers, which are alwayes found in the ſame order and diſpoſition, unleſs it be that the place permit it not: They have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the Language of the Country, it will be ſufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the Arms of the King; another for the rich Harneſſes of Horſes; another for Veſts purfled with Gold, which are the ordinary Preſents beſtow'd by the King. Beſides, there are four more, near one another; the firſt of which is deſigned for keeping Fruit; the ſecond for Comfits; the third for *Ganges* water, and the Salt-peter to cool it; and the fourth for the *Betele*, which is that Leaf, whereof I have ſpoken elſewhere, which is offered to friends, as *Coffee* is in *Turkie*, and chew'd to make ruddy lips, and a ſweet breath. Next to theſe, there are fifteen or ſixteen others that ſerve for Kitchins and what belongs to them. Amongſt all theſe Tents are thoſe of a great number of Officers and Eunuchs. Laſtly, there are four or five long ones for led Horſes, and ſome others for the beſt Elephants; and all thoſe that are for hunting. For there muſt needs be a retreat for all that great number of Birds of prey, that are always carried for Game and Magnificence; and ſo there muſt be for thoſe many *Dogs*, and thoſe *Leopards* ſerving to take wild Goats; for thoſe *Nilgaus*, or gray Oxen, which I take for *Elcks*; for theſe *Lions* and *Rhinoceroſ*'s, that are led for greatneſs; for thoſe great *Bufalo*'s of *Bengale* fighting with Lions; and laſtly for thoſe tamed wild Goats, they call *Gazelles*, that are made to ſport before the King.

This vaſt number of Tents, now ſpoken of, together with thoſe that are within the great Square, make up the King's Quarter, which is always in the middle, and as 'twere in the center of the Army, except the place do not allow it. It will eaſily be thence concluded, that this Quarter of the King muſt needs be ſomething great and royal, and afford a very fine proſpect, if one behold from ſome high place this great body of red Tents in the midſt of the Army, encamped in a fair and even Campagne, where may be fully ſeen all that order and diſpoſition that is to be obſerved in the whole.

After that the Great Marſhal of the Camp hath choſen a place fit for the Kings's Quarter, and hath made the *Am-kas* to be ſet up higheſt of all the Tents, and by which he is to take his meaſure for the ordering and diſpoſing the reſt of the Army accordingly; He then marketh out the Royal *Bazars* or Markets, whence the whole Army is furniſht with neceſſaries; drawing the firſt and the chief of all, like a great Street running ſtraight, and a great free way traverſing the whole Army, now on the right hand, and by and by on the left of the *Am-kas* and the King's Quarter, and always in the ſtraighteſt line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the Royal *Bazars*, that are neither ſo long nor ſo broad, commonly croſs this firſt, ſome on this, others on the other ſide of the King's Quarter; and all theſe *Bazars* are diſcern'd by very high Canes like great pearches, which are fixt in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces or thereabout, with red Standards, and Cows-tailes of the great *Tibet* faſtned on the top of theſe Canes like Perirwigs.

The ſame Marſhal deſigns, next, the place of the *Omrahs*, ſo as they may always keep the ſame order, and be ever as near as may be the King's Quarter; ſome on the right, others on the left hand, ſome on this ſide of him, others beyond him; ſo that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himſelf hath deſired in the begining of the Voyage.

The Quarters of the *Omrahs* and *Rajas*, as to their particular order and diſpoſition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King: For commonly they have two *Peiche-kanes* with a Square of *Kanates*, which incloſeth their principal Tent and thoſe of their Women; and round about theſe are put up the Tents of their Officers and

Cavaliers, with a peculiar *Bazar*, which is a ſtreet of ſmall Tents for the lower ſort of people that follows the Army, and furniſheth the Camp with Forage, Grains, Rice, Butter, and the other things that are moſt neceſſary; whereby they are ſo accommodated, that they need not always go to the Royal *Bazars*, where generally all things are to be found as in the Capital City. Each *Bazar* is marked at the two ends by two Canes planted in the ground, which are ast all as thoſe of the Royal *Bazars*, that ſo at a good diſtance the particular Standards faſtned to to them may be diſcovered, and the ſeveral quarters diſtinguiſh't from one another.

The Great *Omrahs* and *Rajas* affect to have their Tents very high. But they muſt beware leſt they be too high, becauſe it may happen, that the King, paſſing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have ſeen an example in this laſt march. Neither muſt they be altogether red from without, ſince thoſe of the King alone are to be ſo. Laſtly, out of reſpect they muſt all look towards the *Am-kas*, or the Quarter of the King.

The reſidue of the ſpace between the Kings Quarter, and thoſe of the *Omrahs* and the *Bazars*, is taken up by the Tents of the *Manſeb-dars* or little *Omrahs*, and of that infinite number of great and ſmall Merchants that follow the Army; of all thoſe that belong to the Law; and laſtly, of all ſuch as ſerve both the Artilleries: Which maketh indeed a prodigious number of Tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet it is not all true what is ſaid of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole Army is in a fair and even Campagne, where it may encamp with eaſe, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round (as we have often ſeen it does, upon this road) the compaſs of it will not be above two Leagues, or two Leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there ſeveral void places. But then the great Artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground, very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is ſaid of the ſtrange confuſion, which commonly ſtrikes an aſtoniſhment into all new comers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the Army, and ſome heeding of the order obſerved in the Camp, will ſoon enable one to avoid all embaraſment, and to go to and fro about his buſineſs, and to find his quarter again; foraſmuch as every one regulateth himſelf by the King's Quarter, and the particular Tents and Standards of the *Omrahs*, that may be ſeen afar off, and by the Standards and Perriwigs of the Royal *Bazars*, which may alſo be ſeen at a great diſtance.

Yet for all theſe marks it will ſometimes fall out, that one ſhall be extreamly perplexed, and even in the day time, but eſpecially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of thoſe is buſie and ſeeks to lodge himſelf: And that not only, becauſe there is often raiſed ſo great a duſt, that the King's Quarter, the Standards of the *Bazars* and the *Omrahs* (which might ſerve for guides) cannot be diſcover'd: But becauſe a man finds himſelf between Tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the leſſer *Omrahs*, that have no *Peiche-kane*, and the *Manſeb-dars* ſtretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder, that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown perſon may come to lodge near their Tents, where often they have their Women: If in this caſe you mean to get by on one ſide, you will find the wayes obſtructed by thoſe ſtretched-out cords, which a troup of mean Serving-men ſtanding there with big cudgels, will not ſuffer to be lower'd, to ſuffer the Baggage to paſs: If you will turn back, you'l find the wayes ſhut ſince you paſſed. And here it is, where you muſt cry out, ſtorm, intreat, make as if you would ſtrike, and yet well beware of doing ſo, leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel againſt one another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of ſome miſchief; and in ſhort, to put your ſelf into all imaginable poſtures to get away thence, and to make your Camels paſs: But the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place ſomewhat remote; becauſe that thoſe offenſive ſmoaks of the fire of green Wood, of Cowſhares, of Camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchins, do raiſe a mift (eſpecially when there is no wind) ſo thick, that you can ſee nothing at all. I have been three or four times ſurprized with it, ſo as not to know what to do. Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once, among other times, I was conſtrained to ſtay ſtill this miſt paſſed, and the Moon riſen. And another time I was forced to get to the *Aguacy-die*, to lye down at the foot thereof, and there to paſs all the night as well as I could, having my Servant and Horſe by me. This *Aguacy-die* is like a tall Maſt, but very ſlender, which can be taken down in three

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pieces, and 'tis planted toward the King's Quarter, near that Tent which is called *Nagar-kane*. In the evening is drawn up to the top of it a Lanthorn with a light burning in it all night long; which is very commodious, as being ſeen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone aſtray do retire, from thence to get again to the *Bazars*, and to ask the way, or there to paſs the reſt of the night; for no body hinders one from doing ſo, and a man may be there in ſafety from Robbers. It is called *Aguaeydie*, as if you ſhould ſay, *light of Heaven*, in regard that from a far off it appears like a Star.

For the prevention of Robberies, each *Omrah* cauſeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular Camp, of ſuch men that perpetually go the round, and cry *Kaber-dar*, have a care. Beſides, there are round about the Army ſet guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry alſo *Kaber-dar*. And over and above all theſe, the *Cotoual*, who is, as 'twere, the great Prevoſt, ſends out Troups of Guards every way, that paſs through all the *Bazars*, crying out and trumpetting all night long. Yet for all this, ſome robberries there are now and then committed; and 'tis neceſſary alwayes to be upon ones guard, to go to ſleep by times, that ſo you may be awake the reſt of the night, and not to truſt your ſervants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now ſee, how many different wayes the Great *Mogol* is carried in the Field.

Ordinarily he cauſeth himſelf to be carried on mens ſhoulders, in a kind of Sedan or Litter, upon which is a *Tacti-raven*, that is, a Field-throne, on which he is ſeated: And this is like a magnificent Tabernacle with pillars, painted and guilded, which may be ſhut with glaſs, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the Litter are cover'd with Scarlet or purpled Gold, with great Gold and Silk-fringes; and at each branch there are two robuſt and well-cloathed Porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes alſo he goeth on Horſe-back, eſpecially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an Elephant, in a *Mik-dember*, or *Hauze*; and this is the moſt ſplendid appearance: For, the Elephant is decked with a very rich and very magnificent Harnaſs; the *Mik-dember*, being a little ſquare Houſe or Turret of Wood, is alwayes painted and guilded; and the *Hauze*, which is an Oval ſeat, having a Canopy with Pillars over it, is ſo likewiſe.

In theſe different Marches he is alwayes accompanied with a great number of *Omrahs* and *Rajas* following him cloſe and thick on horſe-back without any great order: And all thoſe that are in the Army are obliged to be at the *Amkas* at break of day, unleſs he do exempt them from it upon the account either of their peculiar Office, or their great Age. This march is very inconvenient to them, eſpecially on hunting dayes; for they muſt endure the Sun and Duſt as the ſimple Souldiers, and that ſometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at eaſe in their *Palekys*, cloſe cover'd, if they pleaſe, free from the Sun and Duſt; ſleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and ſo coming in good time to their Tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchin being gone the night before, after ſupper. About the *Omrahs*, and amongſt them, there is alwayes a good number of Horſe-men well mounted, call'd *Gourze-berdars*, becauſe they carry a kind of Silver-Mace of Armes. There are alſo many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the perſon of the King, together with ſtore of Foot men. Theſe *Gourze-berdars* are Choice-men, of a good men and a fair ſtature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great ſticks in their hands, whereby they put people aſide at a good diſtance, and hinder that no body march before the King to incommode him.

After the *Rajas* marcheth a train mixed of a great number of Timbals and Trumpets. I have already ſaid in another place, that this Train conſiſts of nothing but of figures of Silver repreſenting ſtrange Animals, Hands, Scales, Fiſhes, and other myſterious things, that are carried at the end of great Silver-ſticks.

At laſt a great troup of *Manſeb-dars*, or little *Omrahs*, well mounted, and furniſht with Swords, Arrows and Quivers, follow after all the former: And this Body is much more numerous than that of the *Omrahs*, becauſe, beſides that all thoſe that are of the Guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the *Omrahs*, at the gate of the Kings Tent to accompany him: There are alſo many, that come amongſt them, to make their Court, and to become known there.

The Princeſſes, and the great Ladies of the *Seraglio* are alſo carried in ſundry faſhions; ſome are carried, like the King, on mens ſhoulders, in a *Tchaudoule*, which is a kind of *Tactravan*, painted, guilded, and cover'd with great and coſtly Net-work of Silk of divers colours, enriched with Embroidery, Fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in a very handſome *Palekys* cloſed, that are likewiſe painted and guilded, and covered with that rich ſilken net-work. Some are carried in large Litters by two ſtrong Camels, or by two ſmall Elephants, inſtead of Mules: and in this manner I have ſometimes ſeen carried *Rauchenara-Begum*; when I alſo obſerved, that in the fore-part of her Litter, being open, there was a little She-ſlave, that with a peacocks-tail kept off from her the Flyes and Duſt. Laſtly, others are carried upon Elephants richly harneſſed, and cover'd with embroider'd deckings, and great Silver-bells; where theſe Ladies ſit, raiſed, as 'twere, into the middle region of the Air, four and four in *Mik-dembers* latticed, which always are cover'd with ſilken Net-work, and are no leſs ſplendid and ſtately than the *Tchaudoules* and *Tactravans*.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this Voyage I took a particular pleaſure in beholding and conſidering this pompous march of the *Seraglio*. And certainly nothing more ſtately can be imagined, than to ſee *Rauchenara-Begum* march firſt, mounted upon a luſty Elephant of *Pegu* in a *Mik-dember*, all ſhining of Gold and Azur, attended by five or ſix other Elephants with their *Mik-dembers*, almoſt as ſplendid as hers, filled with the principal She-Officers of her Houſe; ſome of the moſt conſiderable Eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantagiouſly mounted, riding on her ſide, each with a Cane in his hand; a Troup of *Tartarian* and *Kachemirian* Maids, of Honour about her, odly and fantaſtically dreſſed, and riding on very pretty Hackney-horſes; and laſtly, many other Eunuchs on Horſeback accompanied with ſtore of Pages and Lackeys, with great ſticks in their hands, to make way afar off. After this *Rauchenara-Begum*, I ſaw paſs one of the principal Ladies of the Court, mounted and attended in proportion: And after this, a third in the ſame faſhion; and then another, and ſo on to fifteen or ſixteen all, (more or leſs) bravely mounted and accompanied accordiug to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of Elephants to the number of fifty, or ſixty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as 'twere, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does repreſent ſomething that is Great and Royal; and if I had not beheld this Pomp with a kind of philoſophical indifference, I know not, whether I ſhould not have ſuffered my ſelf to be carried away to thoſe extravagant ſentiments of moſt of the *Indian* Poets, who will have it, that all theſe Elephants carry as many hidden Goddeſſes. 'Tis true, one can hardly ſee them, and they are almoſt inacceſſible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor Cavalier whoſoever, to be found in the Field too near them in the march; all thoſe Eunuchs, and all the crue of Servants are to the higheſt degree inſolent, and deſire nothing more than ſuch a pretext and occaſion to fall upon a man and give him ſome Baſtinadoes. I remember, I was once thus unfortunately ſurprized, and certainly I had been very ill uſed, as well as many other Cavaliers, if at length I had not reſolved to make my way out by my ſword, rather than ſuffer my ſelf to be thus maimed as they began to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good Horſe, that carried me vigoronſly out of the preſs, when I put him on thorow a torrent of people, that was to be repaſſed. And it is grown in a manner a common Proverb of theſe Armies, That, above all, one muſt beware of three things: *Firſt*, Not to let one ſelf to be engaged amongſt the troups of the choſen led Horſe, they never failing to ſtrike: *Secondly*, not to come into the places of Hunting: *Thirdly*, not to approach too near the Women of the *Seraglio*. Yet notwithſtanding by what I hear, it is much leſs dangerous here than in *Perſia*; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in ſight of the Eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league diſtant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the Villages and Burroughs, where they paſs, do all abandon them and retire afar off.

As to the *Hunting* of the King, I knew not firſt how to imagine what is commonly ſaid, which is, that the Great *Mogol* goes to hunt with an hundred thouſand men: But now I ſee, it may very well be ſaid, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thouſand; nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to *Agra* and *Dehli*, along the river *Gemna* as far as to the mountains, and even on both ſides of the high way to *Labor*, there is abundance of untilled Lands, ſome of Copſe-wood, and ſome of Graſs above a mans height: In all theſe places there are great numbers of Guards, unceſſantly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from huntin

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except Partridges, Quailes and Hares, which the Indians know to take with nets: So that every where in thoſe places there is very great ſtore of all kind of Game. This being ſo, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice, to the Great Hunting-maſter, of the quality of the Game, and of the place where moſt of it is: then the Guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that ſometimes for above four or five Leagues of ground, that ſo the *whole Army* may paſs by, either this or that way, and the King being in his march may at the ſame time enter into it with as many *Omrahs*, Hunters and other perſons as he ſhall pleaſe, and there hunt at his eaſe, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the Game. And now behold firſt, how he hunteth the *Gazelles* or wild Fawns with tamed *Leopards*.

I think, I have elſe where told you, that in the *Indies* there is ſtore of *Gazelles*, that are in a manner ſhaped as our Hinds or Fawns; that theſe *Gazelles* commonly go in ſeveral troups, and that every troup, which never conſiſts of above five or ſix, is alwaies follow'd by one only male, diſcernable by the colour. One of ſuch troups being diſcover'd, they endeavour to make the Leopard ſee them, who is held chain'd upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth not preſently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, ſtopping and hiding himſelf, ſo to approach them with more advantage, and to ſurprize them: And as he is capable to make five or ſix leaps with an almoſt incredible ſwiftneſs, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himſelf upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himſelf with their blood, heart and liver: If he faileth (which often happens) he ſtands ſtill, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, becauſe they run much faſter, and hold out longer than he. Then the Maſter comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him ſome pieces of fleſh, and thus amuſing him, puts ſomething over his eyes to cover them, and ſo chains him, and puts him upon the chariot again. One of theſe Leopards gave us once in our march this divertiſement, which frighted ſtore of people. A troup of *Gazelles* appear'd in the midſt of the Army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they paſſed cloſe to two Leopards thar were carried. as they uſe to be, upon their little chariot. One of them not blinded, made ſuch an effort that he burſt his chain, and darted himſelf after them, but without catching any of them: Yet the *Gazelles*, not knowing which way to eſcape, being purſued, cried after, and hunted on every ſide, there was one of them that was forced to repaſs again near the Leopard, who, notwithſtanding the Camels and Horſes that peſtred all the way, and contrary to what is commonly ſaid of this Beaſt, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew upon it and caught it.

The hunting of the *Nilgaux* or gray Oxen, which I ſaid were a kind of Elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are incloſed in great Nets, that are by little and little drawn cloſer together, and when they are reduced to a ſmall compaſs of encloſure, the King, the *Omrahs*, and the Hunters do enter and kill them at pleaſure with Arrows, Halt-pikes, Sables or Muſquets; and ſometimes in ſo great numbers, that the King ſends quarters of them for preſents to all the *Omrahs*.

The Game of the *Cranes* hath ſomething of divertiſement. 'Tis a pleaſure to ſee them defend themſelves in the Air againſt the Birds of prey; they ſometimes kill ſome of them; but at length, not being nimble in turning, many ſtrong Birds maſter them.

Of all the Games that of the *Lion* is the moſt Royal, becauſe there is none but the King and the Princes that can exerciſe it (unleſs it be by a very particular leave;) but it is alſo the moſt dangerous. The manner of it is this. When the King is in the field, and the Hunting-guards have diſcover'd the place of the Lions retirement; they tye faſt an Aſs there-about, which the Lion ſoon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as Oxen, Cows, Mutton or Shepherds, he goes to ſeek for drink, and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lyes down and ſleeps until next morning, when he finds another Aſs in the ſelf-ſame place, which the Hunters have faſtned there as the day before; and when they have thus baited and amuſed him ſeveral dayes in the ſame place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tye faſt another Aſs, but whom they have made to ſwallow a quantity of *opium*, to the end that his fleſh may the better lull aſleep the Lion, and then all the Country-men of the circumjacent Villages ſpread large and ſtrong nets made for that purpoſe, which they alſo by degrees reduce to a ſmall compaſs, as is practiſed in the hunting of the *Nilgaux*. All things thus prepar'd, the King mounted on an Elephant trap'd with iron,

iron, being attended by the great Hunting-maſter, ſome *Omrahs* riding alſo on Elephants, by abundance of *Gourze-berdars* on Horſe-back, and by a numerous Hunting-guard on foot, arm'd with Half-pikes, approacheth to the Nets from without, and with a great Muſquet ſhoots at the Lion; who when he finds himſelf wounded, comes directly to the Elephant, as his cuſtom is; but he meets with thoſe big Nets ſtopping him, and the King ſhoots ſo often at him, that at laſt he kills him. Yet in this laſt hunting there was a Lion that leapt over theſe Nets, fell upon an Horſeman whoſe Horſe he kill'd, and then ran away: But the Hunters met with him, and incloſed him again in the Net, which cauſed a great diſturbance to the Army; we were three or four dayes padling in ſmall torrents running down the mountains, betwixt underwood and ſuch long graſs as that Camels hardly can be ſeen therein; and happy were theſe that had ſome proviſion of victuals; for all was in diſorder: The *Bazars* could not range themſelves, and the Villages were remote. The reaſon why we were to ſtop there ſo long, was, that as it is a good *Omen* with the Indians when the King kills a Lion, ſo it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the State would run great hazard if they ſhould not maſter him. Hence 'tis alſo that they make many Ceremonies upon the account of this Hunting; for they bring the dead Lion before the King in the general Aſſembly of the *Omrahs*, and after he hath been well viewed and exactly meaſur'd, 'its recorded in the Archives, that ſuch a King, at ſuch a time, ſlew a Lion of ſuch a bigneſs, of ſuch hair, of ſo long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the leaſt circumſtances.

I ſhall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly ſaid of the *Opium*, that the Aſs is made to ſwallow, *viz.* That one of the chief Hunters aſſur'd me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the Lion ſlept ſufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now to return to our march; when the great Rivers, which in theſe quarters commonly have no Bridges, are to be paſſed, there are made two Boat-Bridges, about two or three hundred paces diſtant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and faſten together. Upon them they caſt earth and ſtraw mingled together, which preventeth the ſliding of the animals. The firſt paſſing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, becauſe, that beſides the great croud, which then commonly throngeth, and the great confuſion and embaraſment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when 'tis moving earth; and then you ſhall have Horſes and burthen'd Oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do paſs with an incredible diſorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to paſs in *one* day: But ordinarily the King encampeth but half a League from the Bridge, where he ſtays a day or two, and he never almoſt encampeth farther than half a League from the River on the other ſide of the Bridge, that ſo the Army may have at leaſt three days and three nights to paſs more conveniently,

Laſtly, as to the number of people that is found in the Army, it is not ſo eaſie a thing to determine it. It is ſo differently ſpoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is moſt probable, is this: That in this march there were at leaſt, as to Souldiers and others, an hundred thouſand Horſemen, and above an hundred and fifty thouſand Animals, as Horſes, Mules or Elephants; that there were near fifty thouſand Camels, and almoſt as many Oxen or Aſſes, that ſerve to carry the grain, and other proviſions of theſe poor people of the *Bazars*, their wives and children: For they lugg all with them, as our *Bohemians* do. Upon this meaſure you may reckon pretty near the number of the ſerving people, ſuppoſing that nothing is there done but by the force of ſervants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a Cavalier of two Horſes, can hardly do my buſineſs with leſs than three men: Some ſay, that in the whole Army, there is ſcarce leſs than between three or four hundred thouſand perſons. Others reckon more; others leſs. No body ever told them to determine the preciſe number. I can ſay nothing of certainty, but only that 'tis a prodigious and almoſt incredible number; but then you are to imagine, that 'tis all *Debli*, the Capital City, that marcheth, becauſe that all the Inhabitans of that Town, living upon the Court and the Army, are obliged to follow them, eſpecially when the voyage is to be long, as this; or elſe they muſt ſtarve.

The difficulty is to know, whence and how ſo great an Army can ſubſiſt in the Field, ſo vaſt a number of people and beaſts. For that, we muſt only ſuppoſe (which is very true) that the *Indians* live very ſoberly, and obſerve a very ſimple diet, and that of all

this

this great number of Cavaliers there is not the tenth, or not the twentieth man, that in his march eats fleſh: provided they have their *Kichery*, that is, their mixture of Rice and of other legums, upon which they pour butter when they are boyled, they are content. We are alſo to know, that Camels endure labour, hunger and thirſt extreamly well, live upon a little, and eat almoſt any thing, and that aſſoon as the Army encampeth any where, the Camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon. Beſides, that the Merchants that entertain *Bazars* in *Debli*, are obliged to entertain them in the field: and that all the ſmall Merchants, that keep ſhop in the *Bazars* of *Debli*, keep them alſo in the Army, either by force, or out of neceſſity; and laſtly, that as to Forage, all theſe poor people go roving up and down every where in the Village, to buy what they can get, and to gain ſomething by it; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of Trowel to raſpe or knock down whole fields, to beat and waſh what they have there gotten, and ſo to carry it to ſell to the Army, which they do ſometimes very dear and ſometimes very Cheap; I forgot to mention one thing that's remarkable, *viz.* that the King enters into the Camp, now on one ſide, then on another; and that to day he paſſeth near the Tents of certain *Omrahs*, and to morrow near thoſe of others. Which he doth not without deſign; for the *Omrahs*, which he paſſeth by ſo near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him ſome ſmall preſent or other; ſo that ſome will preſent him with twenty Roupies of Gold, which maketh thirty Piſtols; others with fifty, and ſo others in proportion, according to their generoſity, and the greatneſs of their pay.

For the reſt, you will excuſe me, that I do not obſerve to you the Towns and Burroughs that are between *Debli* and *Lahor*; I have ſeen in a manner none of them, for I went almoſt always croſs the fields, and in the night, becauſe my *Agah* was not placed in the middle of the Army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right Wing. We went as well as we could by Star-light croſs the fields to gain the right Wing of the Camp, without ſeeking for the high way; though ſometimes we found our ſelves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four Leagues, which is the ordinary diſtance of one encampment from one another, we ſometimes made five or ſix; but when the day comes on, we ſoon found our ſelves where we ſhould be.

THE THIRD LETTER.

A Deſcription of Lahor, *the Capital of* Penjeab, *or, The Kingdom of the Five Waters.*

SIR,

IT is not without reaſon, that this Kingdom, of which *Lahor* is the Capital City, is called *Penjeab*, or the *Country* of the *Five Waters*, becauſe there are actually Five conſiderable Rivers coming down from thoſe Mountains, within which the Kingdom of *Kachemire* is lock'd up, and that run croſs this tract of Land to fall into the River *Indus*, diſcharging themſelves together into the Ocean at *Scymdi*, towards the entry of the *Perſian* Gulph. Whether *Lahor* be that ancient *Bucephalos*, I decide not. Mean time, *Alexander* is ſufficiently known here under the name of *Sekan-der Filifous*, that is, *Alexander* Son of *Philip*; but as to his Horſe, they know it not. The City of *Lahor* is built upon one of theſe Five Rivers, which is not leſs than our River *Loire*, and for which there is great need of a like bank, becauſe it maketh great devaſtation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired it ſelf from *Lahor* for a quarter of a League; which very much incommodeth the Inhabitants. The Houſes of *Lahor* have this peculiar above thoſe of *Debli* and *Agra*, that they are very high, but moſt of them are ruinous, becauſe 'tis now more then twenty years that the Court is alwayes at *Debli* or at *Agra*, and that in theſe later years the rains have been ſo exceſſive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby alſo much people hath been killed. 'Tis true, there remain ſtill five or ſix conſiderable Streets, of which there are two or three that are above a League long; but in them alſo are many buildings found that fall down. The Kings Palace is no longer upon the River ſide, as it was formerly, becauſe

cauſe that the River hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent; yet thoſe of *Agra* and *Dehli* do much ſurpaſs it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the Snow of the mountains of *Kachemire*, for a more convenient paſſage into that Kingdom. But at length we are to depart to morrow. The King hath been gone theſe two dayes. I have got a little *Kachemirian* Tent, which I bought yeſterday. I was adviſed to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary Tent, which is big and heavy enough, becauſe, they ſay, that between the mountains of *Kachemire*, whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the Camels not having place enough to paſs, we ſhall be obliged to get our Baggage carried by Porters, and that ſo my large Tent would coſt me much to carry. *Adieu.*

THE FOURTH LETTER.

SIR,

I Believed, that after we had overcome the heats of *Maok*, near *Babel-mandel*, I could deſie thoſe of the reſt of the Earth, but ſince theſe four dayes that the Army left *Lahor*, I find I come very ſhort of my reckoning, and I have experimented to the hazard of my life, that it is not without reaſon, that the Indians themſelves did apprehend the eleven or twelve dayes march of the Army, from *Lahor* to *Bamber*, the entry of the mountains of *Kachemire*. I proteſt unto you, without any exaggaration, that the heats have been ſo exceſſive, that ſometimes they have reduced me to extremity, inſomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I ſhould live till night. The cauſe of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of *Kachemire* being on the *North* of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refreſh us from that Quarter, and do reflect the ſun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpoſe, to play the Philoſopher, and to ſeek reaſons for that, which perhaps will kill me to morrow.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

SIR,

I Paſſed yeſterday one of the greateſt Rivers of the *Indies*, called the *Tchellau*. The excellency of its water, of which the great *Omrahs* make proviſion in lieu of that of *Ganges*: (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me from believing this to be ſome River to paſs to Hell, rather than to *Kachemire*, where they would make us believe we ſhall find Snow and Ice: For I find it grow worſe and worſe every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. 'Tis true that I paſs'd the Bridge at Noonday; but I almoſt knew not, which was beſt, to march in the field, or to keep ones ſelf ſtuft'd up under a Tent: At leaſt, I have ſucceeded in my deſign, which was, to paſs the Bridge with eaſe, whilſt all men did repoſe themſelves, expecting to leave the Camp towards evening when the Heat is not ſo violent; whereas if I had ſtaid as the reſt did, ſome miſchief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the moſt terrible confuſion, and the greateſt diſorder that ever was in any the like former paſſage from *Dehli*; the entring upon the firſt Boat, and the going off from the laſt, having been made very difficult, becauſe it was meer moving ſand, which as people marched upon it, and ſtirr'd it, did ſlide away into the water, and left a pit; inſomuch that a great number of Camels, Oxen and Horſes were in the crowd overthrown and trampled under foot, and ſtore of blows diſtributed beſides: There are ordinarily, upon ſuch occaſions, ſome Officers and Cavaliers of the *Omrahs*, who to make way for their Maſters and their Baggage, are not ſparing of them. My *Navab* hath loſt one of his Camels with the Iron Oven it carried; which maketh me apprehend, I ſhall be reduced to the bread of *Bazar*. *Farewel.*

THE

THE SIXTH LETTER.

SIR,

IT is too much curioſity, 'tis folly, or at leaſt temerity in an European to expoſe himſelf to ſuch heats and dangerous marches; It is putting ones ſelf into manifeſt peril of life. Yet notwithſtanding, misfortune is good for ſomething. Whilſt we ſtayed at *Lahor*, I was ſeized on by a Flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me; cauſed by my conſtant lying upon a *Terraſſe*, and taking the cool of the night, as we uſe to do at *Dehli* without danger. But ſince we have been marching theſe eight or nine dayes, the ſweat hath diſſipated all thoſe humors. My body is become a right Sieve, very dry, and I have no ſooner taken into my ſtomach a pint of water (for leſs will not ſerve our turn) but I ſee it at the ſame time iſſue out of my limbs like a dew to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drunk above ten pints. And this is ſome comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one liſts without danger, provided it be good water.

The SEVENTH LETTER, to the ſame.

VVritten from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor *to* Kachemire, *the tenth of* March *in the morning.*

SIR,

The Sun is but juſt now riſing, yet he is intolerable; there is not a Cloud in the Sky, not a breath of Wind; my horſes are ſpent, they have not ſeen a green Herb ſince we came out of *Lahor*; my *Indians* for all their black, dry, and hard Skin, ſink under it. My face, hands and feet are peeled off, and my body is covered all over with pimples, that prick me as ſo many needles. Yeſterday one of our poor Cavaliers, that had no Tent, was found dead at the foot of a ſmall Tree, he had ſeized on. I doubt, whether I ſhall outlive this days journey; all my hope is in a little dry curdled Milk, which I am going to dilute with Water and Sugar, and ſome Limons, I have left, to make Limonade. Farewel; the Ink dryeth at the end of my Pen, and the Pen falls out of my hand. Farewell.

The EIGHTH LETTER, to the ſame.

VVritten from Bember, *the Entry of the Mountains of* Kachemire, *after having two days encamped there. VVhat* Bember *is; the change of carriages for the Mountains; the incredible number of Porters, and the order obſerved in the Army.*

SIR,

WE are at length arriv'd at *Bember*, the foot of a ſteep, black, and burn'd Mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large Torrent dried up, full of ſand and ſtones burning hot; It is like an hot Oven: And if it were not for the ſhower of Rain, we had this morning, and for the curled Milk, the Limons, and the Fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps never have ſeen this Letter. But, God be thanked, I feel the Air a little cooler; my Stomach, Strength and Tongue are returned. So then take this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yeſter-night the King firſt of all, together with *Rauchenara-Begum*, and the other Women of the *Seraglio*, the *Raja Ragnat* that performs the Office of the Vizir, and *Faſel-kan* the High Steward, went away from this burning place, and laſt night the great Hunting-maſter departed with ſome of the greateſt and moſt neceſſary Officers of the Royal Family, and many conſiderable Women. This night 'tis our turn; my *Navab Danech-mend-kan* will go away, and *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the Son of that famous *Emir-jemla*, of whom I have ſpoken ſo much in another place, will be of our Company; and ſo will *Dianet-kan*, our good friend, with his two Sons, and many other *Omrahs*, *Rajahs* and *Manſeb-dars*: And after us, all the other Lords, that are bound for *Kachemire*, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in theſe difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confuſion, during theſe five days of marching between this place and *Kachemire*. All the reſt of the Court, as *Fedaykan*, the great Maſter of the Artillery,

three or four great *Rajas*, and many *Omrahs*, are to ſtay hereabout for a guard, during three or four months, , until the King do return after the great heats are over. Some ſhall go to dreſs their Tents on the one ſide of the River *Tchenau*, others in the neighbouring Towns and Burroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this Fire of *Bember*.

The King for fear of ſtarving this ſmall Kingdom of *Kachemire*, firſt carries with him the leaſt number of Women he can, the greateſt Ladies, the beſt friends of *Rauchenara-Begum*, and thoſe that are moſt neceſſary for ſervice. Nor doth he carry more of the *Omrahs* and *Militia* than he needs muſt: And the *Omrahs* that have leave to come with him cannot take with them all the Cavaliers, but only 25 of 100, yet without comprehending therein the particular Officers of their Family. And that is to be religiouſly obſerv'd, becauſe there is an *Omrah* upon the Guard at the entry of the Mountains, that reckons all that paſs, one by one, and hinders the paſſing of that great number of *Manſeb-dars* and other Cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool Air of *Kachemire*; as alſo all thoſe ſmall Merchants and little people of *Bazar* that ſeek to gain a livelyhood. The King, for the carriage of neceſſaries and the Women of the *Seraglio*, taketh with him ſome of the ſtrongeſt and beſt Elephants: Theſe Beaſts, though groſs and unwieldy, are very ſure-footed, and in ill way they march very warily, aſſuring themſelves firſt of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh alſo ſome Mules with him; but Camels, the moſt neceſſary, he cannot make uſe of in this paſſage; theſe Mountains being too ſteep and craggy for their long ſhanked and ſtiff leggs: Porters muſt ſupply their places; and what number you think muſt there be, if the King alone, as they ſay, hath above ſix thouſand for his occaſions, and I, a private man, though I have left at *Labor* my ordinary Tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the King himſelf and the *Omrahs*, find my ſelf obliged to have three of them? 'Tis believed, there are already no leſs here than fifteen thouſand, partly of thoſe which the Governour of *Kachemire* and the *Rajas* here about have compelled to be here, partly of thoſe that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring Villages to earn ſomething; for a man is obliged, following the Kings order, to give them ten Crowns for an hundred pound weight. 'Tis ſaid, that, in all, there are above thirty thouſand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the King and the *Omrahs* ſent away ſome baggage before, and the Merchants, all ſorts of Commodities.

THE NINTH LETTER.

An exact deſcription of the Kingdom of Kachemire, *and the preſent State of the Neighbouring Mountains; together with an Anſwer to five conſiderable Queſtions of a Friend.*

SIR,

THE Hiſtories of the Ancient Kings of *Kachemire* tell us, that all that Countrey was formerly nothing but a great Lake; and that there was an old Holy man, called *Kacheb*, that gave an outlet to the Waters by a Miraculous Cut he made in the Mountain of *Baramoule*. This may be ſeen in the Abridgment of theſe Hiſtories, which *Jehan-Guire* cauſed to be made, and which I am tranſlating out of the *Perſian* Tongue. For my part, I would not deny, all this Land to have once been cover'd with Water; the like is affirmed of *Theſſaly*, and ſome other Countries; but 'tis hard to believe, that this opening is the work of one man, becauſe the Mountain is very big and very high. I ſhould rather think, that ſome great Earthquake (thoſe parts being ſubject enough to them) had open'd ſome Cavern under ground, which the Mountain did ſink into, after the ſame manner as the opening of *Babel-Mandel* is made (if it be true what the *Arabians* of that Countrey ſay of it) and as whole Towns and Mountains have been ſeen to be ſwallow'd up in great Lakes.

However it be, *Kachemire* is no Lake now, but a very fair Campagne, diverſified by many little Hillocks, about 30 Leagues long, and 10, or 12 Leagues broad; ſituated in the extream of *Indoſtan*, North of *Labor*, lock'd up within the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, between thoſe of the Kings of the great *Tibet*, the little *Tibet*, and the Raja *Gamon*, its next Neighbours.

The firſt Mountains ſurrounding it, I mean thoſe that are next to the Plain, are of a middle height, all green with Trees or Paſture, full of all ſorts of Cattel, as Cows, Sheep,

Sheep, Goats, Horſes; and of Game of divers kinds, as Partridges, Hares, Gazelles, and of ſome Animals yielding Musk. There are alſo abundance of Bees; and (which is rare in the *Indies*) there are found no Serpents, Tigers, Bears, Lions, but very ſeldom. So that it may be ſaid, that theſe are not only very innocent Mountains, but flowing with Milk and Honey, as were thoſe of the Land of Promiſe.

Beyond thoſe middle-siz'd Mountains, there riſe others, very high ones, the top of which are alwayes cover'd with Snow, and appear above the ordinary Clouds and Miſts, alwayes calm and clear as well as Mount *Olympus*.

Out of all theſe Mountains do iſſue innumerable Sources and Rivulets on all ſides, which the Inhabitants know how to convey to their *Rice*-fields, and even through raiſed Ground unto their little Hillocks; and which, after they have made a thouſand other little Rivulets, and a thouſand *Caſcata's* every where, come at laſt to meet, and to make a very fair River, that carrieth Boats as big as our River of *Seine*, and after it hath gently turn'd about the Kingdom, and paſſed through the midſt of the Capital City, finds its out-let at *Baramoule* between two ſteep Rocks, and having afterwards taken in many ſmall Rivers that come down from the Mountains, falls about *Atex* into the River *Indus*.

All theſe Rivulets deſcending from the Mountains, make the Plain and all thoſe Hillocks ſo fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole Kingdom for ſome great *Ever-green* Garden, intermixed with Villages and Burroughs, diſcovering themſelves between Trees, and diverſified by Meadows, Fields of Rice, Corn, and divers other Legumes, of Hemp, and Saffron; all interlaced with Ditches full of Water, with Channels, with ſmall Lakes and Rivulets here and there. Up and down every where are alſo ſeen ſome of our *European* Plants, Flowers, and all ſorts of our Trees, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, Vines. The particular Gardens are full of Melons, Water-melons, Skirrets, Beets, Radiſhes, all ſorts of *our* Pot-herbs, and of ſome we have not.

'Tis true, there are not ſo many ſorts of Fruit as with us, nor are they ſo excellent as ours; but I believe that that is not the fault of the Soil, but that, if they had as good Gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft Trees, to chuſe proper places and proper Stocks, and to ſend for Grafts from Forreign Countries, they would have as many and as good as we; becauſe among that number of divers ſorts, which I often cauſed to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The Capital City, which is of the ſame name with that of the Kingdom, is without walls; 'tis three quarters of a League long, and half a League broad; ſcituate in a Plain, about two Leagues diſtant from Mountains, which ſeem to make as 'twere a Semi-Circle; and ſtanding upon a Lake of ſweet Water of four or five miles in compaſs, which is made up of Live-Springs, and of Rivulets running down the Mountains, and diſgorgeth it ſelf by a Navigable Channel into the River which paſſeth through the midſt of the Town. This River hath in the Town two wooden Bridges over it for communication. Moſt Houſes are of Wood, but well built, and of two or three Stories high; not as if they had not very good Free Stone there (many old Idol-Temples ruined, and other Buildings made of it, being yet to be ſeen;) but the abundance of Wood, eaſily deſcending from the mountains by little Rivers, which it is caſt into, maketh people find that way of Building turn to better account. The Houſes that ſtand upon the River have almoſt all of them their little Garden, lying upon the Water; which maketh a very pleaſant Perſpective, eſpecially in the Spring and Summer, when men walk on the River-ſide. The other Houſes that ſtand not upon the River, have alſo almoſt all of them ſome Garden; and there are a good number of ſuch, that have a Channel anſwering to the Lake, and a little Boat to go and divert themſelves upon it.

In one end of the Town there appears an Hill, looſe from all the reſt, which maketh another very agreeable Perſpective, becauſe on its Declivity there ſtand very fine Houſes with Gardens, and on the top a Moſquee and an Heremitage well built with a Garden, and ſtore of fine green Trees: And 'tis upon the account of theſe Trees and Gardens, that in the Language of the Country 'tis called *Haryperbet*, as if you ſhould ſay, the Mountain of Verdure.

Oppoſite to this Hill there is ſeen another, on which there is alſo a Moſquee, but a little one, together with a Garden, and a very ancient Building, which ſeems to have been a Temple of Idols, though they call it *Tacl Souliman*, that is, the Throne of *Solomon*, becauſe that *Soloman*, as the *Mahumetans* ſay, cauſed it to be built when he came to

Kachemire; but how they will prove, that *Solomon* made this Voyage, I know not.

The *Lake* hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little Isles, which are as many Gardens of Pleasure, that appear all green in the midst of the Water, by reason of those fruit-bearing Trees, and of the Walks, on both sides set with Arbors, and because they are surrounded with large-leaved Aspen-trees, standing at two foot distance from one another; the biggest whereof may be clasped about, but as tall as Masts of great Ships, having only a tuft of Branches at the top like Palm-trees.

Beyond the Lake, upon the side of the Hills, there is nothing but Houses and Gardens of pleasure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine Air, in the view of the Lake, the Isles, and the Town, and full of Springs and Rivulets.

The most admirable of all these Gardens is that of the King, which is called *Chah-limar*. From the Lake, one enters into it by a great Canal, border'd with great green Turfs. This Canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs 'twixt two large Allees of Poplars: It leadeth to a great Cabinet in the midst of the Garden, where begins another Canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little rising unto the end of the Garden. This Canal is paved with large Free-Stone; its sloping side cover'd with the same; and in the midst of it, there is a long Row of Jets of Water, from 15 to 15 foot. There are also, from space to space, great Rounds of Water serving for Store-houses, whence many Jets of Water, variously figured, do spring up: And this Canal ends at another great Cabinet, which is almost like the first.

These Cabinets, which are in a manner made like *Domes*, scituate in the middle of the Canal, and encompassed with Water, and consequently between those two great Allees of Poplars, have a Gallery that reigneth round about, and four Gates opposite to one another; two of which do respect the Allees, with two Bridges to pass over, one on one side, and the other on the other; the other two look upon the opposite Canals. Each Cabinet consists of a great Chamber in the midst of four other lesser Chambers, which are in the four Corners: All is painted and guilded within, the great Chamber as well as the little ones, having Sentences with great Letters in the *Persian* Tongue written upon them. The four Gates are very rich; they are made of great Stones with two Columns, taken from those ancient Idol-Temples, ruin'd by *Chah-Jehan*. The price of these great Stones and Pillars is not well known, nor what kind of Stone they be; though it appears sufficiently, that 'tis a sort of precious Stone, finer than Marble or Porphyre.

From all that hath been said, one may easily conjecture, that I am somewhat charmed with *Kachemire*, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for so small a Kingdom. It deserves very well to reign over all those neighbouring Mountains as far as *Tartary*, and over all *Indostan*, as far as *Ceilon*, as once it did: And 'tis not without some cause, that the *Mogols* call it the Terrestrial *Paradise* of the Indies; that *Ecbar* took so much pains to make himself Master of it; and that his Son *Jehan-Guire* became so amorous thereof, that he could not leave it; and often said, he would rather lose all his Empire, than *Kachemire*. And from the time that we arrived there, all the Poets, both *Kachemirians* and *Mogolians*, strove to make Poems to the praise of this little Kingdom, to present them to *Aureng-Zebe*, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the Mountains encompassing it, and rendring it almost inaccessible any where, said, that the top of these Mountains was the cause, that the Heavens did retire into the Figure of a Vault, as we see it; and that *Kachemire* being the Master-piece of Nature, and the King of the Kingdoms of the World, it was sutable it should be hard of access, and so enjoy an undisturbed peace and tranquility, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reason why Nature had surrounded it with Mountains, of which some, namely the highest and most remote, were alwaies white and covered with Snow, the lowermost and the next to the Plain, all green and covered with Wood, was, because that the King of the Kingdoms of the World was to wear the most precious Crown, the top whereof was to be of Diamonds, and the bottom of Emeraulds. If the Poet had added (said I to my *Navab Daneeh-mend-kan*; who was willing to make me admire all those Poems) that all those great Countries of Mountains that environ it, as the little *Tibet*, the State of the Raja *Gamon*, *Kachguer*, and

Sere-

Serenaguer, are to be comprehended under the Kingdom of *Kachemire*; ſince, according to the Hiſtory of the Countrey, they once depended from it, and conſequently that the River *Ganges* on the one ſide, that of *Indus* on the other, the *Chenau* on a third, and the *Gemma* on the fourth, do iſſue out of *Kachemire*; that theſe Rivers, with ſo many others that run thence, do countervail the *Gihon*, the *Piſon*, and the two others; *Gen. 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.* and if at laſt he had concluded, that this was certainly the true Terreſtrial Paradiſe, rather than that in *Armenia*, this would have much enhaunced the worth of all his Commendations.

The *Kachemirians* have the Reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dexterous than the *Indians*, and as fit for Poeſie and Sciences as the *Perſians*. Beſides, they are very induſtrious and willing to take pains; they make *Palekys*, Trunks, Bed-ſteds, Standiſhes, Boxes, Spoons, , and many other pieces, and all of good and very handſome Workmanſhip, ſent over all the *Indies*. They know how to give it a good Verniſh, and ſo dexterouſly to counterfeit the Veins of a certain Wood that hath very fine ones, by applying Gold-ſtrings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and conſiderable in them, and which draws the Trade and Silver into their Countrey, is that prodigious quantity of Stuffs call'd *Chales*, which they work there, and employ their little Childeren in. Theſe *Chales* are certain kinds of Stuff an Ell and a half long, and about an Ell broad, which are embroidered at each end with a kind of Embroidery about a Foot large. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, paſſing them over their left Shoulder like a Mantle. They make two ſorts of them; one, of the wool of the Countrey, which is finer than that of *Spain*; the other, of a Wool, or rather of an Hair, they call *Touz*, taken from the Breaſt of a wild Goat of the great *Tibet*. Theſe latter are of a far greater price than the former; neither is there any *Caſtor* ſo ſoft and delicate. The miſchief is, the worms get eaſily into it, unleſs you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have ſeen of theſe which the *Omrahs* purpoſely cauſed to be made, which coſt an hundred and fifty *Roupies*: Of the others that are made of the Wool of the Countrey, I have ſeen none that coſts above fifty.

'Tis obſerved of theſe *Chales*, that, work them never ſo carefully in *Patna*, *Agra*, and *Labor*, you ſhall never make the Stuff ſo ſoft and fine, as in *Kachemire*; which is commonly imputed to the particular Water of the Countrey: As at *Maſlipatan* they make thoſe fine ſtuffs, which become fairer by waſhing.

The *Kachemirians* are alſo famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our *Europeans*, and have nothing of a *Tartarian* flat-nos'd and little ey'd Face, as thoſe of *Kachguer*, and moſt of the people of the great *Tibet*. The Women eſpecially are very beautiful; and therefore all Strangers, that are new-comers to the Court of *Mogol*, are furniſhed from thence, that ſo they may have Children whiter than the *Indians*, and which by theſe means may paſs for true *Mogols*. And certainly, if one may judge of the Beauty of the retired Women by that of the common People, met with in the Streets, and ſeen up and down in the Shops, we muſt believe, that there are very handſom ones. At *Labor*, where they have the repute of being proper and ſlender, and the handſomeſt of the Brown Laſſes of the *Indies* (as *really* they are) I uſed an Art which is ordinary among the *Mogols*, which is, to follow ſome Elephants, eſpecially thoſe that are richly harneſſed; for aſſoon as thoſe Women hear the two Bells hanging on the ſides of thoſe Beaſts, they all put their heads out of the Windows. The ſame Trick I uſed here; and I made alſo uſe of another, in which I ſucceeded very well; it was deviſed by an old and famous Maſter of a School, whom I had taken to help me to underſtand a *Perſian* Poet. He made me buy ſtore of Confits; and he being known and welcom every where, carried me into above 15 houſes, telling them that I was his Kinſman, newly come out of *Perſia*, that I was rich and to be married: As ſoon as we came into a houſe, he diſtributed Confits to the Children, and preſently all came about us, Women and Children, great and ſmall, to have their ſhare, or to be ſeen This curioſity alone coſt me many a good *Roupy*; but it confirm'd me, that in *Kachemire* there are as fair Faces, as in any place of *Europe*.

There remains only to impart unto you what I obſerved moſt conſiderable between the Mountains, from *Bember* hither, (with which perhaps I ſhould have begun;) and after having given you account of ſome other little Voyages I have been obliged to make ver ſparts of this Kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the reſt of the circumjacent Mountains.

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Concerning therefore first our Voyage from *Bember* hither, it seem'd to me surprising enough, to find my self from the first night that we parted from *Bember*, and entred into the Mountains, pass from a Torrid to a Temperate Zone: For, we had no sooner mounted this dreadful Wall of the World, I mean, this high, steep, black and bald Mountain, of *Bember*, but that in descending on the other side, we found an Air that was pretty tollerable, fresh, gentle and temperate. But that which surprised me more in these Mountains, was, to find my self, in a trice, transported out of the *Indies* into *Europe*. For, seeing the Earth covered with all our plants and shrubs, exept Issop, Thyme, Marjoram and Rosemary, I imagined I was in some of our Mountains of *Auvergne*, in the midst of a Forest of all our kinds of Trees, Pines, Oaks, Elms, Plane-trees. And I was the more astonish'd because in all those burning Fields of *Indostan*, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to Plants, this surprised me, that one and a half days journy from *Bember* I found a Mountain, that was cover'd with them on both sides, but with this difference, that on the side of the Mountain that was Southerly, toward the *Indies*, there was a mixture of *Indian* and *European* Plants, and on that which was exposed to the North I observ'd none but *European* ones; as if the former had participated of the Air and temper of *Europe* and the *Indies*, and the other had been meerly *European*.

As to the Trees, I admired this natural course of Generations and Corruptions: Below in these bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age; and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead: Some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from Lightning, or that in the heat of Summer they had taken fire by rubbing themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or, as the Country-people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired also those natural *Cascata's* of water, which we found between those Rocks. We met, among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless, it cannot be parallel'd. One seeth a far off from the side of an high Mountain, running down a Torrent of water in a Channel cover'd with Trees, and precipitate it self in a trice to the bottom of a steep Rock of a stupendious height, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a *Cataract*. There was erected near it, a Theatre, upon a Rock, which *Jehan-Guire* had caused purposely to be made plain, that the Court passing, might there repose themselves, and from thence with conveniency behold this admirable Work-man-ship of Nature; which as well as those old Trees, I was just now speaking of, seems to resemble something of great Antiquity, and of the first production of the World.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day, that the King went up the Mountain of *Pire-penjale*, which is the highest of all, and whence one begins to discover a far off the Country of *Kachemire*; on that day, I say, that the King ascended this Mountain, being followed by a long row of Elephants, upon which sate the Women in *Mikdembers*, and *Embarys*; one of those Elephants was frighted by beholding, as the *Indians* would have it, such a long and steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extreamly rude and steep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor Women, that the precipice it self was not very steep, so that there were but three or four of them kill'd; but the fifteen Elephants remai'nd upon the place. When these bulky Masses do once fall under those vast burthens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their Trunk. This accident put the whole Army, which had marched four days along the Mountains in file, into great disorder, because to recover these Women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places impossible to advance or go back, and none had near him those Porters that carried his Tent and Victuals. As for my self, I was not in the worst condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a small place to lye down in, for my self and my Horse. And, to my good luck, one of my servants that follow'd me, had a little bread, which we shared together. I remember, it was there

where

where ſtirring ſome ſtones we found a great black Scorpion, which a young *Mogol* of my acquaintance took, and ſqueezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my ſervant, and at laſt in mine, without our being ſtung by him. This young Cavalier ſaid, that he had charm'd him, as he had done many others before, by a paſſage of the *Alcoran*, which he would not teach me, becauſe, *he ſaid*, the power of charming would paſs to me and leave himſelf, as it had paſſed to him by quitting his Teacher.

In traverſing this ſame Mountain of *Pire-penjale*, where the Elephants tumbled down, there occurr'd, thoſe things which call'd to my mind ſome of my former philoſophical thoughts. The *firſt* was, that in leſs than an hour we felt *Summer* and *Winter*; for in aſcending we did ſweat groſs drops, all men going on foot in a burning Sun; and when we came to the top of the Mountain, we yet found the Icy Snow, that had been cut to open the way; there was a Froſt upon a miſling Rain, and there blew a wind ſo cold, that all people ſhook and run away, eſpecially the ſilly *Indians*, who never had ſeen Ice or Snow, nor felt ſuch a cold.

The *ſecond* was, that in leſs than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds; one from the North, which blew in my face aſcending, eſpecially when I came near the top, and another from the South, which blew againſt my back in deſcending; as if this Hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all ſides, which coming forth had cauſed, a wind that had deſcended and taken its courſe in thoſe two oppoſite dales.

The *third* was the meeting an old Hermit, that had lived on the top of this Mountain ſince the time of *Jehan-Guire*, and whoſe Religion was not known; though it was ſaid, that he did miracles, cauſed ſtrange thunders when he would, and raiſed ſtorms of Hail, Snow, Rain and Wind. He look'd ſomewhat ſavage-like, having a long and large white Beard uncombed. He asked alms ſomewhat fiercely; ſuffer'd us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great ſtone; made ſigne with his hand, importing that we ſhould ſpeedily march away, and grumbled at thoſe that made a noiſe, becauſe, ſaid he to me, (when I was come into his Cave, and had a little ſweetned his looks with half a Roupy, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noiſe raiſeth furious ſtorms and tempeſts. *Aureng-Zebe*, ſaid he further, did very well in following my counſel, and not permitting to make a noiſe: *Chah-Jehan* always took care of the ſame; but *Jehan Guire* once mocking at it, and cauſing Trumpets and Cymbals to ſound, was like to have periſhed here.

In reference to the little Voyages I have made in divers parts of this Kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I paſſed. We were no ſooner arrived at *Kachemire*, but my *Navab Danech-mend-kan* ſent me, together with one of his Horſe-men for a Convoy, and a Country-man, to one of the extremities of this Kingdom, three ſmall days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to ſee the Wonders (for ſo they ſpeak of them) of a Spring that is thereabout. Theſe Wonders are, that in the month of *May*, the time when the Snow begins but to melt, this Fountain, for about the ſpace of fifteen days, regularly flows and ſtops thrice a day, at break of day, at noon and at night: Its flowing ordinarily laſts three quarters of an hour, more or leſs, and that plentifully enough, to fill a ſquare receptacle, having ſteps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep. After the firſt fifteen days, its courſe begins to be leſs regular and leſs copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite ſtops and runs no more for the reſt of the year, unleſs it be, that during ſome plentiful and long rains, it flows inceſſantly and without Rule, as other Fountains do. The *Gentiles* have on the ſide of the Receiver a little Temple of the Idol of *Brare*, which is one of their falſe Deities; and thence it is that they call this Fountain *Send-Brary*, as as if you ſhould ſay, *Water of Brare*; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and ſanctifie themſelves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this Water they make many fables, which I ſhall not recite to you, becauſe I find not the leaſt ſhadow of truth in them. During the five or ſix days of my ſtay there, I did what poſſible I could to find the reaſon of this Wonder. I did attentively conſider the ſituation of the Mountain, at the foot of which this Spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, ſearching and prying every where. I obſerved that it extends it ſelf in length from North to South; that 'tis ſever'd from other Mountains, which yet are very near to it; that it is in the form of an Aſſes back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largeſt; that one

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of the ſide of the Mountain, which is cover'd with nothing but green graſs, is expoſed to the Eaſt, yet ſo that the Sun comes not to ſhine on't before eight a clock in the morning, becauſe of the other oppoſite Mountains; and laſtly, that the other ſide, which is expos'd to the Weſt, is covered with Trees and Buſhes. All this being conſidered, I did imagine, that the heat of the Sun, together with the particular ſituation and the internal diſpoſition of the Mountain, might very well be the cauſe of this pretended Miracle, that the Morning Sun, coming briskly to ſtrike on the ſide oppoſite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which during the Winter, when all was covered with Snow, had inſinuated themſelves into the inner parts of the earth of this Mountain; that theſe waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the Spring-head, cauſe the flowing of the Fountain at Noon; That the ſame Sun, raiſed to the South, and leaving that other ſide, now growing cold, for to ſtrike with its beams as 'twere perpendicularly, the top, doth alſo melt other frozen waters, which likewiſe run down by little and little as the other, but by other turnings, unto thoſe rocky beds, and cauſe the Flowing at Night: and that laſtly, the Sun heating likewiſe this Weſtern ſide, produceth the like effect, and cauſes the third flux in the Morning; which is ſlower than the two others, either becauſe this Weſtern ſide is remote from the Eaſtern where the Source is; or becauſe that being covered with wood, it is not ſo ſoon heated; or by reaſon of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reaſoning the more cogent, foraſmuch as it ſeems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the firſt days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter; and that at laſt it ſtops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were of thoſe frozen waters greater plenty in the earth than at laſt. It ſeems alſo to agree with what is obſerved, that there are ſome days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and ſometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out ſo that ſome days there are hotter than others, or that ſome clouds ariſe which interrupt the equality of the heat, and conſequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from *Send-brary* I turn'd a little aſide from the road to go and lye at *Achiavel*, which is an Houſe of pleaſure of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, and at preſent of the Great *Mogol*. That which moſt adorns it, is a Fountain, the water where of diffuſeth it ſelf on all ſides round about that Fabrick (which is not deſpicable) and into the Gardens by an hundred Canals. It breaks out of the Earth, as if by ſome violence it aſcended up from the bottom of a Well, and that with ſuch an abundance as might make it to be called a River rather than a Fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and ſo cold that one can hardly endure to hold ones hand in it. The Garden it ſelf is very fine, there being curious Walks in it, and ſtore of Fruit-bearing Trees, of Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricocks and Cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and Ponds repleniſh'd with Fiſh, together with a very high *Caſcata* of water, which by its fall maketh a great Nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, eſpecially in the night, when under this Nape there is put a great number of little Lamps fitted in holes purpoſely made in the Wall; which maketh a curious ſhew.

From *Achiavel* I went yet a little more out of my way to paſs through another Royal Garden, which is alſo very beautiful, and hath the ſame pleaſantneſs with that of *Achiavel*, but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its Ponds there are Fiſhes that come when they are called, and when you caſt bread to them; the biggeſt whereof have golden Rings in their Noſes, with inſcriptions about them, which they ſay that renowned *Nour-Mehalle*, the Wife of *Jehan-Guire*, the Grandfather of *Aureng-Zebe*, cauſed to be faſtened in them.

I was no ſooner returned from *Send-brary*, but *Danech-mend-kan*, well ſatisfied with my Voyage, made me undertake one more, to ſee another ſure Miracle, as he call'd it, which ſhould be capable to make me ſoon change my Religion, and turn *Muſſelman*. Go, ſaith he, to *Baramoulay*, which is not further from hence than *Send-brary*; there you ſhall find a Moſquee in which is the Tomb of one of our *Pires* or Saints, which ſtill every day works Miracles in curing ſick people, that flock thither from all parts: It may be, that you will believe nothing of all thoſe miraculous Cures you ſhall ſee; but you will at leaſt believe one Miracle, which is done every day, and you may ſee with your own eyes: And that is of a big round ſtone, which the ſtrongeſt man is hardly

hardly able to raise in the least from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that Saint, lift up, as if it were a straw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being sensible of any weight. Hereupon I began this journey also, accompanied with my Horseman and the Countrey-fellow, and being arrived at *Baramoulay*, I found it a place pleasant enough. The Mosquee is sufficiently well built, the Tomb of the pretended Saint well adorn'd, and round about it there was store of people of great devotion, who said they were sick. Near the Mosquee there was a Kitchen with large Kettles full of Flesh and Rice, which, in my opinion, was the Magnet drawing the sick people thither, and the Miracle that cured them. On the other side was the Garden and the Chambers of the *Mullahs*, who with great conveniency, and delight spend their life there, under the shadow of the miraculous Sanctity of this *Pire*, which they are not wanting to celebrate: But as I am always very unhappy in such occasions, he did no Miracle that day upon any of the sick. As for the great *Stone*, which was *the* business I came for; there were Eleven Cheats of these *Mullahs* that crowded together in a round, and by their long Vests hindred me from seeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up, yet said all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part, who had my eyes open, and look'd on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they seemed to me, that they used also the thumb, which they held very firm upon the second finger bent and closed: But yet I was not wanting to cry out as well as the *Mullahs* and all the other assistants, *Karamet*, *Karamet*, Miracle, Miracle; giving at the same time a Roupy for the *Mullahs*, and with great shew of devotion praying them to favour me with suffering me once to be one of the Eleven lifters up of the Stone. They did hesitate long before they resolved to permit it, but having given them another Roupy, and made them believe I was perswaded of the truth of the Miracle, one of the Eleven gave me his place, they doubtless imagining, that Ten of them joyned together would be sufficient to do the business, though I should not add much to it, and that they would so range themselves and crowd together, that I should perceive nothing of their imposture. But they found themselves egregiously deceived, when they saw, that the Stone, which I would not support but only by the end of my finger, always inclined and fell to my side, until at length I found it necessary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithstanding which, when I saw that they all looked upon me asquint, not knowing what to make of me, I still went on crying like the rest, *Karamet*, Miracle, Miracle, and over and above casting to them another Roupy to secure my self from being ston'd; and stealing away from among the crowd, I presently took horse, without eating or drinking, and left the Saint and the Miracles to those that had faith enough to believe them: Observing, as I passed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this Kingdom, of which I have already said something in the beginning of this Book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great Lake, which I saw a far off, thorough the middle whereof passeth the River that runs to *Baramoulay*. It is full of Fish, especially Eels, and covered with Ducks and wild Fowl, and many other River Fowl. 'Tis where the Governour comes in Winter, at which time 'tis covered with those creatures, to divert himself with fowling. In the midst of this Lake there is an Eremitage with its little Garden, which, as they say, doth miraculously flote upon the water, and where the Eremite passeth his Life without ever going from it. Besides which, they make a thousand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unless perhaps you will except what some have told me. That it was one of those ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, who out of curiosity caused this Eremitage to be built upon thick beams fastned to one another.

Thence I went to find out a Fountain, which hath something that's rare enough in it; bubling up gently, and rising with some little impetuosity, and making small bubles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, some small Sand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the Water becoming still, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up Sand; and soon after beginning afresh as before; and so continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the Wonder, as they say, consists in this, that the least noise, made by speaking, or by knocking ones foot against the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and bubble as was said. Yet I found

plainly, that ſpeaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one ſaith nothing, as when one ſpeaks or knocketh. But now, to give the true cauſe of it, *that* requireth more thinking than I have beſtow'd upon it; unleſs one ſhould ſay, that the Sand, by falling down again, obſtructeth the narrow Channel of this ſmall and weak Spring, until the water, being cloſed up and kept in, it make an effort to remove and raiſe again the Sand, and ſo to diſengage it ſelf; or rather, that ſome wind, pent in the Channel of the Spring, riſes by turns, as it comes to paſs in artificial Fountains.

After we had conſidered this Fountain, we entred into the Mountains to ſee a great Lake, which hath Ice in Summer, and looketh like a little icy Sea, having heaps of Ice, made and unmade by the Winds. Afterwards we paſſed through a certain place, call'd *Seng-ſafed*, that is, White ſtone; which is famous for being full all the Summer long of all ſorts of Flowers like a *Parterre*, and for this obſervation, that when much people goes thither, making a great noiſe and much ſtirring the air, there preſently falls a ſhower of rain. This is certain, that when, ſome years ſince, *Chah-Jehan* went thither, he was in danger of periſhing by the great and extraordinary rain ſurvening, though he had commanded, they ſhould make the leaſt noiſe they could. This agreed with what my Eremite of *Pirepengale* had told me.

And now I was going to a Grotta of odd congelations, which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my ſo long abſence my *Navab* was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring Mountains round about, I have, ſince our being here, done what poſſibly I could to inform my ſelf about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and obſerve things; yet notwithſtanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learn'd of it.

The Merchants of *Kachemire*, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine Wool to make thoſe Stuffs I have above been ſpeaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which ſtill depend from *Kachemire*, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongſt others there is one place, which pays it tribute in Leather and Wooll, ſent for by the Governour every year; and where the Women are extream handſome, chaſt and laborious; that there is alſo another farther off from *Kachemire*, which alſo pays its tribute in Leather and Wooll, and hath very pretty, though but ſmall, fertil plains, and moſt pleaſant vallies, abounding in Corn, Rice, Apples, Pears, excellent Apricocks and Melons; as alſo in Raiſins yielding very good Wine; the Inhabitants whereof have ſometimes refuſed to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of acceſs to their Country; but there hath alwayes been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The ſame Merchants agree alſo, that among the other Mountains, that are more diſtant and depend no more from *Kachemire*, there are likewiſe found very pleaſant Countrys, peopled with very handſom Whites, but ſuch as almoſt never come out from their homes; of which ſome have no Kings, nor, as far as could be perceived, any Religion; only that ſome of them do eat no Fiſh, counting them unclean.

I ſhall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a Wife of the ancient Family of the Kings of *Kachemire*. He ſaid, that when *Jehan-Guire* made a ſtrict inquiry after all thoſe that were of that Family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three Servants croſs theſe mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went; that thus wandring he came at laſt into a very fine ſmall Canton, where when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to viſit him and brought him preſents, and that, to make up their kindneſs, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifulleſt of their young Maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, becauſe they deſired very much to have iſſue of his Blood: That paſſing from thence into another Canton, not much diſtant from the former, the people likewiſe came to ſee him, and to preſent him; but that the kindneſs of the evening was far different from the other, in that theſe inhabitants brought to him their own Wives, arguing that thoſe of the other Canton were Beaſts, becauſe that his Blood would not remain in their houſe, ſince the Maidens would carry the Child with them into the houſe of him, to whom they ſhould be married.

I may further add, that ſome years ſince, there being a diſſention riſen between the family of the King of the little *Tibet*, which borders upon *Kachemire*, one of the pretenders, to the Crown did ſecretly call for the aſſiſtance of the Governour of *Kachemire*, who

who by order of *Chah-Jehan* gave him powerful ſuccours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in the poſſeſſion of the Country, on condition of an annual Tribute to be paid in Cryſtal, Musk and Wool. This petty King could not forbear coming to ſee *Aureng-Zebe*, bringing with him a preſent of thoſe things I juſt now named; but he had ſo pitiful a Train, That I ſhould never have taken him for what he was. My *Navab* entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning thoſe Mountains. I heard him ſay, that his Country on the Eaſt ſide did confine with great *Tibet*; that it was about 30 or 40 leagues broad; that there was indeed ſome little Cryſtal, Musk, and Wool, but for the reſt very poor; and that there were no Gold Mines as was ſaid; that in ſome places there was very good fruit, eſpecially Melons; that they had very hard Winters, and very troubleſome, becauſe of the deep Snows; and that the people, which formerly had been Heathen, was almoſt all become Mahumetan, as himſelf, namely, of that Sect called *Chia*, which is that of all *Perſia*. Beſides, that ſeventeen or eighteen years ago *Chah-Jehan* had attempted to make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom of the Great *Tibet*, as formerly alſo had done the Kings of *Kachemire*; that his Army after ſixteen days difficult march, always among Mountains, did beſiege a Caſtle which they took; that there remain'd no more for him to do, than to paſs a River, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the Capital Town, which he would have eaſily carried, the whole Kingdom being in a panick terrour; but that the ſeaſon being far ſpent, the Governour of *Kachemire*, who was the General of that Army, did apprehend he ſhould be ſurprized by the Snow, and ſo returned, leaving in that Caſtle a Garriſon, which, whether it was from fear of the Enemy, or from want of ſufficient proviſion, he could not ſay, ſoon abandon'd it; which broke the deſign the Governour had of returning thither the next Spring.

Now that the King of this Great *Tibet* knows, that *Aureng-Zebe* is at *Kachemire*, and threatens him with War, he hath ſent to him an Ambaſſador, with Preſents of the Countrey, as Chryſtal, and thoſe dear White Cow-tails, by way of ornament faſten'd to the ears of Elephants, as alſo Musk, and a Stone of *Jachen* of great price, becauſe of an extraordinary bigneſs. This *Jachen* is a bleviſh Stone with white veins ſo hard that it is wrought with nothing elſe but the Powder of Diamond, highly eſteemed in the Court of the *Megol*. They make Cups of it and other veſſels, of which I have ſome richly wrought with threads of Gold, of very curious Workmanſhip. The Train of this Ambaſſador did conſiſt of three or four Cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the *Chineſe*, and plain red Bonnets upon their heads like our Seamen, the reſt of their Garments ſuitable. I think there were four or five of them with Swords, but the reſt marched behind the Ambaſſador without any rod or ſtick. He treated with *Aureng-Zebe* in his Maſters name, promiſing that he would ſuffer a Moſque to be built in the Capital City, wherein Prayers ſhould be made after the Mahumetan way; that the Money, henceforth to be coined, ſhould on the one ſide have the Impreſs of *Aureng-Zebe*, and that he would pay him a certain annual Tribute. But 'tis believed, that as ſoon as this King ſhall know that *Aureng-Zebe* is gone from *Kachemire*, he will laugh at all this Treaty, as he did formerly at that, which he had made with *Chah-Jehan*.

This Ambaſſador had in his ſuit a Phyſician, which was ſaid to be of the Kingdom of *Laſſa*, and of the Tribe *Lamy* or *Lama*, which is that of the men of the Law in that Country, as the *Brahmans* are in the *Indies*; with this difference, that the *Brahmans* have no *Caliph*, or high-Prieſt, but the *Lamians* have one that is not only acknowledged for ſuch by the Kingdom of *Laſſa*, but alſo by all *Tartary*, and who is honoured and reverenced like a divine perſon. This Phyſician had a Book of Receipts, which he would never ſell to me; the writing of it ſeem'd, at a diſtance, ſomewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the Alphabet, but he wrote ſo ſlowly, and his writing was ſo bad in reſpect of that in his Book, that we ſoon judged, this muſt needs be a poor Doctor. He was much wedded to the *Metempſychoſis* or Tranſmigration of Souls, and was full of admirable ſtories of it; among the reſt he related of his great *Lama*, that when he was old and ready to die, he aſſembled his Council, and declared to them, that now he was paſſing into the Body of a little Child, lately born, that this Child was bred up with great care, and when it was about ſix or ſeven years old, they brought to it ſtore of houſhold-ſtuff pel mel with his own, and that the Child was able to diſtinguiſh thoſe, that were or had been his from that of others: Which was, ſaid this Doctor, an au-

thentick proof of the Tranſmigration. For my part, I thought at firſt he rallied, but I found at laſt, that he ſpoke very ſeriouſly. I was once to ſee him at the Ambaſſadors with a Merchant of *Kachemire*, that knew the Language of *Tibet*, and was an Interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy ſome Stuffs he had brought to ſell, which were ſome kind of Ratines of about a foot and an half broad; but it was really to learn ſomething of that Countrey, yet it was no great matter I obtain'd from him. He only told me in general, that all the Kingdom of the great *Tibet* was, in compariſon to his, a miſerable Countrey, full of Snow for more than five months of the year; that his King made often War with the *Tartars*; but he could never diſtinguiſh to me, what kind of *Tartars* they were. At length, after I had made a good many Queſtions to him, without receiving any ſatisfaction upon them, I ſaw I loſt only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is ſo certain, that no body here doubts of it. 'Tis not yet twenty years, that there went Caravans every year from *Kachemire*, which croſſed all thoſe Mountains of the great *Tibet*, entred into *Tartary*, and arrived in about three months at *Cataja*, notwithſtanding the very ill ways, and the rapid Torrents; which latter are to be paſſed over Cords ſtretched from one Rock to another. Theſe Caravans brought back *Muſk*, *China-wood*, *Rubarb*, and *Mamiron*, which laſt is a ſmall root exceeding good for ill Eyes. Repaſſing over the great *Tibet* they alſo loaded themſelves with the Merchandiſe of that Countrey, *viz.* *Muſk*, *Cryſtal* and *Jachen*, but eſpecially with ſtore of very fine Wooll of two ſorts, one of Sheep, and the other called *Touz*, which is rather, as I have ſaid, a kind of hair approaching to our Caſtor, than a Wooll. But ſince the attempt, which *Chah-Jehan* made on that ſide, the King of the great *Tibet* hath altogether ſhut up the way, and ſuffers not any one from *Kachemire* to enter into his Countrey: And thence it is, that the Caravans at preſent go from *Patna* upon the *Ganges*, not paſſing through his Countrey at all, but leaving it on the left hand, and coming directly to the Kingdom of *Laſſa*.

Concerning this Kingdom, here called *Kacheguer*, which doubtleſs is that which our Maps call *Kaſcar*, I ſhall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the Merchants of the Countrey it ſelf, who, knowing that *Aureng-Zebe* was to ſtay a while at *Kachemire*, were come thither with a good number of Slaves, of both Sexes, whom they had to ſell. They ſay, that the Kingdom of *Kacheguer* lyeth Eaſt of *Kachemire*, drawing a little Northward; that the ſhorteſt way thither was to go directly to the great *Tibet*; but that paſſage being obſtructed, they were forced to take their way through the little *Tibet*; that firſt they went to a ſmall Town, call'd *Gourtche*, the laſt Town depending from *Kachemire*, and four days journey diſtant from the ſame; that from thence in eight days they came to *Eskerdou*, the Capital City of the King of the little *Tibet*, and thence in two days more to a ſmall Town call'd *Cheker*, likewiſe belonging to the little *Tibet*, and ſituate upon a River very famous for being Medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great Foreſt upon the Confines of the little *Tibet*, and in fifteen days more to *Kacheguer* a ſmall Town, once the Seat of the King of *Kacheguer*, which is now at *Jourkend*, lying ſomewhat more to the North, and ten days journey diſtant from *Kacheguer*. They added, that from the Town of *Kacheguer* to *Katay* 'tis no more but two months voyage; that every year there go Caravans, bringing back of all thoſe Commodities I have named, and paſſing into *Perſia* thorough *Usbeck*, as there are others that do paſs to *Patna* in *Indoſtan*. They ſaid moreover, that to go from *Kacheguer* to *Katay*, Travellers muſt get to a Town that is eight days journey from *Coten*, the laſt Town of the Kingdom of *Kacheguer*; that the ways from *Kachemire* to *Kacheguer* are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what ſeaſon ſoever it be, you muſt march for about a quarter of a League upon Ice. This is all, I could learn of thoſe parts, which though indeed it be very much confuſed and very little, yet will it be found much, conſidering I had to do *both* with people ſo ignorant, that they almoſt knew not to give a reaſon of any thing; *and* with Interpreters, who, for the moſt part, know not how to make the Queſtions to be underſtood, nor intelligibly to deliver the Anſwers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this Letter, or rather this Book, and taken my leave of you untill I came to *Debli*, whither we are now returning: But ſince I am in the vein of writing, and at ſome leiſure, I ſhall endeavour to give you ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe Five particulars, you demanded of me in your laſt Letter in the name of *Monſieur Thevenot*, that illuſtrious perſon, who daily giveth us more diſcoveries, without going out of his ſtudy, than we have learned of thoſe that have gone round the World.

The

The *firſt* of his demands is, *Whether it be true, that in the Kingdom of* Kachemire *there are* Jews *ſettled there from immemorial times; and if ſo, whether they have the Holy Scripture, and if their Old Teſtament be altogether conform to ours?*

The *Second* is, *That I would give you an account of what I have obſerved touching the Mounſons, or the Seaſon of the ordinary Rains in the* Indies.

The *Third* is, *That I would give you my Obſervations, and declare to you my Thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the Current of the Sea, and the Winds in the* Indies.

The *Fourth* is, *Whether the Kingdom of* Bengale *is ſo fertile, ſo rich, and ſo beautiful, as 'tis ſaid to be?*

The *Fifth* is, *That I would at length decide unto you the old Controverſie touching the Cauſes of the Increaſe of the* Nile.

Anſwer to the firſt Demand, concerning the Jews.

I Should indeed be very glad, as well as *Monſieur The, venote* that there were *Jews* to be found in the Valley of thoſe Mountains, who might be ſuch, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of thoſe *Ten Tribes* tranſported by *Salmanaſſer*. But you may aſſure him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is ſome reaſon to believe there were,) there are none of them at preſent, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahumetans; and that perhaps 'tis *China*, where they may be found. For I have lately ſeen, in the hands of our Reverend Father, the Jeſuit of *Dehli*, ſome Letters of a *German* Jeſuite written from *Pekin*, taking notice that he had there ſeen ſome of them, that had preſerved the Jewiſh Religion and the Old Teſtament, that knew nothing of the Death of JESUS CHRIST, and that they would even have made this Jeſuite their *Kacan*, if he would have forborn to eat Swines fleſh.

Mean time *here* alſo are not wanting ſeveral marks of *Judaiſm*. The *firſt* is, that at the entring into this Kingdom, after having paſſed the Mountains of *Pire-penjale*, all the Inhabitants I ſaw in the firſt Villages ſeemed to me to be *Jews*, in their garbe and meen, and in ſomething peculiar, which maketh us often diſcern Nations from one another. I am not the only perſon, that hath had this thought; our Father, the Jeſuite, and many of our *Europeans* had the ſame before me. The *ſecond* is, that I have obſerv'd, that among the meaner ſort of the people of this Town, though they be Mahumetans, yet the name of *Mouſa*, that is *Moſes*, is much uſed. The *third*, that commonly they ſay, that *Salomon* came into their Country, and that it was he that cut the Mountain of *Baramoule* to give an outlet to the waters. The *fourth*, that they ſay, *Moſes* died at *Kachemire*, and that his Tomb is one league diſtant from this Town. The *fifth*, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient Edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by *Salomon*, and that thence they call it to this very day the *Throne of Salomon*. So that I would not deny, but that ſome Jews may have penetrated hither; and that in length of time they may have loſt the purity of their Law, turned Idolaters, at laſt Mahumetans. In ſhort, we ſee ſtore of the Jewiſh Nation that have paſſed into *Perſia* to *Lar*, *Iſpahan*, and alſo into *Indoſtan* on the ſide of *Goa* and *Cochin*: I have been informed, that there were of them in *Æthiopia*, even gallant and military men, and ſome of them ſo conſiderable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or ſixteen years agoe, that had attempted to make himſelf King of a little Country of the Mountains of a very hard acceſs; if it be true, what two Ambaſſadours of the King of *Æthiopia*, that were lately in this Court, related to me.

Anſwer to the Second Demand, about the ſtated Rains *in the* Indies.

THe Sun is ſo ſtrong and violent in the *Indies* all the year long, and principally for the ſpace of *eight* months, that he would burn all, and render the Country barren and inhabitable, if Providence had not particularly provided and diſpoſed things in ſo admirable a way, as that in the month of *July*, when the heats are moſt violent, Rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the Earth, and render it very fruitful, and ſo qualifie the Air that it may be endured. Yet are not theſe Rains ſo regular, that they fall always juſt at the ſame time; of which I have made many obſervations in different places, and principally at *Dehli*, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other Countries; and there is always ſome dif-

difference in the time from year to year: For ſometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks ſooner, ſometimes later; and there are alſo ſome years, in which they are not ſo plentiful as in others; inſomuch that two years, together it did almoſt not rain at all; which cauſed much Sickneſs, and great Famine. Beſides, there is alſo this difference in reſpect of Countries different and remote from one another, that theſe Rains ordinarily begin ſooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in *Bengale* and along the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, as far as to the Iſle of *Ceilan*, they begin and end a month ſooner than towards the Coaſt of *Malabar:* And in *Bengale* theſe Rains are pouring down for four months, and ſometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermiſſion; Whereas at *Debli* and *Agra* they are never ſo ſtrong, nor ſo durable, there paſſing ſometimes two or three whole days without any Rain; and ordinarily the whole morning from break of day until about nine or ten a clock it rains but very little or nothing. But the moſt conſiderable difference I have obſerv'd, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the World, as about *Debli* they come from the Eaſt, where lies *Bengale*; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of *Bengale* and upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel* they come from the South; and upon the Coaſt of *Malabar* they proceed almoſt always from the Weſt.

I have alſo obſerved another particular about which they all agree in thoſe parts, *viz.* That according as the Heat of the Summer comes ſooner or later, is more or leſs violent, and laſts longer or a ſhorter time; the Rains alſo come ſooner or later, are more or leſs plentiful, laſt longer or a ſhorter time.

Theſe Obſervations have given me ground to believe, that the Heat of the Earth and the Rarefaction of the Air muſt be the principal cauſes of theſe Rains, and draw them; foraſmuch as the Air of the Seas, which lie near round about the Lands, being colder, more condenſed, and more groſſe, filled with clouds which the great heats of the Summer raiſe from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, diſchargeth it ſelf eaſily upon the Land, where the Air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and leſs reſiſting than upon the Seas, ſo as that this diſcharge is more or leſs tardy and abundant, according as the Heat comes ſooner and is more violent.

Sutable to the ſame Obſervations I was perſwaded that if the Rains begin ſooner upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel* than upon that of *Malabar*, 'tis by reaſon that the Summer begins there ſooner, it being poſſible that there it may do ſo for ſome particular reaſons, which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the Country were well examin'd: For we know, that according to the different ſituation of a Land in reſpect of Seas or Mountains, and according as 'tis more Sandy, or Hilly, or Woody, the Summer comes there either ſooner or later, and with more or leſs violence.

I am further perſwaded, that it is no wonder, that the Rains come from different quarters; that upon the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, for example, they come from the South, and upon that of *Malabar* from the Weſt; becauſe that in all appearance it muſt be the neareſt Seas that ſend them, and the Coaſt of *Coromandel* is nearer to the Sea, which lyeth Southerly in reſpect of it, and is more expoſed to it, as the Coaſt of *Malabar* is to the Weſt of it, lying towards *Babelmandel*, *Arabia*, and the Gulf of *Perſia*.

Laſtly, I have imagined, that if at *Debli*, for example, the Rains come from the Eaſt, it may yet be that the Seas which are Southerly to it, are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reaſon of ſome Mountains, or ſome other Lands where the Air is colder, more condenſed and more reſiſting, to turn aſide and diſcharge themſelves another way, where the Air is more rarified, and where conſequently they find leſs reſiſtance.

I forgot to tell you, that I alſo obſerved at *Debli*, that there it never rains to purpoſe, till for many days there have paſſed ſtore of Clouds Weſtward; as if it were neceſſary that thoſe ſpaces of Air which are beyond *Debli* Weſtward, ſhould be firſt filled with Clouds, and that theſe Clouds finding there ſome obſtacle, as it may be ſome Air leſs hot and leſs rarified, and conſequently more condenſed and more able to reſiſt, or ſome other contrary Clouds and Winds repelling them, ſhould become ſo thick, ſo burthenſom and ſo heavy, that they muſt fall down in Rain, after the ſame manner as it often enough falls out, when the Wind driveth the Clouds againſt ſome high Mountain.

Anſwer to the third Demand, which is concerning the Regularity *of the Current of the* Sea, *and of the* Winds *in the* Indies.

AS ſoon as the Rains do ceaſe (which ordinarily comes to paſs toward s the month of *October*,) it is obſerved, that the Sea taketh its courſe Southward, and that the cold *Northern* Winds ariſeth. This Wind blows for four or five months without intermiſſion and without ſtorms, always keeping the ſame equality as to its ſtrength and quarter, unleſs it change or ceaſe a day or ſo by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time; for two months or there about the other Winds do reign without any rule. Theſe two months being paſt, which is called the *Intermediate* ſeaſon, or, according to the *Hollanders*, the *Wavering* or Changing Seaſon, the Sea returns back from South to North, and the South-wind riſeth to reign alſo in his turn for four or five months, as the Current of the Sea doth: ſo that there paſs two months of intermediate ſeaſon; during which, Navigation is very difficult and dangerous, whereas during the two Seaſons it is very eaſie, pleaſant and without peril, except it be about the end of the ſeaſon of the South-wind. Hence you may find cauſe not to wonder, if you hear that the *Indians*, though elſe very timorous and inexpert in the art of Navigation, do notwithſtanding make pretty long and conſiderable Voyages; as when they ſail from *Bengale* to *Tanaſſery*, *Achem*, *Malaque*, *Sian* and *Makaſſar*; or to *Maſlipatan*, *Ceilan*, the *Maldives*, *Moka*, and *Bender-Abaſſy*; becauſe they take their time to go with one good Seaſon, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are ſurpriſed and caſt away; but that is, when they cannot diſpatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their meaſures. Our *Europeans* alſo do ſometimes loſe themſelves, though they be far better Sea-men, bolder and more underſtanding, and their Ships better condition'd and equipped.

Of theſe two intermediate Seaſons, that which maketh the *South-wind* is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more ſubject to tempeſts and ſtorms: And even in the Seaſon it ſelf this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the *North*. And here I muſt not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the Seaſon of the South-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at Sea, yet 'tis very tempeſtuous near the Coaſts; to the diſtance of fifteen or twenty leagues: whence the Ships of *Europe* or others, when they will approach the *Indian* Coaſts, for example, of *Suratte*, or *Maſlipatan*, muſt be very careful of taking their time to arrive juſt after the Rains; or elſe they run great hazard of being ſplit and loſt upon the Coaſt.

This is very near what I could obſerve of the Seaſons in theſe parts; of which I much wiſh I could give you a good reaſon. I ſhall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, *firſt*, that the Air, which environs the Globe of the Earth, ought to be eſteemed to have a ſhare in it, as alſo the Water of the Sea and Rivers, foraſmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this Globe, tend to the ſame Center of it, and ſo are in ſome manner united and faſten'd to it; ſo that from theſe three Bodies, the Air, the Water and the Earth, there reſults as 'twere one great Globe. *Next*, that the Globe of the Earth being ſuſpended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and un-reſiſted ſpace, where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be eaſily mov'd, if ſome adventitious Body ſhould come againſt it and hit it. *Thirdly*, that the Sun having paſt the Line to move towards one of the Poles, for example, the *Arctique*, coming to caſt its rays that way, maketh there impreſſion enough to depreſs a little the *Arctique* Pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the *Tropique*; letting it riſe again by little and little, according as he returns towards the *Line*, untill by the force of his rayes he do the like on the ſide of the *Antartique* Pole.

If theſe ſuppoſitions, joyn'd to that of the *Diurnal* Motion of the Earth, were true, it were not me-thinks, without reaſon what is commonly affirm'd in the *Indies*, *viz.* That the *Sun* conducts and carries with him the Sea and Wind. For if it be true, that having paſſed the *Line* to go towards one of the Poles, he cauſeth a change in the direction of the *Axis* of the Earth, and a depreſſion in the Pole on that ſide, the other Pole muſt needs be raiſed, and that conſequently the Sea and the Air, being two fluid and heavy Bodies, run down in this inclination: ſo that it would be true to ſay, that the Sun advancing towards *one* Pole, cauſeth on that ſide two great regular Currents,

viz.

viz, that of the Sea, and that of the Air which maketh the *Mounſon-wind*, as he cauſeth two oppoſite ones, when he returns towards the other Pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be ſaid, that there are no other but two *main* oppoſite Fluxes of the Sea, one from the ſide of the Pole *Arctique*, the other from that of the *Antartique*; that if there were a Sea from one Pole to the other, that paſſed through our *Europe*, we ſhould ſee, that theſe two Currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the *Indies*, and that that which hinders this regularity of the Flux from being general, is, that the Seas are intercepted by Lands, which impede, break, and vary their Courſe; in like manner as ſome ſay, that the Ordinary Flux and Reflux of the Sea is hinder'd in thoſe Seas that lye in length, as the *Mediterranean* doth from Eaſt to Weſt. And ſo likewiſe might it be ſaid upon the ſame Foundation, that there are but two principal oppoſite Winds or Fluxes of the Air, and that they would be univerſally regular, if the Earth were perfectly ſmooth and equall, and one part like another every where.

An Anſwer to the Fourth Queſtion, concerning the Fertility, Riches and Beauty of the Kingdom of Bengale.

ALL Ages have ſpoken of *Egypt* as of the beſt and fruitfulleſt part of the World; and Writers will not grant, there is any Country comparable to it: But as far as I can ſee by the two Voyages I have made in the Kingdom of *Bengale*, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to *Egypt*. It bears *Rice* in that abundance, that it not only furniſhes its Neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the River *Ganges* to *Patna*; and 'tis tranſported by Sea to *Maſſipatan*, and to many others Ports of the Coaſt of *Cormandel*. Beſides, 'tis ſent away into forrain Kingdoms, and principally into *Ceilan* and the *Maldives*. Further, it alſo abounds in *Sugar*, ſo that it furniſhes with it the Kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Karnates*, where there grows but very little. *Arabia* alſo and *Meſopotamia* are thence provided with it, by the way of *Moka* and *Baſſora*; and *Perſia* it ſelf, by *Bander-Abaſſy*. Moreover, *Bengale* is alſo the Country of good *Conſits*, eſpecially in thoſe places where the *Portugueſes* are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make ſtore of thoſe big Pome-Citrons, as we have in *Europe*; and a certain Root, which is longiſh like *Satſaperilla*, and very delicate; and of that common Fruit of the *Indies* call'd *Amba*, and of *Ananas*, and the ſame *Mirobolans*, which are excellent; as alſo of *Limons* and *Ginger*.

'Tis true, that the Country of *Bengale* yields not ſo much *Corn* as *Egypt*; but if that be a defect, it is to be imputed to its Inhabitants that eat very little Bread, and much more Rice than the *Egyptians*: Yet it alwayes bears what is ſufficient for the Country, and to afford excellent Biſcuits, very cheap, for the proviſion of our *European* Ships, *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueſe*. You may there have almoſt for nothing thoſe three or four kinds of *Legumes*, which together with Rice and Butter are the moſt uſual food of the meaner people: And for a *Roupy*, which is about half a Crown, you may have twenty good Pullets and more; Geeſe and Ducks, in proportion. There are alſo kids and Sheep in abundance, and ſuch ſtore of Pork, that the *Portugueſes*, ſetled there and accuſtomed to the Country, live almoſt on nothing elſe but that; and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* victual their Ships with it. There is alſo plenty of many ſorts of Fiſh, both freſh and ſalt: And, in a word, *Bengale* is a Country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very reaſon, that ſo many *Portugueſes*, *Meſticks*, and other Chriſtians are fled thither from thoſe quarters, which the *Dutch* have taken from them. For, the *Jeſuits* and *Auguſtinians*, that have great Churches there, wherein they exerciſe their Religion with all freedom, did aſſure me, that in *Ogouli* alone there were no leſs than eight or nine thouſand Souls of Chriſtians; and (which I will eaſily believe) that in the reſt of that Kingdom there were above twenty five thouſands. And 'tis this affluence of all thoſe things neceſſary for life, joyned to the Beauty and good Humour of the Women natives, that hath occaſioned this *Proverb* amongſt the *Portugueſes*, *Engliſh*, and *Holanders*, *viz*. That there are an hundred open Gates to enter into the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and not one to come away again.

As to the Commodities of great value, and which draw the Commerce of Strangers thither, I know not, whether there be a Country in the World, that affords more and greater variety: For, beſides the *Sugar* I have ſpoken of, which may be numbred amongſt the

the Commodities of value, there is ſuch ſtore of *Cottons* and *Silks*, that it may be ſaid, that *Bengale* is as 'twere the general Magazine thereof, not only for *Indoſtan* or the Empire of the great *Mogol*, but alſo for all the circumjacent Kingdoms, and for *Europe* it ſelf. I have ſometimes ſtood amazed at the vaſt quantity of Cotton-Cloth of all ſorts, fine and others, tinged and white, which the *Hollanders* alone draw from thence and tranſport into many places, eſpecially into *Japan* and *Europe*; not to mention what the *Engliſh*, *Portingal* and *Indian* Merchants carry away from thoſe parts. The like may be ſaid of the Silks and Silk-Stuffs of all ſorts: One would not imagine the quantity, that is hence tranſported every year; for, this Country furniſhes generally all this great Empire of *Mogol* as far as *Lahor* and *Caboul*, and moſt of the other forrain parts, whither Cotton-Cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that theſe Silks are not ſo fine as thoſe, of *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Sayd* and *Barut*; but then there is alſo a great difference in the price; and I know from good hands, that whoſoever ſhall take care of chooſing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good Stuffs made of them. The *Hollanders* alone have ſometimes ſeven hundred or eight hundred men of the Natives at work in their Factory of *Kaſſem-Bazar*; as the *Engliſh* and other Merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is alſo in *Bengale*, where that prodigious quantity of *Salt-peter* is found; which is ſo conveniently carried down the River *Ganges* from *Patna*, and where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* load whole Ships full for many places of the *Indies* and for *Europe*.

Laſtly, 'tis *Bengale*, whence the good *Lacca*, *Opium*, *Wax*, *Civet*, *long Pepper* do come; and even *Butter* is to be had there in ſo great plenty, that though it be a groſs Commodity, yet notwithſtanding 'tis thence tranſported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the Air, in regard of Strangers, is not ſo healthy there, eſpecially near the Sea: And when the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* firſt came to ſettle there many of them dyed; and I have ſeen in *Balaſor* two very fine *Engliſh* Ships, which having been obliged, by reaſon of the War of the *Hollanders*, to ſtay there above a year, were not able to go to Sea, becauſe moſt of their Men were loſt. Yet ſince the time that they have taken care and made orders, as well as the *Hollanders*, that their people ſhall not drink ſo much *Bouleponges*, nor go ſo often aſhore to viſit the Sellers of *Arac* and *Tobacco*, and the *Indian* Women; and ſince they have found, that a little Wine of *Bourdeaux*, *Canary* or *Chiras* is a marvellous Antidote againſt the ill Air; there is not ſo much ſickneſs amongſt them, nor do they now loſe ſo many men. *Boulepouge* is a certain beverage made of *Arac*, that is, of ſtrong water, black Sugar, with the Juice of Limon water, and a little Muſcadine upon it; which is pleaſant enough to the taſte, but a plague to the Body and to Health.

As to the Beauty of the Country, you are to know, that all *Bengale*, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both ſides of *Ganges*, from *Raje-mehale* unto the Sea, is full of great Channels, formerly cut out of the River *Ganges* with vaſt labour, reaching far into the Country for the conveniency of tranſporting Commodities, and the Water it ſelf, which by the *Indians* is counted the beſt in the world. Theſe Channels are on both ſides lined with well-peopled Villages and Burroughs of Gentiles, and the large Fields, lying near them, bear abundance of Rice, Sugar, Corn, Legumes, Muſtard, *Sezamum* for Oil, *ſmall* Mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed Silk-worms. But then the vaſt number of great and ſmall Iſles, that are in the midſt of *Ganges*, and fill all that great ſpace of ſix or ſeven days journey, (as there is in ſome places of this River from one ſide to the other;) this giveth an incomparable Beauty to the Country: For, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing Trees, *Ananas's*, and all ſorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thouſand little Channels, which you cannot ſee the end of, as if they were ſo many Water-mails all covered with Trees. The worſt of it is, that many of theſe Iſles that are next the Sea, are now abandoned by reaſon of thoſe *Corſaires*, the *Franguys* of *Rakan*, elſewhere ſpoken of; and that they have at preſent no other Inhabitants but Tigers (which ſometimes ſwim over from one Iſle to the other) and Gazelles, and Hoggs, and Poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of theſe Tigers, that for people travelling between theſe little Iſles in ſmall boats, as uſually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land; beſides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is faſtened to Trees, be not too near the Bank; for there are now and then ſome men ſurpriſed; and I have heard it ſaid, that Tigers have been ſo bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were aſleep, chuſing the biggeſt and fatteſt of them, if one may believe the Water-men of the Country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from *Pipli* to *Ogouli*, between thoſe Iſles and Channels; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, becauſe there paſſed not a day without ſome extraordinary accident. My Chaloupe of ſeven Oars was no ſooner got out of the River *Pipli*, and advanced 3 or 4 leagues into the Sea along the coaſt, to gain the Iſles and the Channels, but we ſaw the Sea covered with Fiſhes like huge Carps, purſued by a Shole of Dolphins. I made my men row that way, and ſaw, that moſt of thoſe Fiſhes lay along the Coaſt as if they were dead; that ſome advanced a little, others played and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured to take ſome of them, and we caught 124 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them I obſerved, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like thoſe that are in Carps,) which was full of Air, and reddiſh at the end. I imagined eaſily, that this muſt be the bladder which kept them from ſinking; but I could not conceive, why it ſhould thus come out of their mouth, unleſs it were that they had been long and cloſely purſued by thoſe Dolphins, and had made ſo great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus ſwell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred Sea-men, but they could not believe it, and I never found but one *Dutch* Pilot, who told me, that ſailing once upon the Coaſt of *China*, he had met with the like, and that preſently they put out their Boat to Sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of Fiſhes.

The day after, about even, we came among thoſe Iſles, and after we had look'd for a place, where 'twas likely no Tigers would come, we landed, made fire, dreſſed a couple of Pullets, and our Fiſh, which was excellent. Preſently after Supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of loſing our way between thoſe Channels in the dark, we retired out of the great Channel, and found a good ſhelter in ſome ſmall Creek, where we faſten'd our boat to a thick branch of a Tree, far enough from the Land, for fear of Tigers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a *Philoſophical* accident, of which kind two had happen'd to me afore in *Debli*. I ſaw a *Rainbow* of the *Moon*, which I ſhew'd to all my Company, and which very much ſurpriſed two *Portugueſe* Pilots I had taken into my Boat at the deſire of a friend, who had never ſeen nor heard of ſuch a thing.

The third day we went aſtray between theſe Channels, and if we had not met with ſome *Portugueſes* making Salt in one of the Iſles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another Philoſophical accident. In the night, being got again under ſhelter in a little Channel, my *Portugueſes* that ſtill were concerned about the Rainbow of the laſt night, and whom that Obſervation had made more curious to behold the Heavens, awaken'd me, and ſhew'd me another, as fair and as well form'd as that was, which I had ſhewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I miſtook an *Iris* or Rainbow for a *Corona*, or Crown. There is no month almoſt but at *Debli* theſe Lunar Rainbows are ſeen in the ſeaſon of the Rains, when the Moon is high above the Horizon: And I found that it muſt be ſo; having ſeen of them three or four nights one after another, and ſometimes double ones. They were not Circles about the Moon, but oppoſite to her, and in the like Poſition with Solar Rainbows: And as often as I have ſeen them, the Moon was Weſtward, and the Rainbow Eaſtward. The Moon was alſo near full; which in my opinion, is neceſſary; becauſe at other times ſhe would not have light enough to form any. Laſtly, theſe Rainbows were not ſo white as the Crowns uſe to be, but much more coloured, inſomuch that there might be diſcerned in them ſome diſtinction of Colours. And thus you ſee, how I have been more happy than the Ancients, who, according to *Ariſtotle*, had obſerved none ſuch before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great Channel, as we uſed to do, into a very fair place of ſafety; but had one of the moſt extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the Air was ſo hot and ſtuffing that we could ſcarce breath. The Buſhes round us were ſo full of thoſe little ſhining worms, that they ſeem'd to be on fire; and there aroſe fires here and there, which were like flames, and frighten'd my Sea-men, who ſaid, they were Devils. Among the reſt there aroſe two, that were very extraordinary; one was a great Globe of fire, which in falling and ſpinning laſted above the time of ſaying a *Pater noſter*; and the other, which laſted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little Tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There aroſe ſo great a ſtorm, that though we were under the ſhelter of Trees, and that our ſmall Boat was well faſten'd,

faſten'd, yet notwithſtanding all that, the Wind broke our Cable, and was caſting us into the great Channel, where we had infallibly periſh'd, if I had not, together with my two *Portugueſes*, preſently laid hold on the Branches of ſome Trees, where we held faſt for above two hours, whilſt the ſtorme laſted: For there was no aſſiſtance to be expected from my *Indian* Oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occaſion. But, what was moſt troubleſome and amazing, there fell a Rain as if it had been pour'd down with buckets, which filled our Boat, and was accompanied with ſuch Lightning and Thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we ſhould ſink.

The remainder of our Voyage unto the ninth day, when I arriv'd at *Ogouli*, we paſſed very well and with pleaſure; for I could not be ſatisfi'd with beholding ſuch beautiful Countries: Mean time my Trunk and all my Baggage was wet, my Pullets dead, my Fiſh ſpoiled, and all my biſcuit drunk with water.

Anſwer to the Fifth Queſtion, about the Increaſe of the Nile.

I do not know, whether *I* ſhall acquit my ſelf, in reſpect of this *Fifth Queſtion*, as it were to be wiſh'd: But *I* ſhall faithfully impart to you what *I* have ſet down of it, after *I* had twice obſerved the *Nile*'s Increaſe, and carefully examined the ſame, and taken notice withal of ſome things in the *Indies*, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that Learned Man could have, that hath ſo ingeniouſly written of it, though he never ſaw *Egypt* but in his Study.

I have already ſaid in another place, that at the time when the two Ambaſſadours of *Æthiopia* were at *Debli*, my *Agah Danechmend-kan*, who is extraordinarily curious, ſent often for them, to inform himſelf, in my preſence, of the Condition and Government of their Country; and one day, amongſt other things, we occaſion'd them to diſcourſe of the *Source* of the *Nile*, which they call *Abbabile*; whereof they ſpake to us as a thing ſo known that no body doubted of it, and where one of theſe Ambaſſadours, and a Mogolian, that was return'd with him out of *Æthiopia*, had been in perſon. They told us, that it taketh its Origin in the Country of the *Agaus*, and iſſueth out of the Earth at two big bubling Springs, near one another, which form a ſmall Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this Lake it is then already a pretty River, and that from place to place it receiveth other Rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great Pen-inſule, and that after ſeveral *Caſcata's* from ſteep Rocks, it falls into a great Lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its Source, in the Country of *Dumbia* or *Dembea*, three little days journey from *Gonder*, the Metropolis of *Æthiopia*; that having traverſed that Lake, it iſſueth thence ſwell'd with all the waters that fall there, paſſeth through *Sonnar*, the principal City of the King of *Funges* or *Barbaris*, tributary to the King of *Æthiopia*, running on and making the Cataracts, and ſo entring into the Plains of *Meſſer*, which is *Egypt*.

After we had learned theſe particularities of the Source and Courſe of the *Nile*, I asked him, (to judge whereabout the Source of the *Nile* might be) towards which part of the World they believed the Country of *Dumbia*, wherein is *Gonder*, to be, in reſpect of *Babel-mandel*? But they knew not what to anſwer to this, but only, that they went alwayes Weſtward, and eſpecially the *Mahumetan* Ambaſſadour, (who was obliged to know better, and to take more Notice of the Poſition of the World, than the *Chriſtian*, becauſe the Turks are obliged in ſaying their Prayers to turn themſelves towards *Mecca*) did aſſure me, that I was not at all to doubt thereof: Which did aſtoniſh me very much, becauſe, according to their Deſcription, the Source of the *Nile* ſhould be much on this ſide of the *Æquinoctial*, whereas all our Maps with *Ptolomie* place it a good way beyond it.

We alſo asked them, at what time it did uſe to rain in *Æthiopia*, and whether there were regular Seaſons of Rain as in the *Indies*? To which they anſwer'd, that it rain'd almoſt never upon that Coaſt of the *Red-Sea*, from *Suaken-Arkiko*, and the Iſle of *Maſouva* to *Babelmandel*, no more than it doth at *Moka*, which is on the other ſide, in the *Happy Arabia*; but that in the Heart of the Country, in the Province of *Agaus*, and in that of *Dumbia* and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hotteſt months of the Summer, and at the ſame time when it rain'd in the *Indies*; which was alſo, according to my computation, the very time of the Increaſe of the *Nile* in

Egypt. They ſaid further, that they knew very well, it was the Rain of *Æthiopia* which ſwelled the *Nile*, overflowed *Egypt*, and fertilized the ground of it by the ſlime it carried upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the Kings of *Æthiopia* pretended a Tribute to be due to them out of *Egypt*, and that, when the Mahumetans made themſelves Maſters of it, ill treating the Chriſtians of the Country, they had a mind to turn the Courſe of the *Nile* another way, *viz.* into the Red-Sea, thereby to ruine *Egypt* and to render it infertile; but that this deſign miſcarried by reaſon of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All theſe particulars, which I had already learned, when I paſſed over to *Moka*, from a dozen Merchants, that come there every year in the name of the King of *Æthiopia* to attend the *Indian* trading Veſſels, are conſiderable to make us judg, that the *Nile* increaſeth not but by the Rains which fall *without Egypt* towards the Source of that River: But the particular Obſervations, I have made upon two Increaſes of this River, make them yet more ſo; for, in reference to all thoſe Stories, that are made of it, as, *That* 'tis on a determin'd day it begins to increaſe; *that* on the firſt day of its increaſe there falls a certain Dew, which maketh the Plague ceaſe, ſo that no body dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and *that* there are peculiar and hidden cauſes of the overflowing of the *Nile*: In reference, I ſay, to theſe ſtories, I have found during the ſaid two Inundations, that they are but tales fancied and amplified by the people of *Egypt*, naturally inclin'd to ſuperſtition, and amazed to ſee a River ſwell in ſummer in a Country where it rains not: And I have found, that 'tis no otherwiſe with the *Nile* than 'tis with other Rivers, that ſwell and overflow by plentiful Rains, without any ſuch fermentations of the nitrous ſoyl of *Egypt*, which ſome have ſuggeſted as the cauſe thereof.

I have ſeen it ſwelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determined day of its Increaſe. I have obſerved during its increaſe, and before the Channels were open'd, that when it had grown for ſome days a foot or two, it afterwards decreaſed little by little, and then began to increaſe a new, and ſo went on to increaſe and decreaſe without any other meaſure but that of the Rains that fall nigh the Source, and, as is often ſeen in our River *Loire*, according to the fall of more or leſs Rain in the Mountains whence it flows, and the days or half days of fair weather there.

In my return from *Jeruſalem*, going up from *Damietta* to *Cairo*, I chanced to be upon the *Nile* about a month *before* the pretended day of the *Dew*-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the Dew fallen in the night.

I have been in *Roſette* at ſupper with *Monſieur de Bermon*, Vice-Conſul of our Nation, eight or ten days after this day of the *Dew*-fall, when three perſons were ſtruck with the Plague, of whom their died two within eight days, and the third, which was *M. de Bermon* himſelf, had perhaps not eſcaped, if I had not pierc'd his Plague-ſore; which preſently infected my ſelf like others; ſo that, if I had not forthwith taken ſome *Butter of Antimony*, I might have been as well as they, an Example of the little certainty there is in the Plague after the Dew; but this *Emetic* Medicine in the beginning of the Evil did wonders, and I kept but three or four days within doors; during which, I remember, my *Bedouin* that ſerv'd me made no ſcruple to drink, in my preſence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of Predeſtination, to laugh at the fear we have of the Plague. Yet Experience ſhews, that after the day of the Dew the Plague is commonly not ſo dangerous as before, but the Dew contributes nothing to that; 'tis only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and peſtiferous ſpirits, that were ſhut up in the body.

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of ſome Maſters of Boats, that had gone up as far as the end of the Plains of *Egypt*, that is, to the very Rocks and Cataracts; who aſſured me, that when the *Nile* did overflow in the Plains of *Egypt*, where that pretended fermenting Nitrous Earth is, 'tis at the ſame time much ſwelled between thoſe Mountains of the Cataracts, where, in all appearance there is no ſuch Nitrous Earth.

Beſides, I have made diligent enquiry of thoſe *Negro*'s of *Sonnars*, that come to ſerve at *Cairo*, and whoſe Country, being tributary to the King of *Æthiopia*, as I have ſaid, lyes upon the *Nile* between the Mountains above *Egypt*; and they have aſſured me, that at the ſame time when the *Nile* is high and overflowing in *Egypt*, 'tis ſo alſo with them

by

by reaſon of the Rains then falling in their Mountains, and higher up in the Country of *Habeche* or *Æthiopia*.

The Obſervations I have made in the *Indies*, concerning the regular Rains that fell at the ſame time when the *Nile* ſwells in *Egypt*, are alſo very conſiderable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the *Indus*, *Ganges*, and all the other Rivers of thoſe parts are ſo many *Niles*, and the Land, that is near their fall into the Sea, ſo many *Egypts*. This was my thought of it in *Bengale*, and what follows are the very words I ſet down about it.

That great number of Iſles which are found in the Gulf of *Bengala* at the Mouth of the River *Ganges*, and which by lapſe of time are join'd to one another, and at length with the Continent, put me in mind of the Mouths of the *Nile*, where I have obſerved almoſt the ſame thing; ſo that as 'tis ſaid, after *Ariſtotle*, that *Egypt* is the Workmanſhip of the *Nile*, ſo it may be ſaid, that *Bengale* is the Work of *Ganges*, only with this difference, that as the *Ganges* is incomparably bigger then the *Nile*, ſo he carrieth with him towards the Sea a far greater quantity of Earth; and ſo forms greater and more Iſlands than the *Nile*; and that the Iſlands of the *Nile* are deſtitute of Trees, whereas thoſe of *Ganges* are all covered with them, becauſe of thoſe four months of conſtant and plentiful Rains that fall in the heart of the Summer, and render it needleſs to cut Channels in *Bengale*, to water and enrich the Earth, as they do in *Egypt*. It is juſt ſo with *Ganges* and the other Rivers of *Indoſtan*, as with the *Nile*; this and thoſe increaſe in Summer by the means of Rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almoſt never, there are no Rains in *Egypt*, but a little toward the Sea, and that it rains not about the *Source* of the *Nile*; whereas in the *Indies* it rains in all the Countries, through which any Rivers paſs; except the Kingdom of *Scymid* towards the *Perſian*, Gulf, where is the Mouth of the River *Indus*; it happening that in ſome years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the *Indus* ſwells there, and the Fields are water'd by the means of cut Channels, juſt as in *Egypt*.

For the reſt, concerning the deſire of *M. Thevenot*, to impart to you my Adventures of the *Red-Sea*, of *Suez*, of *Tor*, of Mount *Sinai*, of *Gidda* (that pretended Holy Land of *Mahomet*, half a days Journey diſtant from *Mecca*;) as alſo of the Iſle of *Camarane* and *Louhaya*, and of whatever I could learn at *Moka* of the Kingdom of *Æthiopia*, and of the moſt commodious way to enter into it; theſe particulars, I ſay, I ſhall in time draw fair out of my manuſcripts, if God permit.

SOME

Some Particulars forgotten to be inſerted in my firſt Book, to perfect the Map *of* Indoſtan, *and to know the Revenue of the* Great Mogol.

TO underſtand the better what follows, 'tis requiſite to know the ſignification of theſe Terms, *viz.*

1. Soubah, *that is, Government and Province.*

2. Pragna, *that is, the Principal Town, Burrough or Village that hath many others depending from it, where Rents are paid to the King, who is abſolute Lord of all the Land of his Empire.*

3. Serkar, *that is, the Exchequer of the Kings Treaſure.*

4. Kazine, *that is, Treaſure.*

5. Roupie, *the Mony of the Country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.*

6. Lecque, *that is, an hundred thouſand* Roupies.

7. Courour, *that is, an hundred* Lecques.

1. *Jehan-Abad*, or *Dehli*, is the firſt *Soubah*; it hath ſixteen *Serkars* in its dependance, and 230 *Pragna's*: It yields to the King nineteen Millions and five hundred and twenty five thouſand *Roupies.*

2. *Agra*, otherwiſe called *Akber-abad*, is the ſecond. It hath 14 *Serkars*, and 260 *Pragna's*; yielding to the King twenty five millions two hundred and twenty five thouſand *Roupies.*

3. *Labor* hath 14 *Serkars*, and 314 *Pragna's*, bringing in to the King the Rent of twenty four millions ſix hundred ninety five thouſand *Roupies.*

4. *Hiſmer*, which belongs to a *Raja*, yields to the King a tribute of twenty one millions nine hundred and ſeventy thouſand *Roupies.*

5. *Guſarate*, the Capital whereof is *Amadavad*, hath 9 *Serkars*, and 190 *Pragnas*; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety five thouſand *Roupies.*

6. The Kingdom of *Candahar* belongs to the King of *Perſia*; but the *Pragna's* that remain unit'd to the Crown of the *Great Mogol*, are 15 and yield in rent 1992500 *Roupies.*

7. *Maloña* hath 9 *Serkars*, and 190 *Pragna's*; bringing in 9162500 *Roupies*

8. *Patna*, or *Beara*, hath 8 *Serkars*, and payeth the rent of 9580000 *Roupies.*

9. *Elabas* hath ſeventen *Serkars*, and 260 *Pragna's*; rendring 9470000 *Roupies.*

10. *Haoud* hath 5 *Serkars*, and 149 *Pragna's*: It yields 6430000 *Roupies.*

11. *Moultan* hath 4 *Serkars*, and 96 *Pragna's*: Brings in 11840500 *Roupies.*

12. *Jagannat*, in which is comprehended *Bengale*, hath 11 *Serkars*, and 12 *Pragna's*: It yields 7270000 *Roupies.*

13. *Kachemire* hath 5 *Serkars*, and 45 *Pragna's*: Yields 350000 *Roupies.*

14. *Caboul* hath 35 *Pragna's*, and brings in 3272500 *Roupies.*

15. *Tata* hath 4 *Serkars* and 54 *Pragna's*, and giveth 2320000 *Roupies.*

16. *Aureng-abad*, formerly *Daulet-abad*, hath 8 *Serkars*, and 79 *Pragna's*: Yields 17227500 *Roupies.*

17. *Varada* hath 20 *Serkars* and 191 *Pragna's*; yielding 15875000 *Roupies.*

18. *Candeys*, whoſe principal Town is *Brampour*, hath 3 *Serkars*, and 103 *Pragna's*: It brings in 18550000 *Roupies.*

19. *Talengand*, which borders upon the Kingdom of *Golkonda* on the ſide of *Maſlipatan*, hath 43 *Pragna's*, and payeth in rent 6885000 *Roupies.*

20. *Baganala*, on the Confines of the Lands of the *Portugueſes*, and the Mountains of *Seva-gi* (that *Raja* which plundred *Suratte*,) hath 2 *Serkars*, and 8 *Pragna's*; paying the rent of 500000 *Roupies.*

According to theſe Particulars, which I take not to be the moſt exact or the moſt true, the *Great Mogol*'s yearly Revenue of his Lands alone would amount to above two *Kourours* of *Roupies.*

A Letter

A Letter ſent from *Chinas* in *Perſia*, *June* 10th 1668. To Monſieur *Chapelle*;

Concerning his Deſign of repairing again to his Studies, about ſome Points relating to the Doctrine of Atoms, *and to the Nature of the* Mind *of Man.*

My dear Friend,

I Did always believe what Monſieur *Luillier*, ſaid, That it would only be a Tranſport of Youth, and that you would quit this kind of Life, ſo much diſpleaſing to your Friends, and at length return to your Studies with more vigour than ever. I have been informed from *Indoſtan* by the laſt Letters of my Friends, that you are now in good earneſt, and are going to take a flight with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, far beyond the flaming Walls of the world, into their infinite Spaces, to ſee and victoriouſly to report unto us what *may*, and what *may not* be done,

Et ultra proceſſit longè flammantia, &c.

to take a Review, and to fall *upon* a ſerious meditation of the nature of thoſe Spaces, the general Place of things; *upon* thoſe infinite Generations and Corruptions of their pretended worlds by their alledged fatal Concourſe of Atoms; *upon* the Nature, Indiviſibility, and other Proprieties of their Atoms; *upon* Liberty, Fortune and Deſtiny; *upon* the Exiſtence, Unity, and Providence of God; *upon* the uſe of the Parts of Animals; *upon* the Soul, and all the other ſublime matters they have treated of.

For my part, I cannot condemn this Deſign, the inclination we have to know, being natural; on the contrary I am bound to believe, that it belongs but to great Souls to elevate themſelves to ſuch high Enterprizes, in regard it is principally by this means, that a man can make appear what he is, and the advantage he hath above other Animals. But as the higheſt Undertakings are commonly alſo the moſt dangerous, this certainly is not without much danger. For though we ſeem to have a peculiar inclination and affection to *Truth*; yet it ſeems alſo, that we have another very ſtrong one to *Liberty* and Independency, not to acknowledge a Maſter above us, and to ſay, to believe and to do all according to our Phanſie, without the fear of any, and without an obligation to render an account for any thing; ſo that if we be not upon our Guard, this *latter* Inclination will carry away the Bell; and if we ſtay upon the Reaſons that carry us to this liberty, and content our ſelves with ſlightly conſidering thoſe that might take us off from it; we ſhall ſoon find our ſelves engaged in a ſtrange life, or at leaſt be in ſuſpence between both, and toſſed up and down between a *'Tmay be that this is ſo*, and *'Tmay be that it is not ſo*; lukewarm, or cold, ſlow, and indifferent to what concerns the End and Rule of our life.

Moreover methinks, that moſt Philoſophers ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be carried away to this vanity of believing, that to entertain Opinions beyond the vulgar, is the way of being reputed Rare and Excellent Wits; they taking pleaſure even to vent ſuch Opinions as ſomething Myſterious, belonging to none but men of great Knowledge, and grounded on deep and weighty Reaſons; although they be not too much perſwaded themſelves of what they affirm. So that if ſuch men do not take great care on that hand alſo, they ſhall not fail to be ſeized on by the aforementioned vanity; and whilſt they go about to perſwade others of what they are not perſwaded themſelves, they ſhall inſenſibly fall into that very Belief; like a Liar, who after having often related one and the the ſame Untruth, or at laſt believes it to be a Truth; Or at leaſt they ſhall in the end fall into thoſe unquietneſſes, may be's, and indifferencies, which I have mention'd inſtead of attaining that ſtate of ſolid tranquility and ſublime knowledge, which they promiſed, and wherewith they flatter'd themſelves.

Laſtly, there is no doubt, that though we have this inclination to learn, yet we are withal very lazy; we deſire indeed Knowledge and Truth, but we would have it very cheap,

cheap, without much Labour and Watching, which are irkſome things, and often diſturbing our health, yet neceſſary evils if we will know *thoroughly* the leaſt thing, and make our ſelves capable to give a ſoild Judgment thereof. And thence it comes, that if we be not conſtantly upon our Guard, and contend not perpetually with our ſlothfulneſs, we ſhall ſoon come to flatter our ſelves with this belief; That to know things, there needs not ſo much painful ſtudy; and ſo not being to reſolve upon an unceſſant Labour, we ſuffer our ſelves to be eaſily ſurprized with that *Appearance* of Truth, which ſhineth forth in the Reaſons commonly produced by theſe Gentlemen, called *les Eſprits forts*; inſtead of ſeriouſly examining them, that ſo they may not be made to appear to us beyond what they contain of ſtrength, nor the force of thoſe that make againſt them be hid and diſguis'd; as often enough happens, either by ignorance or prevention, or elſe by the vanity and preſumption of thoſe perſons, that make it their buſineſs to dogmatize; or laſtly, by, I know not what, unhappy pleaſure we generally take in ſuffering things to be exaggerated to us, or in exaggerating them our ſelves, tending to nothing elſe, than pleaſantly to deceive one another.

Thus, *my dear Friend*, to tell you freely my thoughts of your Deſign; methinks, that in Philoſophy, and eſpecially in the ſtudy of thoſe high matters which you undertake, there is no middle way: I mean, that *either* we muſt, without ſo much ſubliming our Wits, ſuffer our ſelves to be ſweetly carried away by the Current, which ſo many men of good ſenſe, and that are reputed honeſt perſons and good Philoſophers, do follow (which to me ſeems to be the beſt and ſureſt, as well becauſe of the great Labour, this ſtudy demands, as of the danger there is, that in Philoſophizing but by halves, and not penetrating things to the bottom, we get nothing by the bargain but diſquieting Doubts, making us unhappy the reſt of our days, and leaving us often very vicious, and uneaſie to Society;) *Or* elſe, if we will Philoſophize, to do it to purpoſe, and that, without fearing the labour, and without ſuffering our ſelves to be ſurprized by the vanity of coveting to paſs for extraordinary Wits, as alſo without ſuffering our ſelves to be carried away by that unhappy inclination of deſiring to live without a Maſter and a Law; that, I ſay, without theſe, we fall reſolutely upon the ſtudy, and from a pure love to Truth, we become obſtinate in weighing and weighing again all that comes before us, in meditating, writing, converſing, debating; in a word, in forgetting nothing of what may contribute to improve our underſtanding, and to render it more intelligent.

As to what at preſent you demand of me by your laſt, *viz.* that I ſhould impart to you what came into my thoughts when I was diſcourſing with our *Danechmend-kan*, the Learned Gentleman of *Aſia*, about all thoſe matters, you are now applying your Studies to: I ſhall tell you freely, and without flattering my ſelf, that you might addreſs your ſelf to a more intelligent perſon than me, but to none, that hath ſtudied them with more care, then I have done. For I have not only contented my ſelf, exactly to weigh the reaſons of all that ever I could come to ſee of both Ancient and Modern Authors, *Arabians* alſo, and *Perſians*, and *Indians*; but I have farther conferr'd an hundred times with whatever great men I could any where meet with, ſo far as that I have often fain'd, when I was with thoſe *Eſprits forts*, as they will be call'd, that I was not averſe from their Sentiments, to the end that they might conceal nothing from me. But that being a thing of great prolixity, it will be better, ſince you are now on the way to return into *Europe*, to refer that matter to our Meeting there, when we ſhall be able by word of mouth better and more conveniently to declare our thoughts to one another. Yet notwithſtanding, that I may not ſeem to be careleſs of your deſire, I ſhall in the mean time tell you thus much of the nature of our Underſtanding, *That it ſeems to me very rational to believe, that there is ſomething in us more perfect and excellent, than all that which we call Body or Matter.*

You know, according to the *Idea* that *Ariſtotle* hath given us of the *Firſt Matter* of things, that nothing can be imagin'd ſo imperfect, as it. For, in ſhort, to be nothing but a certain *Neque quantum, neque quale*, is, methinks, to approach to a Nothing as near as may be. You know alſo, that all the perfections and proprieties, which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* attribute to their Primitive Bodies, or to the firſt and ſole Matter of things, comes in a manner to this, that there are certain ſmall and very ſolid Beings, without any vacuity in them, and indiviſible; all having ſome particular and eſſential figure, ſo that there is an infinite number of round ones, (for example) an infinity of Pyramidal, an infinity of Square, and infinity of Cubick, Hooked, Pointed, Triangular

gular ones; and ſo an innumerable number of other kinds of different Figures; all moveable of their own nature, and of an unimaginable Celerity; yet ſome of them more proper for the ſenſible motion of Concretions than others, that is to ſay, for diſengaging and ſeparating themſelves, or for flying ſooner and more eaſily away than others in the diſſolution of Compounds, according as they are more or leſs ſmall, or more or leſs round, or more or leſs poliſh'd and ſlippery: And laſtly, that they are all eternal by their nature, and conſequently all incorruptible and independent (as they pretend;) though they be without any ſenſe, reaſon and judgment. You know, I ſay, that all the Proprieties of their little Bodies come, very near, to what I have now ſaid; of which I deſire you to be mindful, that ſo we may hereafter judge, whether they be capable of what is aſcribed to them.

Yet, to take nothing from the force of their Principles, and to undeceive you; if you believe, I have caſt off Atoms, I ſhall avow to you frankly, that the more I conſider that *Diviſion to Infinity* of any portion of *Finite* matter, the more abſurd and unworthy of a Philoſopher it ſeems to me: and I believe the Reaſons, which are alledged to prove it, to be as captious as thoſe, which *Zeno*, ſuppoſing this ſame diviſibility, brought to prove, that there was no motion ſince Mathematical Points, Lines and Superficies, which have no being but by the Underſtanding, and are without profundity, ought not to be transferr'd and applied to Bodies Phyſical, which cannot be without all the dimenſions, and are the workmanſhip of Nature: To which add, that a Philoſopher ought to avoid, as much as is poſſible, to dive into *Infinity*, that being a deep and dark Abyſs, which often ſerveth men for nothing elſe but to hide themſelves, and in which the wit of man is at a perfect loſs.

Moreover, I acknowledge, I am ſtill of that opinion, *not only*, that Atoms are indiviſible, becauſe they are little portions of Matter, or little hard Bodies, reſiſting and impenetrable (proprieties as eſſential to Matter, as Extenſion) and becauſe they are pure, matter continued, without any parts that are only contiguous, and of which each hath its particular and determinate Superfice; *but* alſo that the ſeparation, disjunction or diſſociation of parts meerly contiguous in a compound, is, in my judgment, the only diviſion conceivable: ſo that 'tis not poſſible, not only to divide any Atome, that is, any portion of matter purely continuous, though we ſhould ſuppoſe it as long as a Needle, ſince that to divide it with Sciſſers; for example, or otherwiſe, you muſt come to ſome penetration, which is inconceivable to us; and that it muſt needs be, that ſomething of the Needle, ſome portion or ſome part (if it may be ſaid, that there are parts in a whole, where there are no contiguous ones) do yield, and yet that tis inconceivable, how it were able to yield to the Sciſſers that ſhould preſs it, or to make other, anteriour ones, yield without penetration; and that the more, becauſe the parts preſſed, and the part of the Sciſſers that ſhould preſs, are both of them of the ſame Nature and the ſame force, both hard, reſiſting and impenetrable. So that the Doctrine of Atoms hath this great advantage, that it doth not ſo much as *ſuppoſe* its Principles, by demanding to grant out of meer favour the *Indiviſibility* of the Primitive Bodies; foraſmuch as it even cannot be *conceived* that they are diviſible; nor, how out of ſoft, yielding and diviſible Principles there ſhould reſult a Compound that's hard; nor, how two moſt ſubtil portions of Matter, coming to hit one againſt another, ſhould not reſiſt each other by their hardneſs, without reducing themſelves into ſome duſt of ſmaller Particles. Beſides, this Doctrine demands not, to have it granted out of meer Grace, that there muſt be little void ſpaces betwixt the parts of Bodies compounded, how ſubtil ſoever you may deviſe a matter to fill them up; ſeeing it is likewiſe unconceivable, not only how a motion ſhould be able to begin in *pleno* (where all is perfectly full) but how the parts themſelves of this moſt ſubtil matter, that muſt have their particular figures defin'd and determin'd as well as the bigger, can be ſo perfectly diſpoſed as that there ſhould not ſtill remain ſome of thoſe little Spaces betwixt them.

I ſhall further acknowledge to you, that I think, it may, in the Atomical way of Philoſophizing, be very well and very rationally conceived, that there is no compound of ſo admirable a figure, compoſition, order and texture of parts, taking in the Body of Man it ſelf, but that it may be formed by the concourſe, order and particular diſpoſition of their little Bodies, the Atoms, provided there intervenes a guiding and regulating cauſe, intelligent enough for that purpoſe.

I ſhall likewiſe confeſs, that from *their* Principles there might reſult a Compound ſo perfect, as to be capable of the moſt difficult Local Motions that could be imagin'd, ſuch

as are, To walk like a Living and Animal Subſtance; as alſo, perfectly to imitate the ſinging, weeping, and all the other local motions of the moſt perfect Animals; there being no contradiction at all in it, all Watches and ſo many other artificial Engines evincing it, and not ſuffering us to doubt of the poſſibility of the thing.

Laſtly, I ſhall very willingly agree, that the Sect of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, (it being ſuppos'd, that the Atoms are the workmanſhip of the Almighty and All-wiſe hand of God,) hath very great advantages above the reſt, in that it can give a more probable reaſon of a great number of conſiderable effects of Nature, where others come ſhort; and in my opinion, there are none but ſuch as have not examined things thoroughly, and compar'd other Sects with it, that can doubt thereof. But to imagine and to perſwade my ſelf, that their Principles, with all thoſe advantages, at length are capable, as they would have it, by a particular concourſe, order, union and diſpoſition, how admirable ſoever, and even by an intelligent guidance intervening, to arrive to the forming of ſuch an Animal as is Man in his operations; This is that, *my dear Friend*, which I could never think poſſible; it hath ever appeared to me contrary to Reaſon and good Senſe, and will doubtleſs, appear ſo to you, provided you have the patience to recollect what you have heard an hundred times, and which I am now going to repeat to you after my own way.

It is not that I mean to preach to you, and to make you believe I am become a very good man after my return (a Traveller like my ſelf, and brought up in the School of Atoms, might poſſibly do Miracles, which I know not whether men would believe any thing of;) Be perſwaded, that if I take upon me to diſcourſe to you, it is not out of any vanity or affectation, but from my inmoſt ſenſe, and with all poſſible ſincerity. Nor is it, that I pretend, with all this *Aſiatick* Preamble, to have found any new Reaſons in the *Indies*; expect no ſuch thing, I pray: I do almoſt deſpair as well as *Cicero*, that men ſhould ever find any thing more upon this Subject beyond what hath been already found. It would be no hard task for me to ſhew, that all what the Moderns have ſaid concerning it, is either nothing, or nothing new; There would need no more, than to begin with taking up again, what *Gaſſendi* and *Arnault* have written about it againſt *Des Cartes*, to which I find not, that he hath made any Anſwer: And it were to be wiſhed, that he had been able to anſwer them ſo demonſtratively and magiſterially, as it ſeems he would have men believe he did: I ſhould embrace, and little leſs than adore the Author of a Demonſtration upon this Argument; and to ſuch an one the following Verſes would be much more deſervedly applicable, than to that ancient Atomiſt;

Qui genus humanum genio ſuperavit, & omnes
Præſtinxit Stellas, exortus uti Æthereus Sol.

I ſhall therefore deſire but one thing of you, which is, That you would pleaſe to make (which ſeems to me the only thing to be done here) a ſerious reflection upon what paſſeth *within* us, and upon the operations of our Underſtanding; and that thereupon you would tell me ſincerely, Whether you think, that there is a proportion between the perfection of thoſe operations, and the imperfection of what we call Body or Matter; ſuppoſing (what you will eaſily grant me) that how much ſoever you ſtrain your mind, you ſhall never conceive any other thing in Atoms, and generally in all that's Body or Matter, than thoſe proprieties already enumerated, Size, Shape, Hardneſs, Indiviſibility, Motion; or, if you will (which matters not here) Softneſs and Diviſibility.

I promiſe my ſelf, that you will readily grant me this Requeſt, which is, to go over again thoſe ingenious and agreeable thoughts of yours, that have been drawn out of your *Memories*; and thoſe many other Fragments of the ſame force of Wit, that have been left behind, and generally all thoſe other Poetical Tranſports and Raptures of your *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, which ſeem to have ſomething of Divine in them: And you will not refuſe in that ſerenity of mind and Philoſophical temper, wherein ſometimes you are in the Morning, to make ſome reflection upon four or five things, that ſeem to me to deſerve very well the attention of a Philoſopher. The *firſt* is, That our Senſes are not only ſtruck by Bodies ſo, as the Eyes of a Statue or an *Automaton*, but that we feel their impreſſion, the titillation and pain, and that even we perceive

that

that we feel, when we ſay, I perceive that this or that pleaſeth my taſte much more or much leſs than ordinarily; that my pain is much leſs or much more than it was; and ſo of an hundred things elſe. The *ſecond*, That often we ſtay not there, but deduce theſe *particular* Concluſions; We ought therefore to follow this; or we ought to ſhun that: And afterwards, theſe *general* ones; All what is good, is to be followed; and all what is evil, is to be avoided. The *third*, That we remember what is paſſed, and conſider what is preſent, and fore-ſee what is to come. The *fourth*, That ſometimes we endeavour to penetrate into our ſelves, into that which is inmoſt in us, as I now do, when I am ſearching what I am; what is this Reaſoning power that is within me; what are theſe thoughts; theſe ratiocinations, and theſe reflections I make, reflecting thus upon my ſelf and my Operations. The *fifth*, That being reſolutely ſet to meditate upon a thing, we ſometimes make new Diſcoveries, find new Reaſons, or at leaſt ſee thoſe that have been found already, weighing them, and comparing one with another, and ſometimes drawing thence ſuch Conſequences, as ſhall depend from a greater number of antecedent Propoſitions, which may be ſeen as 'twere in one view, and concur all to deduce ſuch a Concluſion; as it comes to paſs in all Sciences, eſpecially the Mathematicks; wherein our Spirit ſhews I know not what force and admirable extent.

Theſe few reflections might ſuffice for what I demand of you; and that the rather, becauſe as I can ſay more comes almoſt to the ſame thing. But you muſt reſolve for once to endure the Style of theſe Countreys of *Aſia*, the Air of which I have breathed ſo long, and to have the patience further to caſt your Eyes on a thing that ſeems to me very conſiderable, which is, That we know not only particular things that make impreſſion upon our Senſes, but that our Underſtanding, by I know not what admirable force and capacity, taketh occaſion to know and to form to it ſelf *Idea's* of a thouſand things, that fall not immediately and wholly as they are under the Senſes; for example, that Man is a Reaſonable Animal; that the Sun is much bigger than the whole Earth; that 'tis impoſſible, one thing ſhould be at the ſame time and not be; that two things, being equal to a third, are equal among themſelves; that the abſence of the Sun cauſeth the Night, that all what's generated is ſubject to corruption; that of nothing nothing can be naturally made; as not any thing that is, can naturally return to nothing; that of neceſſity there is ſomething Eternal and Un-created in the Univerſe, God, or the firſt Matter of things, or both, or that God created this Matter, and that *either* from all Eternity *or* in Time: And an infinity more of other great and vaſt thoughts, and remote from Matter, of which we ſcarce know by what door they have entred into our Mind.

Now, all theſe actions, I have been ſpeaking of, that argue ſo great a force and power, capacity and extent of the *Mind* of Man; all thoſe intern Motions; that peculiar State which we cannot perfectly explain, but yet plainly feel and perceive in our ſelves, when we attentively reflect on what paſſeth within us, and conſider our operations; All thoſe Actions, I ſay, and interiour Motions, or whatever you will call them, can they indeed to be aſcribed to Spirits, to a Wind, to Fire, to Air, to Atoms, to Particles of a Subtil Matter, and, in a word, to any thing that hath no other Qualities or Proprieties than what can be comprized under this word, *Body*, how ſmall and fine and nimble ſoever it may be, into what texture or diſpoſition ſoever it may be caſt, and of what motions ſoever it may be made capable? It cannot: we ſhall never be able to imagine that theſe things are meer Local Motions of ſome Engine barely Artificial, dead, inſenſible, without Judgment, without Reaſon: Theſe can never be any of thoſe inward actions I have mention'd, as, That I ſee or know that I know; that I ſee I reaſon; that I ſee thoſe reaſonings, and perceive that I ſee them.

Moreover, let us a little caſt our Eyes upon ſome of the main Propoſitions of *Euclid*, (not to ſpeak of thoſe of *Archimedes*, *Apollonius*, and ſo many others;) For my part, when I think only on the 47*th*. of the 1ſt. of *Euclid*, I there find ſomething ſo great and noble, that I avow to you, I can hardly believe that it was an *Humane* Invention: So that I ſhould imagine, that it was therefore that *Pythagoras*, after he had been ſo happy as to find this incomparable Propoſition, was ſo raviſhed and tranſported, that he made that famous Sacrifice to thank the *Gods*, and had a mind to declare thereby, that this Invention ſurpaſſed the reach of an *Humane* Underſtanding.

Yet I would not therefore ſay, that there is reaſon to believe, that in Man there is a particle of Divinity, or ſome ſuch thing. This is an unreaſonable Tenet of ſome *Stoicks*, and of the *Cabaliſts* of *Perſia*, and of the *Brachmans* of *India*, who, to acknow-

ledge openly the Nobleneſs and Perfection of the Spirit of Man, choſe rather to caſt themſelves into this extremity, than to believe it to be ſo baſe and imperfect, as to be all Body and Matter. I am far from entertaining ſuch a Sentiment; you will ſee in the Letter to Mounſieur *Chapelain*, that I cannot believe this to be an opinion defenſible by a Philoſopher: But this I do, I obſerve in Man, as well as thoſe *Stoicks* and others, ſomething ſo perfect, ſo great and high, that *their* opinion ſeems to me an hundred times leſs abſurd, than that, which holds that in Man, and even in the whole Univerſe, there is nothing but *Body*, but bodily and local Motions, but Atoms, but Matter.

Lord! When I think on't, who is that man, how little of good ſenſe ſoever he may have, that can perſwade himſelf, that when an *Archimedes*, a *Pythagoras*, and others of thoſe great men, had thoſe effects of the Mind, and were in their deep Meditations, there was then nothing in their Heads and Brains but what was Corporeal, nothing but Vital and Animal Spirits, nothing but a certain Natural Heat, nothing but Particles of a very ſubtil Matter, or nothing but Atoms, which, though they be Inſenſible, and without all Underſtanding and Reaſon, and do not ſo much, (according to the Doctrine of the Atomiſts,) as move but by a fatal and blind motion and hit, ſhould yet come to move and concur ſo luckily and wonderfully, that, as once by ſuch a concourſe they had formed the Head of thoſe Great men, ſuch as it is with thoſe innumerable Organs ſo induſtriouſly order'd and diſpos'd; ſo alſo they ſhould then be ſo lucky as to form and produce thoſe ſubtil thoughts, and profound meditations; or rather that they ſhould come to move themſelves in all thoſe Organs in ſo wonderful a manner, as at laſt to fall into a certain Order and into a certain Diſpoſition and State, ſo marvellous, that they themſelves were that Conceiving, Seeing, Meditating, thoſe admirable Propoſitions, and thoſe Divine Inventions?

Add to this, when we find our ſelves, upon ſome Affront, or other Diſpleaſure received, ready to fall into Choler and Rage, and yet ſtop our Paſſion; I pray, this internal Commander and Command, which we feel, this kind of Obedience, of moderation and retreat, that is made, for example, upon the account of ſome conſideration of Honeſty, of Honour and Virtue, and againſt that natural Inclination we have to be revenged; what is that interiour motion and ſtate? Can it be rationally ſaid, that 'tis nothing but ſome Rollings, Counter-motions, Reflections, and peculiar conjunctions and textures of Atoms or Spirits, or of little Maſſes or Particles of Matter, which are made within thoſe Nerves, thoſe fine Membranes, thoſe very ſubtil Channels and Organs of the Brain, Heart, and other parts of the Body? Theſe are pure *Chimera*'s.

A word more concerning *Liberty:* When in the apprehenſion of taking an *ill* part for a *good*, we keep our ſelves in a poyſe, ſeeking within our ſelves all the reaſons that are *for* and *againſt*, and ſeriouſly pondering and examining them; this apprehenſion, this reſearch, this ballancing, and the reſolution we at laſt take to do or not to do the thing; all that, all thoſe motions, all that inward ſtate and way of Being (I ſpeak in no other terms than they) ſhall it be nothing but a fortuitous and blind concourſe of little Bodies? Is't poſſible that you can imagine or perſwade your ſelf this? *Lucrece* himſelf, that ſworn Partiſan of the *Epicurean* Sect, could not do it, nor reſolve to attribute to Atoms alone thoſe free motions of the Will. For if the Will, *ſaith he*, is drawn away from fatality, and raiſed above Deſtiny, *Et fatis avulſa voluntas*, &c. How can he, with all his *clinamen* or deviation of Principles, have believed in good earneſt and without ſcruple, that there is nothing but *Body*, and nothing done in us, more than elſewhere, but by a natural, eternal, independent, immutable and inevitable concourſe of Atoms? He was not ignorant, that that being ſo, neither the Will, nor any other thing whatſoever could be drawn and exempted from that concatenation and eternal and immmutable Sequel of Motions and Cauſes, that would follow and ſucceed one another by eternal Orders abſolutely neceſſary and unchangeable.

Beſides all this, I could put you in mind of many Reaſons that are wont to be alledged upon this Subject. You know that great man, who hath collected more of them than a ſcore of very good ones. But that would be to abuſe your Patience too much; and beſides I ſee not, that there is much more of any importance to be conſidered hereupon, than what I have lately repreſented unto you.

I could alſo tell you, how I judge that all Objections, made upon this point, may be moſt rationally anſwer'd; but I know, that you are not a perſon, for whom Books are to be made. I ſhall only mention two things to that purpoſe.

The *firſt* is, That 'tis true what they ſay, That Eating, Drinking, Health; Natural Heat,

Heat, the Spirits, and a good Diſpoſition of Organs, (all which are natural things, and as they ſpeak, depending from Atoms as Principles and the firſt Matter) are things neceſſary to all thoſe Thoughts, Reaſonings and Reflections; and, in a word, to all thoſe Internal Operations I have mentioned. This is a thing that cannot be denied, and which every one doth too ſenſibly experiment not to aver it: But thence to conclude, that whatſoever intervenes and concurs to form thoſe Operations, is only and meerly Body, Atoms, Spirits, Subtil Matter, is that which, after the leaſt Reflection made upon *their* Excellency, and upon the imperfection of Bodies or Atoms, or upon the little reſemblance there is in *their* Qualities to *thoſe* Operations, can never with any good ſenſe be granted: So that, methinks the moſt that might be allow'd, would be, that the Atoms, and Spirits, and all thoſe other things alledged, are indeed neceſſary as conditions or diſpoſitions, or the like, and not as the firſt and abſolute Principles, and as the *Total* cauſe of the Operations; but that there is requiſite ſome other thing than all that, ſomething nobler, higher, and more perfect.

The *ſecond* thing is, That 'tis true alſo, that we cannot form a right, or, as they ſpeak, a next and poſitive *Idea* of what is *above* a *Body* or of any thing that is *not Body*: This, indeed, we cannot do, in my opinion, whilſt we are in this mortal ſtate ſo ſtrictly united to the Body; the dependance of the Bodily Senſes, that ſo much confine and obſcure the light of our Underſtanding, hinders us from it: But I ſee not that thence it is to be concluded, that therefore there is really nothing *above* Body, or Atoms, or Matter. For, how many things are there, of which we have no ſuch poſitive *Idea*, which yet Reaſon obligeth us to avow that they have a real Being? Or rather, how few things are there, of which we have any True *Idea's*? Have theſe Philoſophers themſelves any poſitive *Idea* of their Atoms? They acknowledge that their ſmalneſs is ſuch, that it cannot be ſo much as imagin'd by hearing this word *Atom* pronounc'd or explain'd: ſo far are they from being capable to fall under our ſenſes, and from imprinting in us a true and poſitive *Idea*; and yet notwithſtanding they believe, and conclude from Reaſon, that they *are*. A Mathematician, hath he the poſitive *Idea* of the Magnitude of the Sun? It is ſo prodigious, and ſo far remote from the capacity of the Senſes, that we are not able even ſo much as to imagine it ſuch as it is; and yet for all this, there is none that is not fully perſwaded and convinced thereof by the force of Demonſtrations, and that knows not perfectly, that he exceeds by far the bigneſs of the Globe of the Earth. And beſides, it is not true, that the nature of a thing may be known two manner of ways; either *poſitively*, as when it falls under ſome one or more of our Senſes, or as when we give a poſitive Definition thereof; or *negatively*, by ſaying what it is not: Now I ſhall grant, that we are not capable to know the Principle of our Operations or Ratiocinations by the *firſt* way, to ſay what it is, and how thoſe Operations are made and produced. Alas! we are not ſo happy; we ſhould need other Senſes far more perfect than all thoſe we have. We are not born to dive and Philoſophize ſo far:

Invida præcluſit ſpeciem natura videndi.

But we ought alſo to acknowledge, that at leaſt we are capable to know it after the *ſecond* way: So that, if we cannot ſay truly and poſitively what it is, we can at leaſt ſay, and certainly know what it is not: I mean, that from the perfection of the Operations, which we do evidently ſee to be ſuch as that they have no proportion with all thoſe proprieties and perfections of Atoms, and do univerſally ſurpaſs the reach of what is meerly Body; we can deduce a certain Concluſion, that the Principle of ſuch Operations, and thoſe Operations themſelves muſt needs be ſomething above all that's Body or Corporeal. Which is here ſufficient for me, who at the beginning engaged my ſelf no further, and pretend not, that we can make a true and poſitive *Idea* of that Principle; but only that we can and ought to conclude by Ratiocination, that there muſt needs be ſomething, as hath been ſaid, that is far more perfect and far more noble than all that is in the rank of Bodies, whatever its being or Nature may be.

But ſhall I make an end, fully to diſcover unto you my thought? You well know, whether I am a perſon that taketh pleaſure in vaunting, or in forging Untruths, or to ſpeak things at random in a matter ſo important as this. It cannot be denied, that there is a very great difference between the Operations of Brutes, and thoſe admirable Operations of Man, of which we now treat: I ſpeak not only in reſpect of thoſe of their outward

outward ſenſes, but alſo in reference to thoſe of their inward ones, or their Imagination. All that is ſo much beneath the Reaſoning of man, that we muſt avow, there is not any proportion, and that thoſe of Man proceed from a very differing and infinitely more perfect Principle. Notwithſtanding all that (and this is the thought I would declare to you) I ſhould think that perſon an hundred times leſs abſurd, that ſhould go about to maintain, that in the Principle of thoſe Operations of Brutes, whether it be of their internal or even their external Senſes, there were ſomewhat more perfect than Corporeity and all that may be underſtood and comprehended under the name of Body, or Matter, or Spirits; than him, that ſhould pretend the Principle of the Operations of Man were meerly Corporeal: So much do I take this Opinion to be out of all reaſon, and unworthy of a man of good Judgment. Certainly it can be no ſerious Philoſophy; it can be nothing but an Exceſs of Vanity, that hath caſt thoſe Philoſophers, we have ſpoken of, into ſuch an irrational Extream. They doubtleſs ſaw, that their Sect had great Advantages above all the reſt, in being able to explain with much Eaſe and Probability abundance of the moſt conſiderable Effects of Nature, only by Local Motion, and the Order and particular Diſpoſition of their Matter, Corpuſcles or Atoms: And thence they would make us believe, that by the ſame Principles they could give an account of all, and explicate whatever concerns the Spirit of Man, and the Operations thereof.

My *Dear Friend*, have not you and I concluded an hundred times, that how much ſoever we ſtrain'd our Underſtanding, we could never conceive, how from *Inſenſible* Corpuſcles there could ever reſult any thing *Senſible* without the intervention of any thing but what's *inſenſible*; and that with all their Atoms, how ſmall and how nimble ſoever they make them, what motions and figures ſoever they give them, and in what order, mixture or diſpoſition they range them, yea and whatever induſtrious hand they aſſign them for guidance, they would never be able (ſtill ſuppoſing with them, that they have no other proprieties or perfections than thoſe recited) to make us imagine, how thence could reſult a Compound, I ſay not, that ſhould be *Reaſoning* like Man, but that ſhould be meerly *Senſitive*, ſuch as may be the vileſt and the moſt imperfect Worm on Earth. How then dare they pretend, that they will make it out, how thence can reſult a thing Imagining, a thing Reaſoning, and ſuch an one as ſhall be the Imaginations and Ratiocinations themſelves?

For my part, if you'l believe me, let us lay aſide all that preſumption and vanity of thoſe *Eſprits forts*; let us not pretend to be able to explicate the nature of the Principle of our Reaſonings in the ſame manner, as we might do the other things that fall under our Senſes, and let us not play the Geometers upon it. We are not, as I have already ſaid, happy enough for that; 'tis a thing which cannot be done in this mortal ſtate, and in this great dependance from the corporeal ſenſes in which we ſtand. Yet notwithſtanding we ought to form a higher *Idea* of our ſelves, and not to make our Soul to be of ſuch baſe alloy, as thoſe Philoſophers, too corporeal in this point, would have us do. We ought to believe for certain, that we are infinitely more noble and more perfect than they make us, and reſolutely maintain, that though we cannot exactly know what we are, yet we know very well and very certainly, what we are not; which is, that we are not altogether of Mire and Dirt, as they pretend. *Farewel.*

FINIS.

This Preface should have been bound before the Relation of the Kingdom of Tunquin

THE PREFACE.

THE *World being an ample Volum, in whoſe Extent and Varieties the Framer's Wiſdom and Attributes are manifeſtly read and ſet out, it ſeems that great Travellers are the beſt Scholars and Proficients in this Book; ſince on's Native Countrey is but as a ſingle Leaf, where all the Singularities are not to be ſeen which are found in the other.*

—— Non omnis fert omnia Tellus.

And the truth of it is, thoſe Ancient Philoſophers, who have firſt laid the Foundations of Arts, Sciences, and Commonwealths in the World, were Travellers into theſe very Eaſtern Parts, (partly deſcribed by us here) whence they brought home all their Knowledge; it being here that Man and Knowledge it ſelf had their firſt beginning. So that wiſe Travellers are not un-

like those rich laden Vessels which through many dangers bring wholesom and profitable Cargo's, Drugs, *and other Conveniences, to be dispers'd among the several Societies of their own Country: They are like those diligent Master-Bees, who run divers miles to extract out of many bitter Herbs that sweet Liquor, which they afterwards kindly refund to be enjoyed at home in common, in the hardest Seasons of the Year, by their Fellows. What costs them dear, others have it cheap: And there's scarce any Private Persons in the Commonwealth, to whom we owe greater Honour and Thanks, than to Worthy Travellers and Discoverers of Forein Countries.*

Yet it may be truly said, That Ancient Travellers and Geographers have but as course Limners and Coast-Drivers, drawn a very rough Draught in their Relations of those Countries they describ'd unto us, in comparison of some later Writers, who also sometimes do but copy their Predecessors Stories; and Merchants, with most other Travellers, are weather-driven by their private Occasions or Misfortunes, to take but a Cursory Survey of Places, and so give but an answerable account of the same to the World.

But among all the Ancient and Modern Travellers, none had such fair Opportunities and Advantages as the Illustrious Monsieur Tavernier *had, to make a true, profitable, and exact Relation of the Singularities of those Remote Parts of* Asia, *where he past so many*

Years

Years in great Splendour, as ſhall appear by the enſuing Conſiderations and Qualifications of a good Traveller.

1. He from his Youth had a ſtrong Inclination to Travel, which ſecret Inſtinct is certainly a Preordination of God for an Undertaking; and this unſeen Impulſion carries ſuch extraordinary Inſtruments chearfully and proſperouſly through all the Difficulties, others of a contrary diſpoſition would never wade thorough, for whom it would be in vain to ſtrive againſt the current of Nature.

2. This Travelling Genius made him begin early to fit himſelf for his deſign, and ſoon to go about it. He was therefore ſufficiently imbued in his Intellectuals with all due knowledge of Sciences, Language, and Geography, and precedent Travellers Maps and Books, without all which common Travellers cannot conceive ſo ſoon and ſo orderly, nor reap ſo much benefit for themſelves or others.

3. But Speculations without Experience are but unprofitable Notions; and the Experiments of this kind are not to be had without great Means and Expence, for want of which many a good Undertaking is Still-born.

Haud facilè emergunt, quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi——

is an old and true Saying. But our noble Tavernier *had an ample Eſtate, drove a great Trade, had Money in abundance, and a Prince's or Embaſſador-like Retinue, without which and great Preſents none is ſcarce look'd upon in Luxurious* Aſia, *fit for admittance into great and worthy Companies, where Knowledge may be attained; ſo that he thereby ſoon got into the Preſence, Familiarity, and Cloſets of the Emperours, the Miniſters of State, and the Philoſophers of* Perſia, Mogol, *&c. and got into the Acquaintance and Converſations of the leading and common Merchants, Traffiquers, and People; and knew their Languages very well: for it is in vain to have Eyes, if one have not alſo a Tongue in ſuch caſes.*

4. *And whereas Learning and Riches do ſometimes render narrow Souls of a more proud and unſociable temper, Monſieur* Tavernier *is by Nature and Education, an obliging, cheerful, and inſinuating Traveller, and of a graceful Countenance. Comely Perſonages are beloved almoſt as ſoon as they are ſeen; and thoſe that have but fair Souls, are not ſo till after they are known. Now Monſieur* Tavernier *having both theſe Advantages, had a free entrance into the Friendſhip and Notions the* Indians (*great or ſmall*) *had concerning the Natural, Mechanical, Political, Religious, and Trading State of their own Countrey; which he made more his buſineſs to know, than to grow more rich.*

And

And at ſome times he would reckon Thouſands of Pounds as nothing to attain his ends in this point of Knowledge and further Experience; as the peruſal of this his own Work, and Perſons now in London, *that knew him in and after his Travels, can fully teſtifie.*

5. *Moreover, Mutual Help of Perſons equally underſtanding and curious, is a great advantage in ſuch Reſearches and Obſervations as theſe. Now* John Baptiſta Tavernier, *beſides many other Heads and Hands, had herein the Aſſiſtance of a Brother, as complete a Traveller as himſelf in thoſe furtheſt Parts of* Aſia, *and had no leſs the foregoing Qualifications in Perſon and Eſtate than this his Brother* John Baptiſta *had, as the Reader may well perceive by this Volum of Travels.*

6. *And as for the* Time; *Six Voyages, and about Forty Years Abode in thoſe Countries they do deſcribe, did render theſe Brethrens Knowledge vaſt, their Experiments tried over and over, and this their Account more ſure and exact (as I ſaid) than that of any other Traveller heretofore.*

7. *And finally, to confirm the undoubted Credit that's to be given to this Nobleman and his Relation, (who is above all deſign of Flattering or Deceiving the Reader) you may meet with ſeveral Worthy Perſons in this City and the Court of* England; *and I my ſelf, who was at* Paris *ſome few years ago at Monſieur*

Tavernier's *Arrival, and who can witneſs the grand Eſteem, the ſolemn* Honours *and* Thanks, *that were then given him by* Perſons *of all* Ranks *and* Degrees, *the* French East India *Company's Admiration and Recommendation of him, that he had done his King and Countrey more Credit in thoſe proud Eaſtern Courts than ever any did before him; the* French *King's imploying of him there; the Rarities he brought home to the Learned; the vaſt Riches and Memoirs he gained for himſelf, and the incomparable Jewels and Singularities he brought to the* French *King; the Titles of* Lord *and* Baron *conferred upon him extraordinarily, though he were a Merchant and a ſtrict* Proteſtant. *Theſe (I ſay) Public and Private Teſtimonials do ſhew what Credit other Nations and his own (which is Singular) had given to him. But in a word his own Obſervations herein gathered will prove it better.*

But if any deſire to have ſome Account of the Work it ſelf, the Newneſs, Profit, *and Satisfaction the very Subject muſt needs yield to all Perſons and Profeſſions cannot but be acceptable.*

The Naturaliſt ſhall have Plants, Minerals, Animals, *and* Phœnomena's *never ſeen in our Climate. And about* Phyſic, *the* Law, Muſic, *and* Poetry, *more*

Time

Time and Tryals are required in thoſe Countries than here; and you ſhall accordingly read of Cures done that draw near to natural Miracles.

The Divine will ſee things worth his Obſervation in their Religion and Morals, wherein they may confound the very Chriſtians; whereof I'le onely touch but thus much: That by the Light of Nature thoſe Heathens own a Supreme Deity, and a Future State of Happineſs and Torments; and do in view of the ſame moſt ſtrictly keep the Civil and the Ten Moral Commandments, much anſwerable to ours, which their Prophets have left to them. So that they puniſh Murther and Adultery even in Princes and Princeſſes; terrible Examples whereof you may here read at large. And the Church and State Government are ſubſervient in a Subordination, the one being a Prop to the other.*

*Tunquin ch.7.p.18.

Even Stateſmen may find Subject of weighty conſideration, in the Antiquity, Model, and Exactneſs of their Government. As for inſtance: Though they have a ſpecial regard to Monarchy, ſo as to keep the Succeſſion within the ſame Line; yet the Great Conſtable, and the King's Council have Power left them to propoſe and chuſe the fitteſt Perſon among the Royal Children, or Collateral Succeſſors, who is naminated in the King's Life-time, to prevent after Diſturbances. They have alſo*

*Tunquin c.11.p.35.

alſo on the other ſide very ſingular and unimitable ways to prevent the Inſurrections, Diviſions, and Rebellions of the Militia *and the People.*

But above all, the Traveller and Traffiquer into thoſe Parts will be like to run into a thouſand Inconveniences, and Loſſes of Health, Life, and Eſtate, without being guided by ſuch Directions as he carefully gives herein, which others cannot poſſibly ſo ſoon and ſo well know.

It is in fine herein declared, by what means the French, Holland, *and* Portugal Eaſt India *Companies were Settled, Improved, and Worſted in thoſe Countries; alſo the Coinage, and the Reduction thereof to ours; the particular places where all ſorts of* Eaſt India *Commodities are beſt and cheapeſt had; the Rates and Exchange Returns are here to be found; the manner how to know their Falſifications in Gold, Silver, Jewels, Drugs, Silks, Linen, and all the other Merchandizes which are brought from thoſe Nations are here ſet down: It being otherwiſe hard or impoſſible to eſcape the Cheats of the* Perſians, Chineſes, *and* Japoners, *without ſuch Inſtructions.*

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in

in the first Volum of Tavernier's *Translation; but it was brought to an end and perfection by me, who had the occasion to be more particularly acquainted with Monsieur* Tavernier *himself, his Native Tongue, and other Particularities abroad.*

Edmund Everard.

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A New and Particular

RELATION
Of the KINGDOM of
TUNQUIN:

With a MAP of the COUNTRY and several FIGURES.

CHAP. I.

A Diſcourſe in general concerning the City of Tunquin, *and of the Manner how the Author came to have knowledge thereof.*

THE Kingdom of *Tunquin* has been long unknown to the People of *Europe*; neither have they, who have given us Relations thereof, well underſtood the Country; as having truſted too much to defective and fabulous Deſcriptions and Obſervations. Not that I am willing to be over ſevere in cenſuring; but ſubmiſſively I am bold to affirm, That this which I here make Public was extracted out of my Brother's Writings, of which I had the overlooking in

my ſecond Voyage that I made to the *Indies*; and of which I was the more confident, for that the Author had been one who had made Eleven or Twelve Voyages from *Batavia*, *Bantam*, and *Achem*, to *Tunquin*. Other Obſervations I collected from the *Tunquineſi* themſelves, with whom I have had ſeveral Diſcourſes, during the time that I was at *Batavia* and *Bantam*, where they principally trade. And that which gave me the more light was this, That thoſe Merchants ſeveral times bring along with them ſome of their *Bonze's* or Prieſts, as alſo ſome of their Learned Men to teach their Children to Write and Read. For theſe Merchants when they make a Voyage by Sea, carry all their Families along with them. And from theſe *Bonze's* and other Learned Men I had ſeveral Obſervations and Memoirs in Writing, as being deſirous to be inform'd by me of the Government and Situation of our *France*. And as I was never without an *Atlas* and ſome other particular Maps, they were raviſh'd with admiration, when I ſhew'd them the Structure and Compoſure of the whole World, and the Situation of its ſeveral Kingdoms and Eſtates.

Therefore may the Reader with the more pleaſure and delight peruſe theſe Relations, when he has ſo much reaſon to be perſuaded that they are cordially done, and that they are made public by a perſon whoſe ſincerity has no deſign to abuſe him. My Brother, who was a perſon both cunning and couragious, and one that lov'd to Travel as well as my ſelf, having heard much talk in the *Indies* of the Grandeur of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, reſolv'd to go thither, and as he had a particular gift to learn a Language in a little time, he ſoon grew familiar with the *Malaye*, which is the Language of the Learned in thoſe quarters of *Aſia*, as *Latin* is among Us in *Europe*. He underſtood that Silk, Musk, and other Commodities of the like nature, were much cheaper there then in other places adjoyning, and that the People dealt with more fairneſs and honeſty. Upon the encouragement of which Information he prepar'd a Ship, and made his Voyages with good ſucceſs.

He always carri'd with him a good Sum of Money; and more then that, he ſtor'd himſelf with a conſiderable number of ſmall Curioſities, to preſent the King and his Nobility, according to the general Cuſtom of all the Eaſtern Countries:

Thus

Thus he came to be well receiv'd the firſt time that he ſet foot in the Country; ſo that the Cuſtomer being by him oblig'd with a ſmall Clock, a pair of ſmall Piſtols, and two Pictures, which were the Pictures of two *Curteſans*, immediately gave notice to the King of his arrival. Thereupon having order to attend the Court, and coming to kiſs the King's hands, the whole Aſſembly was ſurpris'd to hear a Stranger, born in a Country ſo far diſtant, ſpeak the *Malaye* Language ſo fluently. The King gave him a favourable reception, and kindly receiv'd the Preſent which he brought along with him. It was a very noble Sword, of which the Handle and Hilt were all over enchac'd with Rubies and Emraulds, with a Backſword Blade. To this he added a pair of Piſtols, adorn'd and inlaid with Silver, a *Perſian* Saddle and Bridle, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, a Bow and Quiver full of Arrows, and ſix Pictures, like thoſe which he had given the Cuſtomer. Theſe things highly pleas'd the King, who preſently drew forth the Sword out of the Scabbard, the better to look upon and conſider it. At length one of his Sons took it up, to try whether it would fit his hand as well as thoſe of his own Country, and offer'd to make a blow. My Brother, ſeeing the young Prince handle the Weapon gracefully enough, after the manner of the Country, told the King, that if he pleas'd, he would ſhow the King how they handled that Weapon in *France*, of which the King readily conſented to be a Spectatour.

This was my Brother's firſt Reception at Court; for he made ſeveral Voyages to *Tunquin*, and every time that he return'd, they ſtill the more and more obligingly entertain'd him. But that which fix'd him more in the good opinion and favour of the King and Lords of the Court, was his frolic and gentile behaviour in playing with them for ſeveral large Sums, inſomuch that being one that ventur'd deep, he loſt above 20000 Crowns in one Voyage. However the King, who was a generous Prince, would not ſuffer him to be a loſer, but gave him thoſe conſiderable Preſents that ſuppli'd his loſſes. By means of my Brother's thus long ſojourning in *Tunquin*, and the familiar acquaintance which he had at Court, together with the Trade which he drove in the Kingdom, as he was diligent to inform himſelf of all the Curioſities of the Country, it was eaſie for me upon

the ſame foundation to lay the Structure of theſe Memoirs. Though I may ſafely ſay, I was no leſs laborious in my own particular, and by the frequent Diſcourſes which I had with a great number of the *Tunquineſes*, with whom I met both at *Bantam* and *Batavia* that came thither to Trade, and whom I often treated at my own Expences, to inform my ſelf of the particular Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of their Country.

Thus you ſee the Grounds and Foundations of this Relation, which is both faithful and exact, and by which that noble Country, of which the Deſcriptions hitherto have been ſo obſcure and uncertain, ſhall be truly diſcover'd and ſet forth, ſuch as it is; declaring withal, that no other Conſideration or Intereſt, then that of ſpeaking truth, has incited me to undertake this Deſcription.

For the better obſervation of a right Method in purſuance of this Relation, and to conduct the Reader *gradatim* to the more perfect knowledge of this Kingdom, I will ſpeak firſt of its Situation, its Extent, and its Climate. Next I ſhall come to diſcourſe of its Qualities, its Riches, and its Trade, which are the three Springs and Sources of the Strength and Force of a Nation. Next I ſhall give an Account of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the People as well in their particular OEconomy and Civil Society, as in relation to their Marriages, their Viſits and Feſtivals. Next to this we ſhall give a brief Account of the Learning, and learned Men, and among them of their Phyſicians, and the Subject of their Art, that is to ſay, of the Diſeaſes particular to the Country. We ſhall alſo give a Relation of the Original of the Government and Policy of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, of the Condition of the Court, of the Inauguration and Funerals of their Kings, and in the laſt place of the Original of the Inhabitants.

And I dare ingage, that the Map of the Country, and the Cuts which were drawn upon the place, will no leſs contribute to the Divertiſement of the Reader, then to the Explanation of the Matter which they contain.

CHAP. II.

Of the Situation and Extent of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

WE ſhall have the leſs reaſon to admire wherefore our Predeceſſors had ſo little knowledge of this Kingdom, when we conſider that having formerly been a conſiderable part of *China*, the Inhabitants in the ſame manner as the *Chineſes* did, kept themſelves cloſe within their own bounds, never minding to have any Commerce with other People, whom they contemn'd and lookt upon as *Barbarians* come from the other part of the World. But now that they find that Strangers come to find them out in their own Territories, they begin to ſee that other People have as good Government as themſelves; which has bred in them a deſire to Converſe and Trade with Foreigners; ſo that now they aſſociate themſelves in friendly manner with all other People, as I have obſerv'd them to do both at *Batavia* and *Bantam*. Moſt people believe this Country to lye in a very hot Climate; nevertheleſs it is now known to be very temperate, by reaſon of the great number of Rivers that water it; which, together with the Rains that fall in their Seaſons, cauſe a briſk freſhneſs of the Air; which indeed happ'ns moſt uſually over all the *Torrid-zone*, as I have obſerv'd in my *Indian Travels*. From whence we may alſo have reaſon to believe the Country to be very fruitful and thick inhabited.

To the Eaſt this Kingdom lies upon the Province of *Cauton*, one of the beſt of *China*.

To the Weſt it is bounded by the Kingdom of *Brama*.

To the North it borders upon two other Provinces of *China*, *Junnan* and *Quanſi*.

To the South it lies upon *Cochinchina*, and the great Gulph of the ſame name.

To return to the Climate, the Air is ſo mild and temperate, that all the year long ſeems to be but one continual Spring; Froſt and Snow are never there to be ſeen; and beſides,

beſides, the Peſtilence, the Gout, the Stone, and other Diſeaſes ſo frequent in *Europe*, there are never known. There are but two Winds, which divide the whole Year between them; the one blowing from the North, the other from the South, and both continuing the ſame for ſix months together. The firſt refreſhes the Earth in that manner, that there is nothing ſo delightful as the Country of *Tunquin*. The other begins to blow from the end of *January* to the end of *July*; and the two laſt months are their months of rain. The greateſt inconvenience is, that there ariſe once in ſeaven years, as well in this Country as in other parts of the *Indies*, thoſe hideous and terrible Tempeſts, that blow down Houſes, tear up Trees by the roots, and make ſtrange Deſolations. They ſeldom laſt above four and twenty hours, nor are their ſad Effects to be felt but only upon the Seas of *China*, *Japon*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunquin*, and the *Manilles*, being rarely known in any other Seas.

The Aſtrologers of thoſe parts believe that theſe terrible Tempeſts proceed from the Exhalations that riſe out of the Mines of *Japon*. It comes with that ſuddain force that when it ſurprizes a Veſſel out at Sea, the Pilots have no other remedy then to cut down all the Maſts, that the ſtorm may have the leſs force upon the Ship.

In this fair extent of Land, almoſt equal to that of *France*, are ſeveral Provinces, whoſe limmits are not well known; the *Tunquineſes* being no great Geographers, nor having bin over curious to write the Annals of the Nation. But the moſt underſtanding and knowing among them aſſur'd me at *Batavia*, that the whole Kingdom contain'd above twenty thouſand Cities and Towns. They alſo affirm'd that there might be many more, but after the manner of their Neighbours the *Cochinchineſes*, many of the People chooſe rather to upon the Water then upon the Land; ſo that you ſhall ſee live the greateſt part of their Rivers coverd with Boates, which ſerve them inſtead of Houſes; and which are very neat, though they alſo keep their Cattel in them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Quality of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

THis Country for the moſt part is a level Extent, which riſes up and down into pleaſant Hillocks; the greateſt Hills which it has lying to the North. It is water'd by ſeveral Rivers which inter-cut and glide through the Country: ſome of which carry Galleys of good burthen, and large Shallops, very commodious for trade. Yet in all the Country there grows neither Corn nor Wine, by reaſon of the want of rain, which never falls but in the Months of *June* and *July*. But it bears an infinite quantity of Rice, which is the chief ſuſtenance of the People. Of this Rice alſo they make their Drink, beſides which they have good *Aqua Vitæ* or Strong-water. Their Fruits are excellent, but much different from ours, as are alſo the Trees that bear them. The chiefeſt of theſe Trees are the Palm-tree, which bears a Fruit bigger then in any part of *Aſia*. The Nut is about the bigneſs of a Man's Head, in ſhape like a *Coco*-nut; the Shell is very hard, and being open'd, the Pulp within is as white as Snow, having a taſt like our Almonds, and every one of the Fruits contains about two glaſsfuls of Liquor, very refreſhing and pleaſing to the Palate. The *Gogavier*, very much reſembles our Lawrel, of which there are two ſorts; the one bears a Plum, green without and red within: but the Fruit of the other Tree, which is in much more eſteem, is yellowiſh without and white within, the top of the Fruit being like a ſmall Noſegay: the Pulp is full of ſmall Kernels, leſs then thoſe of a Pomegranate; and if they be eaten before they are ripe they bind the belly, whereas being eaten when they are come to full maturity they work a contrary effect. Formerly this Fruit was not known in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, but after the *Portugals* ſeated themſelves at *Macao*, they carri'd ſeveral Plants thither, ſo that now the Fruit is grown very common. The *Papager* bears a Fruit which very much reſembles a ſmall Melon, the taſt whereof is very delicious. The *Arager* grows upright and ſtreight, like the Maſt of a Ship,

Ship, bearing no Branches but at the top, which makes it appear like a Crown. The Fruit which it produces is like a Nutmeg, but a little more round. The People break this Nut, and bruising it together with *Betlè* leaves, mix both with a little Chalk, and make use of the Powder to keep their Teeth clean, to dye their Lips of a Vermilion colour, and to keep their Breath sweet.

They have but two sorts of Figs, the one like ours, and the other like those which are call'd *Adam*'s Figs, as long as a Man's finger.

There is also another Tree, very like our *Willow*, which they call the *Powder Tree*, because that of the Wood they make Charcoal, and of the Coal a Powder which they make use of in their Wars.

The *Jambager* is another Tree, that grows very high, which bears a Fruit about the bigness of a Citrul-Cucumber, the Pulp whereof is full of Kernels like a Granate, very cooling and pleasant, and very frequently eaten in the Season of heat.

The High-ways are also planted with Trees on both sides for the convenience of Travellers: And there are some of these Trees so big that two or three thousand men may stand under them, like that at *Ormus*, or *Bandar Abassi*, by me describ'd in my Relations of *Persia*, and of which many other Travellers have made mention. When the Branches of these Trees are about ten or twelve foot long, there issue forth other little Branches which turn downward, and by little and little descending to the ground, take root and afterwards become as it were so many Pillars to support the *Master*-Branches. There are some of the *Master*-Branches three hundred Paces long, which are supported by these outgrowing Branches at the distance of every ten or twelve foot. The Fruit is of the bigness of one of our great Nuts, the Shell whereof is red, containing within nothing but a Kernel like a grain of Millet. The Rere Mice feed upon 'em, and also make their Nests in the trees. These Rere-mice are as big as a good Pullet, insomuch that their Wings are above a foot and a half long. They never light upon the tree like other Birds, but you shall see them all the day long hanging at the branches of the trees, fasten'd by their Claws to the tree with their heads downward. Upon every Wing they

they have ſeven as it were little Hooks or Claws, ſo that being ſhot, they never fall to the ground, but remain fixed to the branches, that at a diſtance you would take them to be ſome great Pears that hung upon the tree. They are accounted a great dainty among the *Portugals*, who leave their Pullets to eat them. 'Tis true that their Fleſh is very white, and when they are young they are a delicate ſort of Diet. I happen'd to eat of them two or three times with the *Portugals*, who thought they had oblig'd me with a great dainty; and had I not known what they were, I ſhould have taken them for Pullets. And now I am talking of the Delicacies of the Country, I will tell you of one ſort of Dyet which is very ſingular. This Food is the Neſt of a certain Bird which is no where to be found, but in the four Iſlands that lie upon the Coaſt of *Cochinchina*, and of which you have the Figures in the Table *A, B, C, D*. Theſe Birds are about the bigneſs of a Swallow, and build their Neſts in ſuch a manner, that they are neither too cloſe compacted, nor altogether tranſparent; they are like an Onion compos'd of ſeveral rings and envelopings; that compoſe a Neſt of a certain ſort of *Gunim*, which is ſteep'd in warm water, and mix'd with all the Sawces which are made both for Fiſh and Fleſh. It is tranſported all over *India* and into *Holland* for Curioſitie's ſake. You would believe in eating thoſe Meats which are ſeaſon'd therewith, that thoſe Neſts were compos'd of all the Spices in the Orient. I have not only brought this Diet into *France*, and preſented of it to ſeveral Perſons of Quality, but I have alſo my Vouchers for the truth of what I relate, ſeveral of my Friends who have brought it from *Holland*, among the reſt *M. de Villermont*, whoſe Name is famous for his Travels into the *Eaſt-Indies*. He and all thoſe that have eat thereof agree with me, that all the Spices of the *Eaſt* put together, do not give that effectual reliſh and ſavour as theſe Neſts do, to the Meats and Diſhes wherein they are us'd.

Near to theſe four Iſlands, where theſe Birds Neſts are found, are five others mark'd in the Map 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. In theſe five iſlands are ſuch infinite number of *Tortoiſes*, and ſuch excellent Food, that the *Tunquineſes* and *Cochinchineſes* do not believe they have entertain'd their Friends at a Banquet as they ought to do, till the *Tortoiſes* are brought in. Thoſe

two Nations pickle up great quantities of them, and ſend them abroad, which is a vaſt trade among them; and indeed the chiefeſt occaſion of the Wars between them is, becauſe the *Cochinchineſes* do all they can to hinder the *Tunquineſes* to fiſh for them, alledging that thoſe Seas and Iſlands belong to them. Neither is the Meat but the Shell alſo of great eſteem, and one of the greateſt Commodities for Trade in *Aſia*.

Tunquin alſo affords great ſtore of *Anana's* and Orange trees, of which there are of two ſorts: the one that bears a Fruit no bigger then an *Abricot*; the other bigger then thoſe of *Portugal*: both alike in taſt, and being to be gather'd from the tree for ſix months together. They have alſo two ſorts of Citrons, the one yellow, the other green; but both the one and the other ſo tart and ſow'r, that they cannot be eaten without offence to the Stomach. Nevertheleſs, the Juyce is made uſe of as we do here of *Aqua fortis*, to cleanſe Copper, Tin, and Iron, before we gild thoſe Metals, as alſo for Tinctures, eſpecially thoſe of Silk. They are alſo made uſe of for Lyes to whiten Linnen, and to take out Spots. Through all the Territories of the *Great Mogul* they make uſe of this Juyce of Citrons to whiten their Calicuts; whereby they make them ſometimes ſo white that they dazle the ſight.

They make great quantities of Silk in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, of which both rich and poor make themſelves Garments. The *Hollanders*, who thruſt themſelves in every where, where there is any hope of gain, carry off ſuch a quantity every year, that it is now become the chiefeſt part of that Commodity which they carry to *Japon*; whereas before they fetch'd their Commodities from *Perſia*, *Bengala*, or *China*.

As for ſweet ſmelling Flow'rs, the *Tunquineſes* have but one ſort, which they call the Flow'r of *Bague*. It grows like a large Noſegay, and the Branches of the Shrub that bear it, ſpread themſelves crawlingly upon the ground. As they have great ſtore of Sugar, ſo they eat very much, while it is yet in the Cane, not having the true Art to refine it: and that which they do groſly refine, they make into little Loaves weighing about half a pound. They eat very much, making uſe of it always after Meals to help digeſtion.

Through

Through the whole Kingdom are neither Lions, Aſſes, nor Sheep; but the Foreſts are full of Tigers, Harts, and Apes, and the Fields are full of Beeves, Cows, and Hogs. As for Hens, Ducks, and Turtles, they are not to be numberd, which is the general Proviſion for their Feſtivals. Their Horſes are very well ſhap'd; of which there are always five or ſix hunderd in the King's Stables; He alſo keeps the ſame number of Elephants, of which ſome are for the Service of his Houſe, the reſt bred for the Wars. Theſe Elephants are of a prodigious bigneſs, neither are there any ſo tall nor ſo nimble in any part of *Aſia*; for they will bow themſelves, and ſtoop ſo low, that you may get upon their backs without help. They have no Cats, but they have Dogs that ſerve for the ſame purpoſe, and will watch all night to kill the Rats and Mice, which are very large and very troubleſom. Very few Birds are to be ſeen in the Air; which toward the evening grows duskiſh, by reaſon of thoſe vaſt number of Gnats that get into the Houſes in the night time and hinder people from ſleeping, not only by the noiſe which they make, but with their continual ſtinging; which is one of the greateſt inconveniencies of the Country. For remedy whereof in ſome meaſure, an hour before they go to ſleep they take the Huſk or Chaff of the Rice, which flies from the Rice when it is beaten, and ſtrew it upon a ſmall Fire in a Fire-ſhovel, and ſo let it ſmoak, and by that means they kill or drive thoſe Flies away. Beſides this, they cover the Bed with a Pavilion or Tent that trails upon the ground, made like a Net with very ſmall holes to let in the Air. But notwithſtanding all the prevention can be us'd, they will be about a man when he riſes i' the morning. But there is yet a far greater inconvenience in this Country, which proceeds from the infinite numbers of white Emmets, which though they are but little, have teeth ſo ſharp, that they will eat down a wooden Poſt in a ſhort time. And if great care be not taken in the places where you lock up your Bales of Silk, in four and twenty hours they will eat through a Bale, as if it had been ſaw'd in two in the middle. Several of them have fallen from the Cieling into my Neck, where they rais'd Bliſters upon the Skin, which preſently fall again being waſh'd with cold Water.

I have told you that Hens and Ducks are infinitely numerous in *Tunquin*; I will now tell you how they preſerve the Eggs of theſe Creatures, which they will keep for two or three years together without being ſpoil'd. They ſalt them, and to make them take ſalt, they fill a Veſſel full of Water, and throw a good quantity of Salt into it. If the Egg ſink to the bottom, the Pickle is not good; then they throw in more Salt, till they find that the Eggs ſwim. The Pickle being thus made, they take Aſhes, and make them up into a Paſt with this Pickle: and in this Paſt they encloſe every Egg by it ſelf, and then wrap it up in a leaf of an Herb, not unlike one of our Pear-tree leaves, but much larger, and then put the Eggs into Earthen Pots cloſe cover'd: after which manner they keep their Eggs for two or three years together.

In other parts of the *Indies* where there is great ſtore of Oyl, as in the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, the Kingdoms of *Pegu*, and *Arochan*, they put their Eggs into great Earthen Pots well varniſh'd, and then fill the Veſſel with an Oyl which is made of a ſmall Seed like Rape-ſeed. For as for Sallad Oyl, after you are once paſs'd *Aleppo*, you ſee no more Olive-trees over all *Aſia*, but only in one place of *Perſia* near *Casbin*, where between the Mountains lies a little Valley, about a League long and half a League broad, full of Olive-trees, but they make but very little Oyl, preſerving the Olives only to eat. But to return to the Eggs; they are the chief Proviſion which they eat a Ship-board. But the Eggs which are preſerv'd in Salt are preferr'd much before thoſe that are kept in Oyl; becauſe that in uſing the firſt, there is no need of carrying Salt to Sea, or of boiling Salt with their Rice. When they eat them, they boil them till they are hard, and with every mouthful of Rice they eat a Pea's bigneſs of Egg, which is as good and better then Salt with their Rice. As to what remains, there are neither Mines of Gold nor Silver in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, neither do they Coin any Money.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Riches, Trade, and Money of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

THE chief Riches of the Country of *Tunquin* conſiſt in the great quantity of Silks which they ſell to the *Hollanders*, and other Foreigners, and in their *Lignum Aloes*. Of which there is ſome worth a thouſand Crowns the Pound, according to its goodneſs and oylineſs. There is ſome that is not worth above three Crowns, but it is dry and good for nothing but to make Cabinets, or Beads to hang about Womens Necks. All the *Mahumetans*, eſpecially ſuch as let their Beards grow, make great account of this Wood; and when they give a Viſit, they preſently bring a little Chafing-diſh, and caſt a ſmall piece of this Wood upon the Coals, which yields a ſmoak and pleaſing miſt; with which they perfume their Beards, at the ſame time lifting up their hands to Heaven, and crying, *Elhemed Illah*, or *God be thanked*. If the Wood be oily, the bigneſs of a Pea will ſerve to throw upon the fire, which being a little moiſten'd in Water, will yield as much ſmoak as a dry piece as big as a Man's fiſt. Which is the reaſon, that if it be oily and good it wants no price. One of the chief Preſents, as I have obſerv'd in another part of this Book, which the *Portugals* of *Goa* ſent to the Emperor of *Japon*, was a piece of *Lignum Aloes*, ſix foot long, and two round. It coſt 40000 *Pardo's* or 54000 *Livres*.

It is ſo much the more pleaſure and profit to trade with the People of *Tunquin*, by how much the more faithful and frank they are in their dealing then the *Chineſes*, who will deceive you if they can; ſo that it is a hard thing to be too cunning for them, as I have often found by experience. When you have ſold them any Commodity, and they find that their Bargain is not very advantageous, their general way of getting off is this: As they have generally three ſorts of Reals, one ſort that is full weight, others which are light, four, others eight *per Cent.* if they have no mind to ſtand to their bargain, they offer to pay you for your Goods

in

in light Reals, which they have clipt themſelves, and ſo you are deceiv'd. There are no ſuch People for Trade in the World: they refuſe to deal in nothing, even in old Shoes, and if you will ſell them but one of them too, they'l buy it, without ever enquiring why you will not ſell the other. But for thoſe of *Tunquin* they are more blunt and plain in their dealing, ſo that it is a pleaſure to have to deal with them. I have told you, there are neither Mines of Gold or Silver in *Tunquin*, neither do they Coin Money there. So that in Trade they make uſe of certain Lingots of Gold, as they are brought out of *China*, ſome of which amount to 300 Livres of our Money, others to ſix hunder'd. They alſo make uſe of Bars of Silver as they are brought from *Japon*. As for ſmall Payments they either cut the large Bars into ſmall pieces, to which purpoſe they have their Scales, like our *Stellcers*; or elſe they pay in Foreign Coin, which are the Reals of *Spain* generally. This Gold and Silver is brought from *China*, and *Japon*, in lieu of thoſe vaſt quantities of Silk which are exported out of the Country, which with Musk and *Lignum Aloes* are the chief Riches of the Kingdom.

CHAP. V.

Of the Strength of the Kingdom of Tunquin *by Sea and Land.*

THey who have written before me concerning the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, have ſpoken largely of its Forces both by Sea and Land, and allow it a prodigious number both of Souldiers and Galleys. They write that the Forces which were uſually wont to meet at the Rendevouz were 12000 Horſe, 2000 Elephants, as well to carry the King's and the Nobilities Tents and Baggage, as for the Service of the War, 300000 Foot, and 300 Galleys. And in regard the Kingdom is well ſtor'd with Proviſion and Ammunition, that in time of War the whole Army exceeds 500000 Men. But the number which my Brother

ſaw

The King of *Tunquin*'s Setting out for the War.

1. *The King going out of his Palace is carried in his* Palanquin *or Chair by the Chief Officers of his Houſhold.*

2. *The Order of the King's March when he goes to the War.*

3. *The Muſicians and Trumpeters who follow his Chair.*

4. *An Officer who carries a Baſon full of Water, on which doth float a Braſs Boul with a hole in the bottom of it; ſo that exactly in an hour this Boul becomes full of Water, and ſuddenly ſinks to the bottom.*

5. *Then preſently two other Officers do ſtrike the Hour upon two great Braſs Platters, N.5. of about a Yard Diameter, and much after the Form of our Burning Glaſſes, yet of the Metall that Bells are made of, which cauſes that they are heard a very far off.*

Afterwards he that carries the Baſon of Water takes up the Cup from the bottom, and ſets it again a ſwimming atop of the Water, juſt as it was before. When it is full and ſinks, they after the ſame manner ſtrike on the ſaid Platters. And this is their way of reckoning the Hour and Times in Tunquin, *as well as in the* Indies, *and almoſt throughout the Eaſtern Parts betwixt the* Tropicks; *for that the Clocks which are made in* Europe *become uſeleſs in thoſe Countries during the* Rainy *Seaſon, the Air being there ſo heavy and damp, that all Iron and Steel, nay the very Knives and Watches in peoples Pockets do grow ruſty, though you wrap them up never ſo well in Cotton or Leather, and take all the care imaginable to keep them dry; yet it will be impoſſible otherwiſe to preſerve them from Ruſt, than by letting them lie in Oyl while that Weather laſts.*

This Foggy Dampneſs of the Air is predominant as ſoon as you are paſt Perſia, *in all the* Mogol's *Countrey, from the Fifteenth of* June *to the end of* September. *The further one goes on toward the Eaſt, the later theſe Rains do begin and are met withall.*

It's

It's good likewiſe to obſerve, that in the Empire of the Great Mogul, *in* Tunquin, *and in other Eaſterly Parts between the* Tropicks, *they do as we divide the Day and Night into 24 Hours, making the Day of* 12, *and the Night to be of as much; ſo to proportion equally the Times of Working and of Reſt. But they do ſubdivide both the Day and the Night into* 4 *equal parts, and this Diviſion is made known by the Strokes given upon thoſe Platters. As for Example: The firſt Hour of the firſt Watch of the Night is mark'd by one Blow, the ſecond by another, and the third likewiſe by another. In the ſecond Watch of the Night the firſt Hour is made known by two Blows one after another, and ſo of the reſt untill the third Watch; then at the firſt Hour of that they give three* Strokes. *And this Order is obſerved till the laſt Hour of the fourth Watch, which is mark'd by four Knocks. In this manner they continue to marck the firſt Hour of the day with the ſame Regularity.*

All Perſons of Quality do keep Eight Officers on purpoſe for this Imploy; who likewiſe are to have a care of keeping the Palace Gates. This Engine for the marking of the Hours is ordinarily hung up at the Entry of great Palaces near the Porter's Lodge.

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place this Page 14.

The Order of the March of the Queens of *Tunquin*, when they go abroad out of the Palace.

A. *Six Elephants go in the Front, drawing a kind of a Sedan close shut up, with Grate-like Windows.*

B. *Fifteen Captains or Officers walk next, Armed with Fire-locks.*

C. *The Sedan wherein the Queen is.*

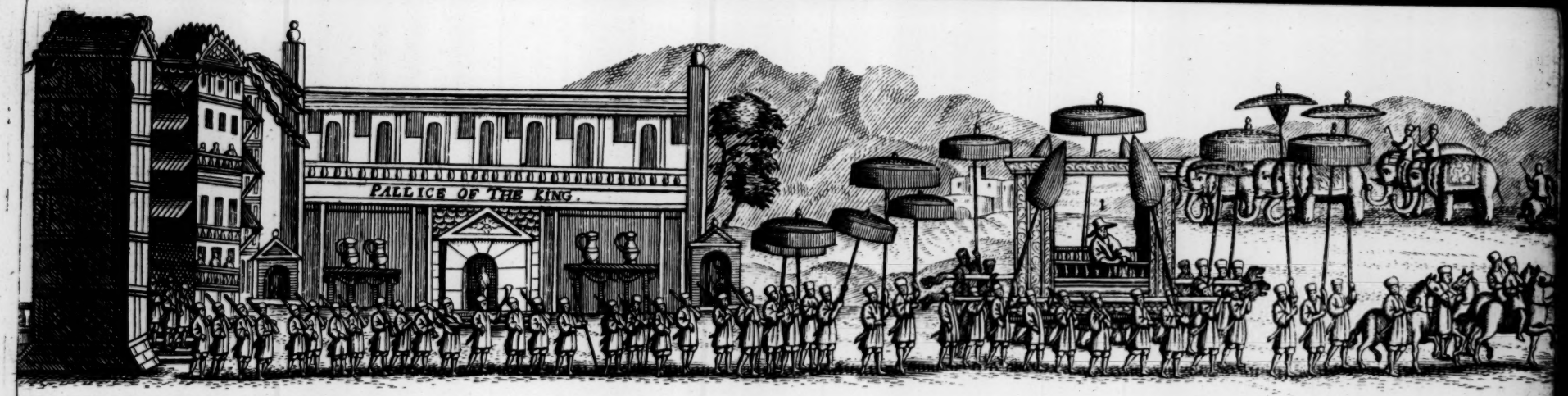
D. *Six of the Queens Gentlemen do carry* Parasols, *for to guard the Queens Chair from the Scorching of the Sun.*

F. *Six Ladies of Honour of the Queens go next. The first hath the Command of the Queens Eunuchs: these Eunuchs, though throughly Spaded, yet are never admitted into the Queens Apartment; the Kings of* Tunquin *being in that particular more jealous than other Kings and Mahometan Princes, who allow this sort of Eunuchs to serve their Queens within the Palace. The next in Office of these Ladies presents the Queen with Sweet Meats when she is about to drink; for they usually eat some before they drink, they alleaging that this keeps them from having the Cholic, to which they are very subject in* Tunquin. *The third in rank carries a Box of Perfumes and* Betel. *The others usher the Queen when she gets into the Sedan, or alights.*

G. *Here is a Chariot drawn by Eight Maids of Quality, when she gets out of the Sedan; but before she appears, all the Men and Eunuchs do withdraw into such places, whence they cannot have the sight of her, it being a Crime to look upon her: then the Ladies help her out of the Sedan, and the Maids draw her along to whatever place she has a mind to go in unto.*

Place this next to, The King of *Tunquin* setting out for the War.





Order Of The March of The king of Tunquin When he goes out of his Pallice.



The order & March Of The king of Tunquin When He goes To Warr:

ſaw in the year 1649, when the King was preparing to make War againſt the King of *Cochinchina*, for certain Ships which the *Cochinchineſes* had taken from the *Tunquineſes*: though the Quarrel was taken up by certain Embaſſadors which the King of *Cochinchina* ſent to the King of *Tunquin*, to whom the former made ſatisfaction.

The Army that was then prepar'd to march upon this Expedition was compos'd of 8000 Horſe, 94 thouſand Foot, and 722 Elephants; 130 for the War, and the reſt to carry the Tents and Baggage of the King and the Nobility; and 318 Galleys and Barks, very long and narrow, with Oars and Sails; and this was that which my Brother ſaw. The Condition of the Souldiery is very toilſom and laborious, and of little advantage in the Kingdom of *Tunquin*. For they are all their life time ſo ti'd and engag'd to the Service of the Wars, that though they are capable of other Labours for the ſupport of their Families, they are not permitted to undertake it. Thoſe days that they are not upon the Guard, they are oblig'd to attend their Captains where-ever they go, and two days in a week they are compell'd to Exerciſe with their Bows and Arrows in their preſence. Their Companies conſiſt of a hundred or a hundred and thirty Men; and they of each Company that have made the beſt ſhot, have one of them two Months Wages, the other one, which is paid them in Rice. He that makes the worſt ſhot, next time he mounts the Guard, is oblig'd to ſtand Centinel double his time. All the Captains look upon it as a great piece of glory to have their Souldiers Arms and Weapons neat and bright. If they find any ruſt upon them, they ſconce them eight days Wages for the firſt fault, and for the ſecond they are very ſeverely chaſtis'd. As for thoſe that ſerve in the Galleys, they are entertain'd and liſted proportionably. And ſometimes the Captains ſend their Souldiers aboard for ſome days, that they may learn to row. For it is one of the chiefeſt Paſtimes of the Kings of *Tunquin* to ſee the Mock-fights of the Galleys. When he has a mind to delight himſelf with this Divertiſment, the King, with ſome part of his Court, removes to one of his fair Palaces, that ſtands upon one of the largeſt Rivers in his Country; and it is a great Honour for any of the Captains whoſe Souldiers carry the Victory. Now as the Victory is only got by the force

force of the Oars, it happens ſometimes that there are ſome Souldiers who ſtrain themſelves ſo hard, that they fall down dead with the Oar in their hands: for the King is the only Judge of the Combat. Wherein the pleaſure that he takes is ſuch, that he ſends an Elephant to the Captain that obtains the Victory, and gives him three Months Wages beſides. If any Souldier chance to die in this Exerciſe, his Widow or his Heirs have two years Pay. But notwithſtanding all their pain and labour, their Wages are ſo ſmall, that they are not able to maintain their Wives and Children. But in regard they Marry very young in this Country, the Wives as well of the Souldiers as of all the meaner ſort of people, take care to learn ſome Trade beſides, that they may be able to maintain their Families. The Captains alſo have their work prepar'd for them. For they are oblig'd to look after the King's Elephants, and to manage them for the Wars, and ſo to breed them, that they may not be afraid of Wild-fire, or any other Artificial Fires: as alſo to build places all along the Rivers, for the Galleys to ride ſhelter'd in, when they can no longer live out at Sea. All theſe Officers and Captains, and Lords of the Court, which are generally call'd *Mandarins*, have but four days in a Month to divert themſelves, two at the firſt change of the Moon, and two at the full.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

THe People of *Tunquin* are naturally mild and peaceful, ſubmitting eaſily to reaſon, and condemning the Tranſports of Choler. They eſteem the Manufactures of ſtrange Countries far beyond thoſe of their own; though they are not very curious of ſeeing any other Countries but thoſe where they were born; and where, as they ſay, they always deſire to live, to honour the Memory of their Anceſtors. They have a tone in ſpeaking, naturally



N1 The Great Chancellor Of The Kingdome Of Tunquin. 2: 3: 4. The Mandarins Or Officers Of Warr. 5 Cheif Chancellor Of all The guris aictions Of The Kingdom. 6: 7 Mandarins. Of Learning Or officers Of Judicature. : 8 The Chief Vsher.

rally ſoft and pleaſing; happy memories, and in their Language, which is very florid, they uſe ſeveral appoſite Comparisons. They have good Poets among them, and People that love Learning; in which reſpect they are no way inferiour to the *Chineſes*, their Neighbours.

The *Tunquineſes*, as well Men as Women, are for the moſt part well proportion'd, of an Olive Complexion, very much admiring the whiteneſs of the *Europeans*. Their Noſes and Faces are not ſo flat as thoſe of the *Chineſes*, as being generally better made. Their Hair is very black, which they uſually wear as long as it will grow, being very careful in combing it. The Common People plait it in treſſes, and tie it like a great Roll upon the top of their Heads. But the Nobility, Men of Law, and Souldiers, tie their Locks about their Necks, that they may not flutter in their Faces. They do not believe their Teeth to be handſom, till they have made them as black as jet; and they ſuffer their Nails to grow; the longeſt being accounted the faireſt.

Their Habit is grave and modeſt, being a long Robe that reaches down to their heels, much like that of the *Japonneſes*, without any diſtinction of Sex. This Habit is bound about at the waſt with a Girdle of Silk, interwoven with Gold and Silver, the Workmanſhip whereof is alike on both ſides. As for the Souldiers, their upper Garments reach no farther then their Knees; only their Breeches reach down to the mid Leg, without either Hoſe or Shoes.

The vulger ſort of People are altogether ſlaves for one part of the year. For unleſs they be the Citizens of the Capital City, where the King keeps his Court, all the other Handicrafts of what Trade ſoever, as Joyners, Carpenters, Locksmiths, Maſons, and the like, are oblig'd every year to work three Months at the King's Palace; and two Months, or Moons more (For the *Tunquineſes* reckon their Months by the Moon) for the *Mandarins*, or great Lords. The reſt of the year is for themſelves, all which time they have liberty to work for the ſupport of their own Family. This Service in their Language is call'd *Viecquan*, or the *Condition of a Slave*. But they are liable to other drudgeries worſe then thoſe before mention'd; as to lop Trees, with which they chiefly feed their Elephants. This is a ſevere days work, to which they were condemn'd by the great Grandfather of

the King that now reigns, after he had put an end to the Civil Wars that turmoil'd his Kingdom, and that he had brought his rebellious Subjects to ſubmit themſelves. They had occaſion'd him a great deal of trouble, and in regard he could not ſubdue them without a great hazard of his Army, his Council advis'd him to famiſh them; but he rather choſe to give them their Lives, and to condemn them and their Poſterity to this laborious Service, of which he might in time reap the benefit.

I have told you elſewhere that the *Tunquineſes* take great delight to live upon the Rivers, which are there free from Crocodiles and all other dangerous Animals, which haunt the Waters of *Nile* and *Ganges*. Where we are to obſerve, that theſe Rivers overflow their Banks every year, after the Rains are fall'n, with that terrible violence, that many times they carry away whole Towns and Villages, at what time a good part of the Kingdom looks like a Sea, reſembling the lower *Egypt* under Water upon the Inundation of *Nile*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Marriages of the Tunquineſes, *and their ſeverity toward Adultereſſes.*

THE *Tunquineſes* cannot Marry without the conſent of the Father and Mother, or if they be dead, without the allowance of their neareſt Kindred. They muſt alſo have the permiſſion of the Judge or Governour of the place where the Marriage is to be made, for the obtaining of which they muſt give him ſome Preſent. But in regard they were wont to exact upon the poor people more then they were able to give them, ſo that many Marriages were diſappointed, to the great damage of the Public; the King, who reign'd in the year 1639, being inform'd of theſe Extortions, and their ill Conſequences, ſet forth a Law to regulate thoſe Abuſes, and to curb the Authority of the Governours. He order'd that the young Man who was deſirous to Marry, ſhould pay no more then ſuch a Sum, according

to

to the proportion of his Eſtate, amounting to one or two fourths *per Cent.* and that they that were not worth above a hundred Crowns ſhould pay nothing. Now in regard the Common People, both Men and Women, are naturally laborious, all that the Maids can get they preſerve for their Portions, and to buy them two or three handſom Garments, with a Neck-lace of Coral or yellow Amber, and a certain number of Beads, to garniſh their Locks; which they ſuffer to hang down upon their Backs, accounting the beauty of their Hair to conſiſt in the length.

There is no Wedding kept without a great Feaſt; and they muſt be very poor when the Feaſt laſts not above three days; for ſometimes they junket for nine days together. The next day after the Wedding the Bridgroom calls the Bride his Siſter, and ſhe calls the Bridegroom Brother. The Law of the Land permits the Man to divorce his wife when he pleaſes, which they do many times for very ſlight cauſes. But the Woman has not the ſame Priviledge: or at leaſt, if ſhe deſire a ſeparation, it is much more difficult to obtain; and the occaſion muſt be very notorious. The *Tunquineſes* ſay that this Law was made to keep the Women in ſubjection, and to oblige them to be reſpectful to their Husbands. When the Husband deſires this ſeparation, the Ceremony is this. You muſt know that many of the Eaſtern People never touch their Victuals with their hands, but make uſe of two little ſticks about ſix inches long, gilt and varniſh'd, which ſerve them inſtead of Forks. The Husband then, when he goes about to repudiate his Wife, takes one of his own ſticks, and one of his Wife's, and having broken them, they take each one half, and ſow it up in a piece of Silk, in which they keep it. Then the Man is bound to reſtore the Woman what ſhe brought with her, and to keep the Children which they had between them. But theſe Divorces are not half ſo frequent as formerly.

The Laws are alſo very rigorous againſt Adultereſſes. So that if a woman accus'd of this crime be convicted thereof, ſhe is caſt to an Elephant bred up to this purpoſe, who preſently throws her up into the Air with his Trunk, and when ſhe comes to the ground, tramples her under his feet, till he can perceive no life in her.

While my Brother was at the Court at *Tunquin*, he was a

witneſs of the ſevere Puniſhment, to which a Princeſs was condemn'd, for being taken in the Act with a certain Prince. It is the Cuſtom in the *Eaſt*, when a Prince dies, to ſhut up in the moſt private and retir'd part of all his Palace all the women which he made uſe of in his life time. There they are allow'd two Maids to attend them, they eat alone, and ſee no perſon living any more to the very day of their deaths. I cannot tell by what means one of the Princes of the blood had got a view of one of the deceaſed King his Uncle's wives; but being deſirous to ſee her again, and to overcome all difficulties that oppos'd him, and to deceive the Guards that watch'd the Dores, he made uſe of a ſlight not eaſily diſcover'd. For you muſt know, that in the Kingdom *Tunquin*, as in all the Kingdoms of *Aſia*, in the Houſes of the Kings and other great Lords, the Kitchin is uſually ſeparated from the Houſe, and that the Garden is between them; ſo that for the better carrying the Meat from one place to another, the Servants make uſe of a kind of Flasket, or rather Iron Cheſt. And to keep the Meat warm, the Diſhes are ſupported by little ſticks laid athwart, about an inch diſtant one from another, under which is an Iron Plate with holes pierc'd quite through, about half a foot above another, which makes the bottom of the Cheſt; between which Plates they put lighted Coals, to keep the Meat warm. Theſe Cheſts being to be carri'd by two men, the *Tunquineſe* Prince plaid his game ſo well, that he was put into one of theſe Cheſts wherein the Princeſſes Meat was wont to be carri'd up into her Apartment. But he was not there many days before the thing was diſcover'd. He was preſently brought before the King, who caus'd him to have ſeveral weighty Chains to be put about his Neck and Waſt, and upon his Hands and Leggs; and thus chain'd and manacled, he order'd him to be led about for five Months together, to be ſeen by the People. After that he was ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon, where he remain'd ſeven years, till the death of the King, whoſe Son coming to the Throne, ſet him at liberty, upon condition he ſhould ſerve as a private Souldier upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom. As for the Princeſs ſhe was ſhut up in a little Chamber upon the top of a Tow'r, where ſhe remain'd twelve days without having any thing given her to eat or drink; after that the Chamber

was

was all uncover'd at the top, that the ſun might come at her, and ſcorch her to death, and ſo ſhe di'd in three days. The two Maids that ſerv'd her had a little more favour, for they were thrown to the Elephants, who preſently trod them to death. The two Porters of the Cheſt, or Flasket, were ti'd to four ſmall Galleys, by the two Hands, and two Leggs, and as they Row'd ſeveral ways were preſently diſmembred. Being at *Daca*, in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, I ſaw the ſame Juſtice done to a *Bramerè*, who would have betraid *Cha-Eſt-Can* to the King of *Arachan*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Viſits, Feaſts, and Paſtimes of the Tunquineſes.

AMong all the *Eaſtern* People the *Tunquineſes* are the moſt ſociable, and moſt frequently viſit one another. Generally they make their Viſits about Noon, in the hotteſt time of the day, and then every one walks with a Train ſuitable to his Condition. The Princes and *Mandarines* ride upon their Elephants, or elſe they are carri'd in a kind of Litter, where they may either ſit or lie. Six Men carry it, and behind them follow ſix more to eaſe them by times. Their Train conſiſts generally of fifty or ſixty Perſons; neither are they permitted to exceed that number. As for the ordinary Gentry, and Officers of the Court, they ride a Horſe-back, not being allow'd above ſeven or eight Servants to attend them. They chew *Betlè* continually, as all the other *Aſiaticks* do in ſuch places where it is to be had. And when any one comes to viſit another, it would be taken for a great affront, if at his taking leave, he ſhould not be preſented with a Box of *Betlè*, to take what he pleas'd.

The richer that Box is, the more Honour is given to the Perſon to whom the *Betlè* is preſented: Inſomuch that when a Prince is about to be marri'd, he uſually ſends three of theſe Boxes to his Spouſe, of which I have ſeen ſome at the

the Apartments of ſome of the Princes that came to the Court of the *Great Mogul*, which were worth above 4 or 500000 *Livres*: One ſhall be cover'd with Diamonds, another with Rubies and Pearls, another with Emraulds and Pearls, or elſe with other Jewels.

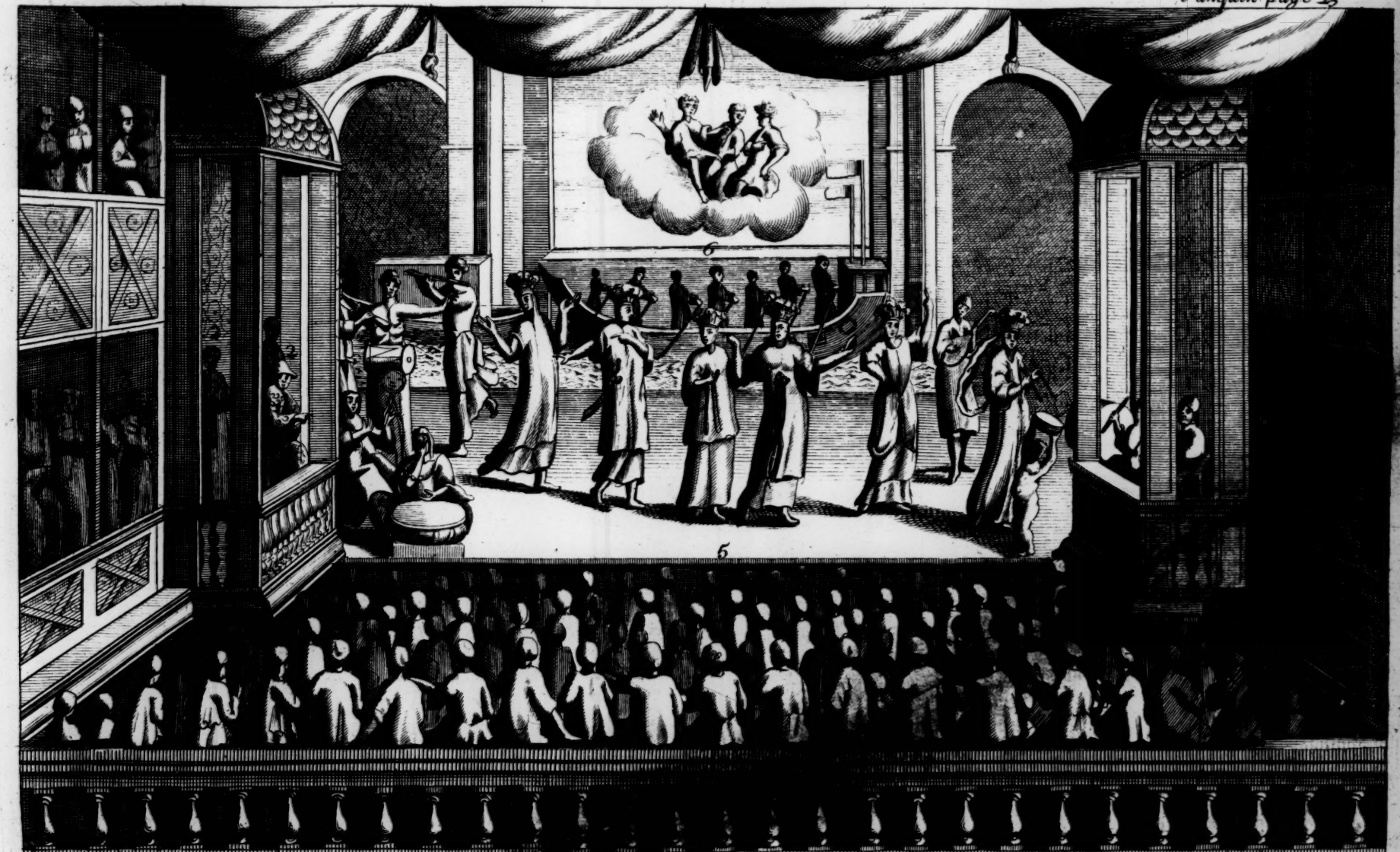
The *Tunquineſes* take it for a great diſhonour to have their Heads bare, which is only for Criminals, whom they cauſe to be ſhav'd ſo ſoon as they are taken. So that it is a difficult thing for a Criminal to eſcape the hands of Juſtice, for wherever they go, when they find that a man has no Hair, he is taken and carri'd to the Governour, who cauſes him to be nail'd to a Croſs immediately.

They ſit croſs legg'd, after the manner of the *Aſiatic* People. At great mens Houſes, in the Halls, where they receive their Viſits, there is as it were an *Alcove*, with a kind of a Bedſted rais'd about a foot from the ground. It is cover'd with a very fine Mat, made of little Reeds bound together, as it were with fine thread. For it is not the Cuſtom to ſpread Carpets upon the Floors, as in other Countries of *Aſia*. Not that the deerneſs hinders them from making uſe of them, for theſe Mats coſt them more then a fine *Perſian* or *Indian* Carpet would do, but becauſe they are cooler to ſit upon, and becauſe the *Punies* do not get ſo eaſily into them. Being at *Bantam* I bought one of theſe Mats of a *Tunquineſe*, which was admir'd for its fineneſs. It was nine Ells ſquare, and as even and as ſoft as Velvet. With theſe Mats they cover the Beds or Couches, upon which the *Mandarins*, or *Princes*, and the Nobilty which accompany them, ſeat themſelves round the Chamber, every one having one Cuſhion under him, and another at his Back.

As for their Diet the *Tunquineſes* are not very curious. The Common People are contented with Rice boil'd in water, and dri'd Fiſh, or ſalted Eggs. For as for Fleſh they eat none but at their Feſtivals. The great Lords are ſerv'd every day with Fleſh and Fiſh, but their Cooks know not what belongs to bak'd Meats. Otherwiſe they are more neat in their Kitchins and Chambers then we, only they make no uſe either of Napkins or Table-cloaths. Whatever is ſet before them to eat, is ſerv'd in little Plates, not ſo big as our Trenchers, being made of wood lacker'd with all ſorts of Flow'rs, like the Cabinets which are brought from *Japan*.

All





The Representation of ỹ Theatre where they Act their Comedies for the Divertisement of ỹ King of Tunquin and his Court.
1. the Kings Box. 2 the box for ỹ two Iudges who preside at ỹ Comedies. 3. & 4. the Princes Boxes. 5. the Theatre for the Actors. 6. the Machines and decoration.

All theſe Plates are brought up, rang'd in order, in a large Voyder, lacker'd like the Plates. Uſually the Voyder holds ten or twelve Plates, and the Meat is cut in little pieces, about the bigneſs of a Hazle Nut. They make uſe neither of Spoons, nor Knives, nor Forks, but only of thoſe little Sticks, of which I have made mention in the foregoing Chapter, never touching their Meat with their fingers.

When there are ſeveral ſitting at the Table, either at their ordinary Meals, or upon ſome Feſtival, they account it a great piece of Manners to be ſilent; or if they have a deſire to Diſcourſe, they alway allow the Eldeſt the honour of beginning, bearing a great reſpect to them that are aged. But the Youngeſt, at the Table, is never permitted to begin the Diſcourſe. They waſh their Hands, their Mouths, and Faces before they ſit down, but never after Meals. And when they deſire to know whether every one has had his fill, they ask him whether he have eaten his Rice, according to the Cuſtom of the Ancient Fathers in Scripture, who, by Bread, meant the whole Repaſt. Neither is it a Cuſtom among them to ask one another how they do? but how many Meaſures of Rice he eat for his Dinner, and whether he eat with an Appetite. This is a general Cuſtom among all the Idolatrous *Indians*, unleſs in the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, where they eat not Rice only, but Bread, and there they ask in civility how much Rice they boil'd, and how much Meal they bak'd for Bread; for the more he eats, the better in health they think a man is.

Among all the Paſtimes of the *Tunquineſes* there are none wherein they take ſo much delight as in Comedies, which are only Acted in the Night-time; but thoſe which are preſented the day that they firſt behold the new Moon are the beſt. They laſt from Sun-ſetting to Sun-riſing, and they are ſet out with beautiful Decorations and Machines, very pleaſing to behold. They are excellently well skill'd in repreſenting the Sea and Rivers, and making a ſhew of Sea-fights, and Combats between Galleys and Barks, though they have ſeldom more then eight Actors, Men and Women. The places appointed for theſe ſights, are great Halls, the third part whereof the Theater takes up, the reſt being fill'd with Benches for the Spectators. Upon each ſide of the Theater is a Box very ſumptuouſly ſet out, reſerv'd for the King,

King when he pleaſes to come. The Actors and Actreſſes are very magnificently clad. The dreſs for the Womens heads being a kind of Miter or Diadem, which exceedingly becomes them, from the hinder part whereof two Ribonds, three fingers broad, hang down below their waſts. Both the one and the other Act their parts very perfectly, and, according to their manner, obſerve an exact time in their Dancing.

At one of the corners of the Hall ſit the two Judges of the Comedy, one of whom beats time upon a Braſs Drum. Their other ordinary Paſtimes, eſpecially for the Lords and *Mandarins*, are Fiſhing and Hunting, though they take more pleaſure in the former, by reaſon of the plenty of Fiſh which their Rivers afford them. But, as I ſaid before, they follow theſe ſports only upon the days that are permitted them, as being better husbands of their time then we, not ſparing any part of it from buſineſs. So that they who at the beginning of that little knowledge which we had of theſe People, wrote that their Manners and Cuſtoms were wild and barbarous, were miſinform'd. For as there is no reaſon to doubt of the truth of what I affirm, and what others have confirm'd by other Relations, we may well conculde from what I have ſaid, That all the Duties of Civil Society and Politeneſs are not confin'd within our *Europe*; but that the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, anciently a part of *China*, ſtill retains the good Government and Civility of the *Chineſes* themſelves.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Learned Men in the Kingdom of Tunquin.

CErtain it is, that the *Tunquineſes* have a very great inclination for Learning, and that they apply themſelves to their Studies with diligence and ſucceſs: for that they cannot be advanc'd without it to the Offices and Dignities in the Kingdom. I do not here, by Learning, mean the underſtanding of the Languages of our Learned Men

Men of *Europe*, which are altogether unknown to the Eaſtern People, and much leſs the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, of which they never ſo much as heard. But we mean the knowledge of the Laws of their Country, by means whereof they obtain the charges of Judicature; the *Mathematicks*, and particularly *Aſtronomy*, to which all the Orientals have a great inclination, as being great obſervers of the Stars, by whoſe aſſiſtance they flatter themſelves to be able to foretel things to come. The *Tunquineſes* are alſo paſſionate lovers of *Muſic* and *Poetry*, as being great admirers of *Comedy* and *Tragedy*, of which thoſe two Sciences are the main Compoſition; ſo that the Muſicians and Actors of *Tunquin* are accounted the beſt in the whole Eaſtern part of the World.

That you may acquire Nobility by Learning, in your Youth, you muſt paſs through three degrees, of the *Synde*, the *Doucan*, and the *Tanſi*, from which degree you may aſcend to that of the Nobility.

To attain the firſt degree, it behoves the Youth of *Tunquin* to apply themſelves for eight years together to their Studies, and that very cloſe, to enable themſelves for the Office of a Notary, Proctor, and Advocate, to which there is nothing more conducing then to ſpeak Eloquently in public. At the end of eight years, they are examin'd concerning the duty of thoſe Employments; and if any one fail to give an Anſwer to the Queſtions propounded, he is ſent back again as incapable to obtain any Employment for the future, or to ſtudy any longer. For thoſe that acquit themſelves well of their Examination, which is very rigorous, their Names are ſet down in a Regiſter, and preſented to the King, who firſt grants them the liberty to take upon them the Title of *Synde*, and then if it be their aim to enjoy the Quality of *Doucan*, they are commanded by the *Tanſi*'s to ſtudy *Muſic*, *Aſtrology*, and *Poeſie*, not only to be able to be judge of it, but alſo to perform themſelves upon occaſion. For to be good judges of *Comedy*, which is a great Honour among them, it behoves them to be both good Comedians and Muſicians. Nor indeed is there any Paſtime more frequent then that of the Theater in this Country; for there is never any ſolemn Feſtival among them, which is not accompany'd and ſet

forth with Artificial Fire-works, in making whereof theſe People are exquiſite; after which they have their Comedies, with Machines, and change of Scenes in every Act. Beſides this, their Actors have a prodigious memory, ſo that let the part be never ſo long, they never make uſe of Prompters to aſſiſt them, as we do in *Europe*.

They that will learn the *Mathematicks*, muſt make their own Inſtruments themſelves, and ſpend five years in this ſtudy. They are examin'd every year, and if they fail to anſwer ſuch Queſtions as are ask'd them, for the firſt four they are pardon'd; but at the end of the five years, if upon the grand Examination, they fail to anſwer the Queſtions demanded them by the *Tanſi's*, they are utterly degraded; whereas if they ſatisfie their Examinors, they are permitted the Name and Dignity of *Doucan*. After thirteen years thus ſpent, before they can arrive to the degree of a *Tanſi*, they muſt ſpend four years more in learning to write and read the *Chineſe* Character to ſuch a certain number of Words. For the life of a Man would not ſuffice to learn to write and read the *Chineſe* quite through. The reaſon is, becauſe that as to this particular, it is not in *China* as in other Nations, where one Word is compos'd of ſeveral Letters. The *Chineſes* for every Word have a different Figure, all which Figures are very numerous, as you may eaſily conjecture. By the by let me tell you, that theſe Figures are made with ſmall Pencils, and that the *Chineſes* make uſe of a certain Ink, which is made up into a Paſte, and ſo moiſten'd in Water as you make uſe of it. They have alſo another ſort of Colour for certain Words. But they cannot make uſe of Pens, as our *Europeans*, which are made of Quils; nor of thoſe of other Eaſtern People, which are made of ſmall rediſh brown Reeds, the beſt of which grow in certain Merſhes in the Kingdom of *Pegu* and *Arachan*.

But to return to the Students of *Tunquin*, they are alſo oblig'd to underſtand the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Chineſes*, as well as their own; and the laſt four years being at an end, the laſt and great Examination is made in the great place, within the Encloſure of the Palace of *Tunquin*, which is a ſtately Marble ſtructure. There the King is preſent, with the Princes and great Lords of the Court, the *Mande-*

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rins for Learning; and all the *Tanſi's*; and many alſo come on purpoſe from diſtant Provinces to the Solemnity. Some Relations of *Tunquin* have been a little too ridiculous in this particular, aſſerting extravagantly, that ſometimes there are above 30 or 40000 Students preſent at theſe Examinations; but by what I could learn from my Brother, or gather by that diſcourſe which I have had with the Natives, the number of Students never exceeds three thouſand. There are in the place nine Scaffolds ſet up, of which the one is for the King and Princes, the other for the Examiners, and thoſe that are to be Examin'd: And for the better hearing what is ſaid, the Scaffolds are built like an Amphitheater. But whereas there are eight days ſpent in this Examination, the King and the *Mandarins* are never there but only the two firſt days. The laſt day all the Names of them who have been Examin'd, as well they who have anſwer'd well, as of them that have falter'd, are left in the Hands of the ſixteen chief *Manderins*, who are as it were ſixteen Counſellors of State, and then it is at the King's pleaſure to favour whom he thinks fit, of thoſe, who have not given full ſatisfaction to the Queſtions propounded to them. As for thoſe who were found very ignorant, they are degraded with ſhame, and there is no more ſaid of them. All thoſe Names are uſually written upon large Tables, ſet up at the Gate of the King's Palace for eight days together, to the end, that all the People may know who are receiv'd into the Rank of *Nobility*, and who not.

The eight days being paſs'd, they are all to appear again upon the ſame Scaffolds, where in the view of all the World, they who have had the misfortune to have falter'd in their Examinations, are diſmiſs'd as unworthy of any Employment: while they who have behav'd themſelves worthy of approbation, are honour'd with a Veſt of Violet Satin, which they preſently put on, and then take upon them the Name of *Tanſi's*. Then they have given them a Liſt of the Towns and Villages, where they are to receive the Rents which the King allows them; wherein however they have not an equal ſhare; ſome being allow'd more, ſome leſs, according to their merit, or the favour of the Prince. Preſently they ſend notice to the places aſſign'd them of the

time, at which they intend to be there: and then all the Inhabitants come forth to meet them, in Honour of their Dignity, with all ſorts of Muſic, and a Guilded *Branquar*, carried by eight Men. There they are permitted to ſtay three Months to divertize themſelves, and for their own recreation. After that they return to Court, to inſtruct themſelves in the affairs of the Kingdom, and the King's Houſe, and to perfect themſelves in the knowledge of thoſe things, which is the way to obtain the Dignity of a *Mandarin*. All Embaſſadours who are ſent to the Princes adjoyning, eſpecially to the *Chineſes*, are choſen out of theſe *Tanſi's*, among whom they always make choice of the ableſt, and not of the richeſt, the King allowing them ſufficient to maintain their Port, and defray the expences of the Embaſſy.

CHAP. X.

Of their Phyſicians, and the Diſeaſes of the Tunquineſes.

THe Phyſicians belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunquin* do not make it their buſineſs much to ſtudy Books; ſpending their Youth in ſearching after the nature and qualities of the Roots and Simples, and how to apply them according to the nature of the Diſtemper. But more particularly they apply themſelves to the beating of the Pulſe, and its diverſity of Meaſure, by which they chiefly pretend to underſtand the cauſe of the Diſeaſe, and what Remedy to make uſe of for cure. And therefore when they go to feel a Pulſe, they feel it in ſeveral parts of the Body; and according to the diverſity of the part, and the beating, they judge of the quality of the Diſtemper. Therefore upon their firſt coming, they feel the Patient in three places, firſt upon their right ſides, and ſecondly upon their left. By the Pulſe which they feel upon the wriſt of the right hand, they gueſs of the condition of the Lungs; by that which they feel upon the Vein of the Arms, where gene-

generally People are let Blood, they gueſs at the Diſtempers of the Stomach, and the Region of the Kidneys. The Pulſe of the left Wriſt diſcovers to them the condition of the Heart: By that in the Veins of the left Arm, where uſually they let Blood, they are inform'd of the eſtate of the Liver. By the Pulſes of the Temples, both right and left, they give a more exquiſite judgment of the Kidneys. They are very careful to count how many times a Pulſe of a ſick Perſon beats in the time of one Reſpiration; and according to theſe ſeveral Pulſes, they tell you which part of the Body is particularly diſtemper'd, whether the Heart, the Liver, or the Lungs; or whether the Diſtemper proceed from any outward cauſe, as from Cold, Sadneſs, or any other diſorderly Paſſion.

They never make uſe of any other Remedies but of Herbs and Roots, which they chooſe themſelves; there being no diſtinction among them of *Apothecary* and *Phyſician*. Theſe Herbs they mingle ſometimes with a little Ginger, which they boyl in Water, and give the Decoction, being ſtrain'd, to the Patient. They have very good Receipts for the Purples, Epilepſie, and ſeveral other Diſeaſes which are accounted incurable in *Europe*. They make uſe of *China* Ink to ſtop a Dyſentery, and for the cure of Wounds. When the Sea Ebbs from the ſhoar upon theſe Coaſts, they find upon the Sand a little ſmall kind of Crabs, which dye immediately, and by the heat of the Sun, which is there extraordinary, become as hard as a Stone in a ſhort time; theſe the *Tunquineſe* Phyſicians beat to Powder, and give to their Patients in Dyſenteries, and Feavers, ſometimes in *Aqua Vitæ*, ſometimes in plain Water. They mightily admire the Herb *Tea*, which comes from *China* and *Japan*; which latter Country produces the beſt. It is brought to them in Tin Pots cloſe ſtop'd, to keep out the Air. When they would uſe it, they boyl a quantity of Water, according to the proportion they intend to uſe, and when the Water ſeeths, throw a ſmall quantity into it, allowing as much as they can nip between their Thumb and fore-Finger to a Glaſs. This they preſcribe to be drank as hot as they can endure it, as being an excellent Remedy againſt the Headach, for the Gravel, and for thoſe that are ſubject to the Griping of the Guts; but then they order a little Ginger

to

to be put into the Water when it boyls. At *Goa*, *Batavia*, and in all the *Indian* Factories, there are none of the *Europeans* who do not ſpend above four or five Leaves a day; and they are careful to preſerve the boyl'd Leaf for an Evening Sallad, with Sugar, Vinegar, and Oyl. That is accounted the beſt *Tea* which colours the Water greeneſt; but that which makes the Water look Red, is little accounted of. In *Japan*. The King and great Lords, who drink *Tea*, drink only the Flower, which is much more wholſom, and of a taſt much more pleaſing. But the Price is much different; for one of our ordinary Beer Glaſſes is there worth a *French* Crown.

The moſt dangeroug Diſtempers that befall the *Tunquineſes*, moſt uſually happen when the bad Air ſurprizes the People; for of a ſudden it deprives them of their Speech, and then Death ſuddenly follows without a ſpeedy Remedy. The beſt Remedy for this ſudden Diſtemper is to mix ſome Counterpoiſon with *Aqua Vitæ* inſtead of Wine, and to let the Patient drink it as hot as he can. The Patient alſo muſt at the ſame time be rub'd with a Cloth dip'd in *Aqua Vitæ*, where Ginger has been boyl'd. This takes away the pains caus'd by cold Winds, and unwholſom Airs. Though ſome for the more ſpeedy cure of theſe pains, lay the Patient upon a Bed made only of Girts, four Fingers diſtant one from the other; and then ſetting a Chafing-diſh underneath, cauſe the ſick Perſon to ſweat in a Cloud of Frankincenſe, till the pain is gone, repeating the ſame thing Morning and Evening.

As for Blood-letting, it is by no means us'd in that Country. They make uſe of Fire, eſpecially for the Purple-Feaver, a Diſeaſe ſo dangerous in *France*. For the cure of this, the Phyſitians of *Tunquin* take the Pith of a Reed, which they dry very well; dip it in Oyl, and ſet it on Fire: and then apply to every Purple Spot one of theſe lighted Wicks. The Spot will give a whiſ like a ſmall Squib, and that's an infallible ſign that the Venom is gone out of the body. This Remedy is ſeldom apply'd but in the night time, becauſe the Spot does not appear ſo well in the day time. And the Phyſician muſt be very careful, that when this Venom flies out of the Patient's Body, it does not find a way into his own; for then there is no Remedy,

but

but Death. There are ſome Phyſicians that will prick the Purple Spot with a Needle, and let out the Peſtilential Blood; after which they burn the part ſo prick'd, and then rub it with Ginger, not permitting their Patient to take the Air in 20 days after they are cur'd. While they are under cure, they drink nothing but Water, with Citron-peel boyl'd in it, and abſtain from Fleſh and Butter. They give them to eat Rice boyl'd in Water, and ſalt Fiſh; but the more they abſtain from eating and drinking, the ſooner they are cur'd. And indeed it is a wonderful thing to ſee the excellent effects of their Remedies in ſo ſhort a time; for they have no lingring Diſtempers to hold them years together, as they do among us.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Original, Government, and Policy, of the Kingdom of Tunquin.

IT is not above ſix hundred years ſince *Tunquin* was firſt govern'd by particular Kings, in regard it was anciently a part of the Dominion of the *Chineſes*. What is reported of the firſt *Tunquineſes*, That they were without Governours, and without Kings, is altogether fabulous, like to that which is related of a certain Infant of three years of Age, who appearing before a great Aſſembly of the People, exhorted them to free themſelves from the power of the *Chineſes*, who were their Oppreſſors. Upon which a lovely Horſe miraculouſly appearing to the ſaid Infant, he mounted the Horſe, and immediately ſetting forward with thoſe that were gather'd after him, as alſo others that appear'd as wonderfully to aſſiſt him, he ſet upon the *Chineſes*, and defeated them in ſuch manner, that they never durſt venture after that to return any more to reconquer what they had loſt. But the moſt certain truth of *Tunquin* Hiſtory aſſures us, That for theſe ſix Centuries laſt paſt, it has been govern'd by ſix various Families. The firſt that aſſum'd the Title of King was a famous Robber, whoſe Name

Name was *Din*, who having gather'd together a great Number of Malecontents, and Vagabonds, became ſo powerful and formidable through his own Valour, that after ſeveral bloody Battels gain'd, it was no difficult thing for him to ſeize upon the Throne. But he did not reign long in peace, for the moſt part of the People rebell'd againſt him; and in the firſt Battel that he fought, he loſt his Life. However his own Party won the day; and having left two Sons, his eldeſt reigned three years; after whoſe death, the younger Brother rul'd in his ſtead, but dy'd ſoon after, neither of the Brothers leaving any iſſue behind them. After that the Kingdom was miſerably diſtracted by ſeveral Civil Wars, till the weaker Party calling in the *Chineſes* to their Aſſiſtance, became the moſt puiſſant. Then it was that a certain *Mandarin*, of the Family of *Lelequel*, was advanc'd to the Throne, who being a valiant and prudent Prince, reſtor'd tranquillity to the whole Kingdom. Who, when he ſaw himſelf Eſtabliſh'd in peace, built that large Palace, which they, who have ſeen it, admire, as well for it's Circuit, as for its magnificent Structure, being all of Marble of divers Colours, both within and without. This King had but one Daughter, who ſoon after her Father's death, the better to ſecure her ſelf, marry'd one of the moſt powerful *Mandarins* in the Country, of the Houſe of *Tran*. But ſoon after, one of her Subjects rebelling againſt her, gave her battel, took her Priſoner, and put her to death. Having thus got the Power into his hands, the Rebel uſurp'd the Throne; but nine years after, he was alſo ſlain in Battel by his own Subjects, who had call'd the *Chineſes* to their Aſſiſtance. They being thus Maſters of the Kingdom, held it for twenty years, and ſet Governours over every Province. But at length the *Mandarins* grew weary of their Oppreſſion, becauſe of the heavy Tributes which they laid upon the *Tunquineſes*; ſo that a valiant Captain of the Houſe of *Le*, having aſſembled a numerous Power together, gave the *Chineſes* three Battels, and in every one overcame them. The *Chineſes* thus expell'd out of *Tunquin*, the Conquerour ſeiz'd the Crown, and in his Family the Regal Government continu'd for above four-ſcore years. After which time, a great Lord, of the Family of *Marr*, which had formerly enjoy'd the Scepter,

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to Revenge himſelf of an affront which the King had put upon him at Court, found a way to eſcape his hands, and being aſſiſted by a great Number of diſcontented Perſons, of which the beſt regulated Kingdoms are always full, and the *Chineſes*, who always ſought an opportunity to regain what they had loſt, after a bloody Battel, he poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Kingdom, it being never known what became of his Predeceſſor. But this new King enjoy'd the Fruits of his Victory but a ſmall while. For two years afterwards, a *Mandarin*, of the Houſe of *Trin*, having eſpous'd the Daughter of another great Lord, openly declar'd War againſt his Soveraign, with a deſign utterly to extirpate the Houſe of *Marr*. Unhappily for him, death put a ſtop to his deſigns, though he left two Sons behind him, able enough to have purſu'd his undertakings. But the eldeſt, naturally timorous, and fearing to engage himſelf in a dangerous War, voluntarily ſubmitted himſelf to the King, who gave him the Government of a Province, and marry'd him to one of his Siſter's Daughters. The younger Brother being a valiant Prince, and having his deceaſed Father's Army at his Devotion, though the King propos'd him great advantages, would give ear to nothing, but out of his ambition to Reign himſelf continu'd and ſucceſsfully accompliſh'd what his Father had begun. In the ſecond Battel which he gave the King, who was there in perſon, he took him Priſoner, together with his Brother, who had ſubmitted to him, and ſome few days after he put them both publicly to death at the head of his Army; the one as an unjuſt uſurper of the Throne; the other as a deſertor, who had abandon'd his Father's Army, and ſo ill follow'd his intentions.

Now though as Victor he might eaſily have aſcended the Throne, and tak'n upon him the Name and Title of King, yet he would not accept of any higher Title then that of General of the Army; and the better to Eſtabliſh himſelf in his Authority, and to gain the affection of the People, he caus'd Proclamation to be made through all the Provinces of the Kingdom, that if there were any Prince of the Houſe of *Le* yet remaining alive, he ſhould ſhew himſelf, with full aſſurance that upon his appearing, he ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. There was but one to be found,

who had been ſo cloſely purſu'd by the Houſe of *Marr*, while it rul'd, that to ſave his Life he was forc'd to abſcond himſelf in the Frontiers of the Kingdom, under the Habit of a private Soldier. The General was overjoy'd to find that there was yet a lawful Heir of the Houſe of *Le* to be found, that he might place him upon the Throne. So that ſo ſoon as he was known to be of the Legitimate Race, all the Equipage and Attendance of a King was ſent to him, with Order to all the Provinces as he paſs'd along, to receive him as if he were already crown'd. The whole Army march'd two days march to meet the King, and brought him to *Checo*, the capital City of the Kingdom, where he was plac'd in the Throne of his Father, and with great Pomp proclaim'd King of *Tunquin*. But General *Trin*, who car'd not ſo much for the Royal Title, as the Royal Power, ſo order'd his buſineſs, that leaving to *Le* all the outward ſhew and Pomp of Royal Authority, he reſerv'd to himſelf the whole command of the Army, and the greateſt part of the Revenues of the Kingdom abſolutely to diſpoſe of at his own pleaſure. So that from that time to this hour, we may affirm that there has been, and ſtill are, two Kings of *Tunquin*, of which the firſt has only the Name and Title of King, and is call'd *Boüa*, and the ſecond *Choüa*, who has all the Authority, diſpoſing of all things at his pleaſure, while the other remains ſhut up in his Palace like a Slave, not permitted to ſtir abroad but upon certain days: and then he is carry'd through the Streets of *Checo*, like an Image, though with a magnificent Train and Royal Equipage. He has generally 2000 Soldiers for his Guard; and ſometimes 20000 which are quarter'd upon the Frontiers, chiefly toward *Cochinchina*. He alſo has ready upon the Frontiers 50 Elephants for War. And upon the Rivers of the Kingdom where the Enemy can come to damage him, he uſually keeps 100 great Galleys, with a vaſt company of ſmall Galliots, to which the Soldiers and Rowers that belong, have more pay then the others at Land. And theſe, that they may row with more ſtrength, row ſtanding, with their Faces toward the Prow, quite contrary to our Rowers, who turn their backs.

The King gives public Audience almoſt every day; but he makes no Edict, or public Decree, that is of any effect, if

if it be not also Sign'd by the *Choüa*. At these Audiences he has with him thirty two Councellors of State, and besides these, a hundred others to judge of all Appeals of the Kingdom. The Eunuchs have a very great Power at Court, as in all other Courts of *Asia*; and the King, as to his most important affairs, confides more in them then in his own Children. The eldest Children do not always succeed their Father; for the *Choüa*, or General, with all the Councellors, which are generally his Creatures, thought it convenient, that when the King should have more Sons then one, he should make choice of whom he pleas'd to succeed him. So that so soon as he has nam'd him, the *Choüa*, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, Councellors of State, and Eunuchs, come to congratulate him, and to give him their Oaths to set him upon the Throne after the death of his Father; and for the other Brothers they are always shut up in the Palace, as in a Prison, without medling with any affairs of State. They never stir out of the Palace but four times a year, and they never stay abroad above six days at a time, the Officers that attend them being put upon them by the *Choüa*, who is as it were Lord high Constable of the Kingdom. The first of these six days of liberty they go to visit the Temples, and the Priests, to whom they give large Alms; the two next days they take their pleasure in hunting; and the three last days they spend their time upon the Rivers, in Galleys sumptuously trimm'd and adorn'd.

The Kingdom of *Tunquin* is divided into eight large Provinces, every one of which has its Governour, and its Magistrates, from whose sentence there lies an Appeal to the Court. We should wrong this Country to say that there were no Nobility therein, as indeed there are none in most Kingdoms of *Asia*. But they must all attain to this degree their merit; some by the Warrs, and some by their Learning. They who attain their Nobility by Arms, have wherewithall to live handsomly at home, and they begin to learn their Exercises betimes, at farthest by eleven or twelve years of Age. The first thing they are to understand, is how to handle their Swords, the Blades of which are streight, long, and broad, like those of the *Switzers*, having but one Edge. They are also taught to aim with their Bows;

and to fire a Musket with Matches, (for they know not the uſe of Fire-Locks) to ride the great Horſe, to ſhoot running, and to manage their *Zagay's*, which are a ſort of Staves, cheek'd with Iron, like a Half-Pike. When they are ready in all theſe Exerciſes, then they learn to make all ſorts of Artificial Fire-works; as alſo how to invent new ones, to make uſe of them againſt the Elephants. By the way I muſt needs tell you, there are ſome of theſe Elephants as I have ſeen ſeveral times, that are ſo accuſtom'd to theſe Artificial Fires, that they regard them not at all, neither are any way diſturb'd at the Squibs that are thrown, and go off under their very Noſes and Bellies. Nevertheleſs of 200 of theſe Creatures which the Eaſtern Kings carry to their Wars at a time, you ſhall have hardly fifteen that are ſo hardy and valiant. So that unleſs their Governours take not great care, inſtead of running upon the Enemy, they turn upon their Friends, and put the whole Army into a moſt diſmal confuſion; as you ſhall hear by the following Story. For *Aurenge-Zebe*, the preſent *Great Mogul*, being then a young Prince, obtain'd of *Cha-gehan*, his Father, to let him have the command of an Army of threeſcore thouſand Men, and fourſcore Elephants; and with this force, out of his Antipathy to the Chriſtians, he laid Siege to *Daman*, a Town belonging to the *Portugals*, fourteen Leagues from *Surat*. The Governour was a perſon of great Valour, and had alſo two Sons with him, who, together with himſelf, had both ſerv'd the King of *France*. He had alſo in the Town eight hundred Gentlemen, who voluntarily put themſelves into the Garriſon for its defence, from all parts of *India* where the *Portugueſes* had to do; and were all excellently well mounted. For the *Portugals* at that time made uſe of none but *Arabian* Horſes, the worſt of which coſt a thouſand Crowns at leaſt. The Governour finding that the *Indian* Prince began to preſs hard upon him, having already made two Aſſaults, reſolv'd with all his Cavalry and Infantry to make a Salley upon *Sunday* Morning, cauſing them to fix at the ends of their Spears and Lances certain Artificial Fire-works, to which they were order'd ſuddenly to give fire, as ſoon as they ſhould gain the Elephants Quarter. This deſign was ſo ſucceſsful, that when it came to be executed, the Elephants were ſo ſuddenly terrifi'd,

terrifi'd, that running impetuouſly through the *Indian* Army, they trod to the ground, and cut in pieces with the Swords and Scithes which were faſten'd to their Trunks, what ever ſtood in their way. The *Portugals* taking advantage of this confuſion, made no leſs havock among the amazed Multitude, whom they had ſurpriz'd ſecurely and profoundly aſleep. For they had an opinion, that the *Portugals* would never attack them upon the Sabboth day, believing they had the ſame veneration for that day which the *Jews* had. But they were utterly deceiv'd, in ſo much that the *Portugals*, by virtue of this Stratagem ſo cloſely purſu'd, obtain'd a notable Victory, to the utter deſtruction of 20000 of *Aurenge-Zebe*'s Army, the ſpoils whereof are reported to have amounted to above twelve Millions.

But to return to the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, I muſt tell you, that the *Tunquineſes* have often wag'd War againſt the *Chineſes*, becauſe the firſt would not pay the latter the Tribute which was accorded them by a Treaty made by one of their Kings, of the Houſe of *Le*. But in the year 1667, the *Chineſes*, ſeeing that the *Tartars* had made themſelves Maſters of their Country, made a Peace with the *Tunquineſes*, wherein it was agreed, that the ſaid Tribute ſhould be no longer paid; but that they ſhould every year ſend an Embaſſador only to *Pequin*, to do homage to the Emperour of *China*.

As for their Juſtice and Policy, they obſerve a very exact Order and Regulation over all the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, as well in their Cities, as in the Country. So that few of the beſt regulated Kingdoms exceed them. More eſpecially they have a great care, for the public good, to repair the Bridges and High-ways; and every quarter of a League there is ſuch Proviſion made, that any Traveller may there meet not only with Water, but Fire alſo to light his Pipe, being generally great ſmoakers of Tobacco.

As for Murder, they are very exact in puniſhing that crime. For they carry the Perſon apprehended before the Judge; and then he muſt hold to his Mouth a little wiſp of Graſs, to ſhew, that by his diſorderly life he had made himſelf a Beaſt. Not much unlike this is the cuſtom in *Perſia*, where the King and his Council condemn or pardon all but ſuch as have murder'd a Man that has any Kindred. For then all the favour that the King can ſhew him is, to deliver

deliver him into the hands of the next of kin to the Perſon kill'd, who has power to agree with the Criminal for a Sum of Money, which is rarely done, as being accounted an Act both infamous and ignominious. So that if there be no agreement made, then it behoves the next of kin to be the Executioner himſelf, and put the Criminal to that death to which he is before condemn'd.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Court of the Kings of Tunquin.

ALthough the King, as I have already ſaid, have not much Authority in his Kingdom, which is govern'd altogether by the General, who has the whole *Militia* at his Devotion, yet he is highly honour'd by his Subjects, and he keeps a very ſplendid Court. The firſt and fifteenth day of every Month, all the *Mandarins* who are the Grandees of the Kingdom, are bound to come in their *Chineſe* Habits to kiſs the King's hands. The Conſtable, or General, was formerly wont to perform the ſame Office, but by degrees he has obtain'd a diſpenſation, and only ſends another Prince in his ſtead. As for all the other *Mandarins*, Governours of Provinces, Juſticiaries, and Military Officers, every year they go to kiſs the *Choüa's* hands, and to congratulate him upon the firſt day of the year, which is the fifteenth of the fifth Month; as alſo when he has obtain'd any great Victory over his Enemies. So that the General has more Honour done him then the King himſelf. 'Tis alſo the cuſtom of the *Tunquineſes*, among the Men, that when they meet any Perſon higher in condition then themſelves, they make four profound obeyſances to the very Earth. But for the Women, what ever their condition be among themſelves, they never make but one. They who are deſirous to be admitted into the Palace to ſee the King, are oblig'd to put on Violet Robes, and their Servants muſt be clad in the ſame colour. They that approach the King's preſence to obtain any favour, muſt carry

carry a Preſent along with him. For though the Conſtable be the perſon that diſpoſes of all Offices and Commands over all the Court and Kingdom, yet every year upon the fifteenth day of the ſeventh Month, the King diſtributes ſeveral conſiderable Gifts and Largeſſes to his Courtiers; as alſo to the Children of ſuch Fathers who have perform'd any important Service for the good of his Kingdom. He gives them Pains of Gold, every one worth ſix hundred *Livres*; and Bars of Silver, amounting each to forty ſix *Livres*. The ſame day he alſo releaſes all Priſoners, both Criminal and Debtors, provided the crime do not deſerve death; and that the debt do not exceed two Bars of Silver. Alſo every year, the three laſt days of the laſt Month, the 40 *Mandarins*, who are the chief Councellors of State, take the Oaths of all the Lords and Officers of the Court, and of their Wives; cauſing them to ſwear to be faithful to the King, and if they know of any thing that concerns the King's perſon, or his Kingdom, to diſcover it. All Governours of Provinces give the ſame Oaths to the Lords and Gentlemen under their Juriſdictions; and the Governours of Cities to the Citizens, and other Inhabitants. They that diſcover any Treaſon never fail of any reward; only with this diſtinction, in reference to the quality of the Perſons that reveal it. For as for the *Mandarins* and Gentlemen, the King rewards them according to his own pleaſure: But as for the meaner ſort, whether Men or Women, they are ennobl'd, and gratifi'd with a reward of 50 Pains of Gold, and 500 Bars of Silver, which in all amounts to 53000 *Livres*. But they eſteem their Nobility far beyond their Money.

At certain times of the year, there is a Muſter of the Youth of the ſeveral Provinces; and all thoſe who are found not to be either of the Nobility, or not to have learnt any Trade, are preſently enroll'd for the Service of the King, who every five years make choice of ſuch as he intends for his Guard, and ſends them to the Frontier Garriſons. There are ſome who endeavour to get off by Money; but if they be diſcover'd, both the Officers and the Soldier are puniſh'd without redemption. For they hang a little Bell about his Neck, Fetter his Arms, and in that poſture ſend him to the Conſtable, who preſently orders his Head

to

to be ſtruck off. But in regard the *Tunquineſes* are very averſe from ſeeing any Blood ſhed, the Kindred or Friends of the condemn'd Perſon, intercede that he may be hang'd, believing that death to be moſt honourable which is not defil'd with Blood-ſhed; wherein they ſeem to be of the Opinion of the *Turks*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Ceremonies obſerv'd when the Kings of Tunquin *are advanc'd to the Throne.*

BEfore we ſpeak of the Enthroning the Kings of *Tunquin*, and of the Ceremonies that attend it, it behoves us to relate the manner of their ſetting out of the Palace, when they go at any time to take their pleaſure. The King is ſeated upon a moſt magnificent *Palanquin*, carry'd by eight Men, where he may be beheld by all the People; the Lords and Officers of the Court attending him on foot, provided he do not go out of the City: for when he goes into the Country he rides upon an Elephant, and the Lords follow him on Horſe-back. When the Queen Mother, or his firſt Wife go abroad, they are likewiſe carry'd upon a cloſe *Palanquin*, with Lattice-Windows, to the end, they may ſee and not be ſeen; and behind the *Palanquin* follow the Maids of Honour on foot.

The *Mandarins*, and great Princes, ſolemnize their Birth-days every year, with great Feaſting, Paſtimes, Comedies, and Fire-works, and all their Friends and Kindred fail not to attend them to honour the Solemnities. In the year 1645, the eldeſt Son of the King, who was by his Father appointed for his Succeſſor, upon one of his Birth-days ſhew'd the Court all the divertizements he could imagin, and the King who had a great affection for him, ſent him a thouſand Pains of Gold, and five hundred Bars of Silver, to the value of 120000 *Livres*. At which time, large Alms are diſtributed, eſpecially to poor Widows and Priſoners.

When

When the King dies, and leaves ſeveral Sons, they ſet up him whom (when alive) he choſe for his Succeſſor. The third day after the Deceaſe of the King, the Conſtable with all the Military *Mandarins*, the Lords of the Council, and all the Governours of Provinces, repair to the Prince's Apartment, where they preſent him with a *Chineſe* Habit, after which having mounted him upon an Elephant, they bring him into one of the great Courts of his Palace, which is all covered with Cloth of Gold and Silver as with a Tent. There it is, that being placed upon a Throne magnificently enrich'd, all the *Mandarins* proſtrate themſelves upon the Earth with their Heads downward; in which poſture having lain for ſome time, they riſe, and cloſing their Hands together, with their Arms and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, they ſwear to the new King to be faithful to him till death. This firſt Ceremony being over, the new King, to ſhew himſelf liberal upon his firſt coming to the Crown, cauſes four Panes of Gold, and ſix Bars of Silver, to be given to eve y one. But to diſtinguiſh the Conſtable from the reſt, he gives him twenty Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver: and to the Preſident of the Council or Chancellour ten of Gold and twenty of Silver. Theſe Preſents being thus made, ſeveral Pieces of Artillery are fired round the Palace, accompanied with ſeveral Volleys of ſmall Shot, there being then in Arms above 30000 Horſe and Foot; and then the King is ſet upon a magnificent *Palanqum*, and the Conſtable and chief of the Council ride before upon lovely Horſes. Sixteen of the principal Officers of the Court carry the King, *viz.* eight Military *Mandarins*, and eight of the Council. And in this manner they ſet forward to the Apartment of the deceaſed King, from whence all the Lords retire for two hours, except the Eunuchs; and then it is, that the Princeſſes, Ladies of the Court, and chief Wives of the *Mandarins*, come to kiſs the King's Hand, and congratulate his Advancement to the Throne. Which done, all the Lords return again to a noble Feaſt after the manner of the Countrey ready prepar'd. Their Viands are not ſo delicate, nor ſo deliciouſly dreſs'd as ours, neither have they ſo much variety. 'Tis true, they have thoſe *Birds-neſts*, already mention'd, which they mix in the moſt part of their Diſhes, which gives the Meat a taſt of

almoſt all ſorts of Spices. Of all the Meats which they eat Colts Fleſh is in moſt eſteem, and Dogs Fleſh, neither of which agree with our Palates. The Feſtival is concluded with Comedies and Fireworks, which la allſt the night. The next day the 30000 Men that gave their Volleys of ſmall Shot the day before, are drawn up in good order in a Field next, and all the principal Officers of War, Colonels, Captains, and Lieutenants, leave the Frontiers to be at the ſame place. Then the King mounted upon his *Palanquin*, and carried by ſixteen of his principal Officers, the Conſtable and grand Squire riding before, and attended by ſeveral other Commanders on foot, with ſeveral Mummers that play and dance before the *Pallanquin*, goes forth of his Palace, the Drums, Trumpets, Cornets, and other Warlike Inſtruments, filling the Air with their Martial Sounds. In this Pomp, and with this Equipage, the King being come to the Camp, quits his *Palanquin*, and mounts one of his great Elephants of War, which are us'd to the noiſe of the Guns and ſight of the Fireworks. Being thus mounted, he rides into the middle of all his Troops, in which place all the Officers ſwear Fidelity to him; after which he beſtows his Gifts upon them, to every Colonel two Panes of Gold, and forty Bars of Silver; to every Captain the half of what he gives a Colonel, and to every Lieutenant the half of what he gives a Captain: and as for the Souldiers, they have every one a Moneths Pay. Theſe Preſents being made, the whole Army diſcharges three Volleys, and then every Company retreats into a large Hutt, where they have Meat and Drink prepar'd for them, enough to ſerve them a whole day and a night. In the ſame Field is alſo ſet up a fair wooden Palace, ſumptuouſly enriched within with Paintings and ſeveral pieces of Workmanſhip in Gold. There the King ſpends all the night, ſome part in Feaſting, ſome part in Plays and ſeeing the Mummers dance, and the reſt in beholding the Fireworks. The next day the King leaves his wooden Palace, which is afterwards fir'd by the Souldiers, as well as their own Hutts, and ſo returns to the City. Being arrived at his Palace with the ſame pomp that he went forth, he ſeats himſelf upon his Throne, and there ſhews his Liberality to thoſe that made the Fireworks, to the Comedians and Dancers, and all the reſt that were any way contributary,

tributory to the ſetting forth the Pomp of the Ceremony. Then he gives Acceſs to all the People, and two Commiſſioners, one for the Merchants, and the other for the Handicrafts, make a Speech to the King, the ſubſtance whereof is, that all the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants of the good City of *Checo* do acknowledge him for their King, and that they will be faithful to him till death. The Speech being ended, the King preſents the Body of the Merchants with 50 Panes of Gold, and 300 Bars of Silver; and the Body of the Tradeſmen with 20 Panes of Gold, and 100 Bars of Silver. The People gone home, every one ſtrives who ſhall ſpend moſt in Feaſting and Comedies, adding of their own to the Kings Bounty; ſo that every Quarter of the City is full of Jollity and Rejoycing for a week together. Some days after come the Commiſſioners for the Commonalty, from all parts of the Kingdom, who in the behalf of their Cities and Towns make known to His Majeſty the univerſal Joy of the People for their lawful Prince, aſſuring him of their Fidelity, and of their Service againſt the *Chineſes*. They name particularly the *Chineſes*, becauſe the *Tunquineſes* have no greater Enemies than they, and for that the Hatred between them is irreconcileable. The King obſerving the good will of his People, teſtifies his Acknowledgment in this manner: All that have not time out of mind been Rebels to their lawful Sovereigns, but have conſtantly taken up Arms for their Defence, are diſcharged for a year from all Taxes and Impoſitions; and for the reſt, who have at any time formerly aſſiſted the Enemy, they are onely exempted for ſix moneths. All Priſoners for Debt partake alſo of the King's Bounty, ſo that after the Preſident of the Council has made a Compoſition with the Creditors for half the Summe, the King pays the reſt.

It is a thing almoſt incredible, what a vaſt number of Sacrifices the King ſends to the Temples of his falſe Gods, to be there offer'd to the Idols.

The number of Beaſts is ſaid to exceed an hundred thouſand, beſides the value of a million in Panes of Gold, Tiſſues, and Silks, to adorn the Idols, and Orange-coloured Calicuts for the *Bonzes*, and thoſe that attend the Service of the *Pagods*. Among the reſt of theſe Preſents he ſends a vaſt number of Pieces of blue Calicuts for the poor people that are

kept in the *Pagods*, as our Poor are kept in Hoſpitals. The Idolatrous Princes alſo conſume incredible Summes to adorn the *Pagods* and Images of their falſe Gods. There are ſome of them three foot high, all of maſſy Gold; others of Silver bigger than the Life.

The new King after all theſe Ceremonies are over, takes his time to go and give thanks to his falſe Deities for his coming to the Crown when the Moon firſt changes, ſhutting himſelf up for the firſt week with the *Bonzes*, and living in common with them with a great deal of Frugality.

During this time he viſits the principal Hoſpitals, to ſee how the poor people are us'd, eſpecially the old Folks, whom they have in great Veneration, to whom he diſtributes new Alms; for naturally the *Tunquineſes* are very charitable. To conclude, he makes choice of ſome fair Situation, where he orders the building of a new *Pagod*, which he devotes to ſome of his Idols. Thus his Devotion being ended, upon the firſt day of the ſecond Quarter, he mounts one of his Elephants of War, attended by all the Officers of his Court on Horſe-back, and ten or twelve thouſand men on foot, choſen out of the whole Army to attend him. All the ſecond Quarter the whole Court ſtays in a certain Plain, where are three Houſes ſet up, one for the King, one for the Conſtable, and one for the Preſident of the Council; with a world of Huts for the reſt. There are alſo ſeveral ſmall Cabins ſet up, which are not covered and cloſed but upon one ſide, which they turn as the Wind blows; and theſe are the places where they dreſs their Victuals: For at that time the King allows two meals a day to all his Attendants.

Through this Plain runs the River of ——— which is very broad in that place. Upon this River are ſeveral Galleys richly gilded and painted, but eſpecially the Admiral, which exceeds all the reſt in Magnificence. The Prow, the Poop, the Ropes, the Oars, but onely that part which goes into the water, glitter all with Gold; the Benches very ingeniouſly painted, the Rowers well clad. For there the Rowers are all Souldiers and Freemen, contrary to the Cuſtom in *Europe*. The Souldiers in their youth are taught to handle their Oars, and have ſomewhat better Pay than the Land-Souldiers. The Galleys are not ſo big as

ours,

ours, but they are longer, and cut the water better. While the King ſtays in this place, he diverts himſelf with ſeeing theſe Galleys row one againſt another. In the Evening the Rowers come aſhoar with their Captains to kiſs the King's Hand, and they that have behav'd themſelves moſt ſtoutly and nimbly, carry off the Marks of his Bounty. The ſeven days being paſt, the King calls before him all the Souldiers of the Galleys with their Officers, and gives them two moneths Wages extraordinary, as he does to his Land-Souldiers. 'Tis a wonderful thing to behold the vaſt number of Fireworks which they throw about, as well upon the Land as upon the Water. For my Brother, who has been preſent at all theſe Shews, has told me, that for theſe ſeven days together you would think the Air and Water all on fire. Being at *Bantam* I once ſaw one of theſe artificial Firework-Shews which the *Tunquineſes* that were there plaid off before the King, and I muſt confeſs it was quite another thing from what we make in *Europe*.

The ſeven days being paſt, the King returns to the City in the ſame order, and with the ſame pomp, as he went forth; and being come to his Palace, he goes directly to the Apartment of his Princeſſes, where none but his Eunuchs accompany him, where he ſtays all the reſt of the moneth. Every Evening he diverts himſelf with new Fireworks, which are plaid off before the Womens Lodgings; where alſo the Eunuchs, together with the Comedians and Mummers, contribute to divertiſe the Ladies.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Funeral Pomp of the Kings of Tunquin, *and of their manner of Burying their Dead.*

WHen the King of *Tunquin* dies, he is preſently Embalm'd and laid in a Bed of State, where for ſixty five days the People have liberty to come and ſee him. All that time he is ſerv'd as he was when he was alive; and when the Meat is taken from before the Body, one half is given to the *Bonzes*, and the other half to the Poor. So ſoon as the King hath breath'd his laſt gaſp, the Conſtable gives notice thereof to the Governours of Provinces, and orders them how long they ſhall Mourn.

All the Military *Mandarins* and Judges wear Mourning generally three years, the King's Houſhold nine moneths, the Nobility ſix, and the meaner ſort three moneths. During theſe three years there is a Ceſſation from all Divertiſements, except thoſe that attend the Ceremony of the King's Advance or Elevation to the Throne. All the Viands which are ſerv'd up to the King are verniſh'd with Black. The King cuts his Hair, and covers his Head with a Bonnet of Straw, as do likewiſe all the Princes and Counſellors of State; neither do they leave off that Habit till the King's Body be in the Galley which is to carry him to his Enterment. Three Bells which hang in one of the Towers of the Palace, never leave tolling from the King's expiring till the Corps be put into the Galley. The third day after his Deceaſe all the *Mandarins* repair to Court, to teſtifie their ſorrow which they have for the Death of the deceaſed King, and ten days after that the People are allowed to ſee the Body lie in State, till it be put into the Galley.

During the ſixty five days that the Body is thus expos'd, the Conſtable is buſie in preparing for the Funeral Pomp. From the Palace to the place where the Galleys wait for the Body, it is about two days Journey, and all the way

ſpread



The Order observd in the March of the Funerall Pompe at the Interrment of the Kings of Tunquin.

The Order obſerv'd in the March of the Funeral Pomp at the Interment of the Kings of *Tunquin*.

1. *Two Meſſengers of the Chamber proclaim the deceaſed King's Name; each of them bears a Mace, the Head whereof is full of combuſtible ſtuff for Artificial Fire or Fuſées.*

2. *Next proceed Twelve Elephants; on each of the four foremoſt is one bearing the King's Standard. Then follow four other Elephants, with Wooden Turrets on their Backs, and in every one of theſe are Six Men, ſome being armed with Muſquets, others with Fire Lances. The four laſt Elephants do ſeverally carry a kind of Cage; ſome of which are on all ſides ſhut up with Glaſs Windows, the other with a ſort of Grates; the firſt being of a Square, the other having ſix ſides and facing.*

3. *Then rides the Maſter of the Horſe, attended with two Pages on Horſe-back.*

4. *Twelve Horſes are led by the Bridle two and two, by as many Captains of the Guard. The Harneſs of the firſt Six Horſes is very rich, the Bit, and all the Furniture of the Bridle and Saddle are of pure Gold, the Saddles are embroydered likewiſe with Gold: But the Six other Horſes Harneſs is all cover'd over with Gold Plates.*

5. *The Chariot which bears the* Mauſolee, *wherein is the King's Corps, is dragged by Eight Stags trained to this Service. Each of theſe Stags is led by a Captain of the Life Guard.*

6. *Then follows the new King afoot clad in White Satten, with a Straw Cap on his Head. If he hath any Brothers, they attend on him in the like Attire; and they are ſurrounded with Muſicians and Players on the* Hoboys, *and other Inſtruments.*

7. *There proceeds afterwards Six Princeſſes in White Satten, who carry Meat and Drink for the deceaſed King. Theſe are attended*

tended by two Ladies of Honour in Purple Garments; and about these Ladies are several Musicians.

8. *Eight Princes of the Royal Bloud go in Purple Garments with Straw Hats.*

9. *Four Governours of the four chief Provinces of the Kingdom, each bearing a Stick on his Shoulder, on which hangs a Bag full of Gold and several Perfumes; and these Bags contain the Presents which the several Provinces make unto the deceased King, for to be buried with his Corps, that he may make use of the same in the other World.*

10. *Two Chariots go next, each drawn by Eight Horses, and every Couple being led by Two Men. In each Chariot is a Coffer or Trunk full of Bars of Gold and other Riches, for the deceased King's use in the Life to come.*

11. *A great Crowd of the King's Officers, and of the Nobility, do follow this Funeral Pomp, some afoot and some on horse-back, according to their Offices and Qualities.*

Place this Page 46.

A Continuation of the Order obſerved at the Funeral Pomp of the Kings of *Tunquin*, ſetting out from the City of *Bodlego*.

The King's Body is put into a Galley, which is drawn up the River. This River is increaſed by ſeveral Brooks that come down from the Mountains, and it runs through barren and Deſart Countries. In ſome of theſe places they are wont to bury the Corps very privately; for ſix onely of the chief Eunuchs of the Court are to know where the King hath been buried. An Oath is tendered to them never to reveal the place. And this is done perhaps on ſome Religious Motive, and likewiſe through Fear, that the Treaſures which are buried by him ſhould be digged up. Theſe Riches are ordinarily ſome Maſſy Bars of Gold and Silver, as likewiſe ſome Pieces of Cloth of Gold and Silver, and ſuch kinds of other rich Furnitures, which he is to make uſe of (as they ſay) when he hath need of them in the other Would. Many Lords and Ladies of the Court will needs be buried Alive with him, for to ſerve him in the places where he is to go. I have obſerved in paſſing through the Eſtates of the Raja *or Prince of* Velouche, *which border on the Eaſterly parts of the Kingdom of* Viſapour, *that the Wives ſuffer themſelves to be buried Alive near their deceaſed Husbands, inſtead of being burned, as they practiſe in other Provinces of the* Indies.

A. *Here you ſee the Proſpect of the City of* Bodlego.

B. *The Galley where the King's Corps is.*

C. *Two Galleys do carry the Lords who go to be buried Alive with the King. That which is grated about is full of Ladies, who likewiſe offer themſelves to be interred Alive with him.*

D. *Other Galleys, wherein are the Treaſures which are to be buried with the Corps.*

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place this next to, The Order in the March of the Funeral Pomp, &c.



A Representation of the Waggons and Boates which in forme of a Convoy carry the Beasts and provision necessarry for the sustenance of those that the Funeral Pompe at the interrment of ye Kings of Tuquin from Choco to Bodlego where the body is put in a Galley to be conveyd to ye Sepulcher.

ſpread with Violet-colour'd Calicut, which is the King's Colour. But in regard the King and all the Court march afoot both going and coming, they make it ſeventeen days Journey. At every quarter of a Leagues end are ſet up Huts, where is ready prepar'd Water to drink, and Fire to light their Tobacco. After the Pomp is over, and that the King is returned home, the Cloth is taken up and given to the *Bonzes*.

As to the order of their March it is thus:

The two men that go formoſt of all, are the two Uſhers of the Door of the King's Chamber, who go repeating aloud the Name of the deceaſed King, carrying each of them a Mace of Arms, the bole whereof is full of artificial Fireworks. The twelve that follow, are the twelve chief Officers of the Galley, which draw the Tomb whereon the King's Name is written. Then follows the grand Squire on Horſeback, attended by two others. Next appear twelve led Horſes, which are led two by two, ſix of which have their Bridles enrich'd with thin Plates of Gold, and their Saddles embroydered. The other ſix with Bridles of Gold, and Houſſes embroidered, and fring'd about with a Gold and Silver Fringe; every Horſe being led by two men. Next to them follow twelve Elephants, four which carry each of them a man carrying a Standard; four others which carry each of them a Tower with ſix men apiece, ſome with Muſquets, others with Fire Lances; the four laſt carry each of them a kind of a Cage, of which one is made with Glaſs Windows before and upon each ſide; the other like a kind of a Lattice, and the other with four kinds of Ruffs: and theſe are the King's Elephants which he rode upon when he went to the Wars. Behind them follow eight Horſes, every one of them led by a Captain of the Guard, who draw the Herſe. The new King, and his Brothers if he have any, or the Princes of the Bloud, follow the Herſe, clad in Robes of White Satten, which is their Mourning Colour. Laſtly follow two Chariots, each one drawn by eight Horſes, and carrying two Coffers, wherein are the Panes of Gold, Bars of Silver, rich Tiſſues and Habits, which are to be buried with the Body of the deceaſed King.

The

A Repreſentation of the Waggons and Boats which in forme of a Convoy carry the Beaſts and proviſion neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of thoſe that ſ the Funeral Pompe at the interment of ſ Kings of Tuquin from Checo to Bodego where the body is put in a Galley to be conveyd to ſ Sepulcher.

The Funerals of the Tunquineſes.

AS for the ordinary Funerals of the *Tunquineſes*, they are more or leſs pompous, according to the Quality of the Perſons.

At their Enterments they uſe great ſtore of artificial Fire-works, which are the Companions as well of their Sorrow as their Joy. They ſet upon the Tomb of the deceaſed good ſtore of Victuals and Comfitures, out of a belief that the dead are the better for them. For their Prieſts keep them in that blind Error for their own advantage, and ſo well order their buſineſs, that there is nothing left by morning. The ſame thing is practiſed by the *Chineſes* at *Batavia*, where they have a place without the Town to bury their dead, which puts me in mind of this Story: Every evening the Guard is relieved as well in the City as in the Fortreſs. At the ſame time alſo they put forth eight Souldiers and a Corporal at each Gate of the City, who go the Rounds about the Walls of the City, and as far as within Canon-ſhot of the Walls, being fearful of being ſurpriſed by the King of *Mataran*, or *Bontam*, their Capital Enemies. Now becauſe the *Chineſes* burying place lay in the Walk of theſe Souldiers, when they ſaw the Provant upon one of the Tombs, took it away to their Guard, and there feaſted themſelves. The *Chineſe* Prieſts, that uſually came about midnight to take away the Victuals, finding themſelves ſeveral times bereaved of their Expectations, and ſuſpecting the Souldiers belonging to the *Holland* Garriſon, firſt complained to the General and Council; but that not taking effect, they reſolved to poiſon both the Meat and the Drink, to prevent the like Fraud for the future. This took ſo good effect, that afterwards many of the *Dutch* Souldiers being poiſoned, deterr'd the reſt from any more ſuch Licoriſh Attempts.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Religion and Superſtition of the Tunquineſes

THe *Tunquineſes* as to matters of Religion are divided into three Sects: The firſt takes its original from an ancient Philoſopher called *Confutius*, whoſe Memory is very famous over all *China*, and the neighbouring Countries. Their Doctrine aſſerts that Man is compos'd of two parts, the one fine and ſubtil, the other material and groſs; and that when Man dies, the ſubtiler part goes into the Air, and the groſſer part ſtays in the Earth. This Sect maintains the uſe of Sacrifices, and adores the ſeven Planets. But among all their Gods and Idols they have four in particular veneration; the Names of theſe Gods are *Ramma*, *Betolo*, *Ramonn*, and *Brama*. They have a Goddeſs alſo, whoſe Name is *Satisbana*, which is ſhe whom the Women adore; but for the King and the *Mandarins*, eſpecially the more ſtudious ſort, they adore the Heavens. The ſecond Sect had for its Founder a certain Hermite called *Chacabout*, and is followed by the moſt part of the meaner people. He has taught them the Tranſmigration of Souls, and has enjoyn'd his Followers to obſerve 10 Commandments.

The firſt is, That they ſhall not kill. 2. That they ſhall not ſteal. 3. That they ſhall not defile their Bodies. 4. That they ſhall not lye. 5. That they ſhall not be unfaithful in their words. 6. That they ſhall reſtrain their inordinate Deſires. 7. That they ſhall do injury to no man. 8. That they ſhall not be great Talkers. 9. That they ſhall not give way to their Anger. 10. That they ſhall labour to their utmoſt to get Knowledge.

As for them that deſign to live a Religious Life, they muſt renounce the Delights of this Life, be charitable to the poor, overcome their Paſſions, and give themſelves up to Meditation. He taught moreover, that after this Life there were ten diſtinct places of Joy and Torment: and that the Contemners of this Law ſhould feel Torments proportionable

to their Offences, without any end of their Torments. That they that endeavour'd to fulfill his Law, and had fail'd in any point, they ſhould wander in divers Bodies for 3000 years before they entered into happineſs. But that they who had perfectly obeyed his Law, ſhould be rewarded without ſuffering any change of Body. And that he himſelf had been born ten times, before he enjoyed the Bliſs which he poſſeſſed, not having in his firſt Youth been illuminated with that Knowledge which he afterwards attained. This *Chacabout* was one of the greateſt Impoſtors that ever was in *Aſia*, having ſpread his Opinions over all the Kingdom of *Siam*, over a great part of the Provinces of *Japon*, and from thence into *Tunquin*, where he died.

The third Sect is that of *Lanthu*, to whoſe Fables the *Japonneſes* and *Chineſes* give great credence, but the *Tunquineſes* more. He was a *Chineſe* by Nation, and one of the greateſt Magicians in the Eaſt. He made a great many Diſciples, who to authorize this black Impoſtor, and the more to impoſe upon the people, made them believe that the Birth of *Lanthu* was miraculous, and that his Mother carried him in her Womb, without loſing her Virginity, ſeventy years. He taught much of *Chacabout*'s Doctrine; but that which won the Hearts of the people was, that he ſtill exhorted the Grandees to build Hoſpitals in all Cities where there had been none before. Inſomuch that ſeveral of the Nobility betook themſelves to thoſe places to look after the Sick, as did alſo a great number of the *Bonzes* for the ſame reaſon. While my Brother was there, the *Choüa*, a great Enemy to theſe Vagabonds, ſent for a great number of *Bonzes* and *Says*, or idle Fellows, and picking out the ſtrongeſt and beſt proportion'd, ſent them away to the Frontiers for Souldiers.

'Tis the Cuſtom of the *Tunquineſes* to adore three things in their Houſes: The firſt is the Hearth of their Chimney made of three Stones The ſecond is an Idol which they call *Tienſa*, which is the Patroneſs of Handicrafts, as Sculpture, Painting, Goldſmith's work, &c. So that when they put forth a Child to learn any of thoſe Trades, before they let him work they ſet up an Altar, and ſacrifice to this Idol, to the end he may infuſe into the Lad wit and aptneſs to learn. The third is the Idol *Buabin*, which they implore when

when they design to build an House. For then they erect an Altar, and send for the *Bonzes* and *Says* to sacrifice to this Idol. To this purpose they make great preparation of all sorts of Viands, and then present him with several gilt Papers, wherein are written several Magic words, endeavouring by that means that he may not suffer any misfortune to befall the House they are going to build.

There are some *Tunquineses* that adore the Heaven, others the Moon, and others the Stars There are also some that adore five parts of the Earth, making a fifth part in the middle of that which is known to us, and to them also, but confusedly. When they worship them, they have for each of the parts a particular Colour. When they adore the Northern part, they clothe themselves in black; and the Dishes and Table whereon they lay their Sacrifices are likewise black. When they worship the South their Habit is red; when the East, green; when the West, white; and when they adore the middle of the World, they wear Yellow.

They offer Offerings likewise to Trees, Elephants, Horses, Cows, and almost to all other sorts of Animals. They that study the *Chinese* Characters are accustomed every fifth moneth of the year, to sacrifice for the Souls of the dead who were never buried. They believe that by so doing their Understandings shall be more enlightned for the apprehending of all things.

Every year, at the beginning of the year, they have a great Solemnity, to honour after their death those who in their life-time have done any noble action, and were renowned for their Valour, reckoning in that number those that have been so hardy as to rebel against their Princes, as being men of Courage. Three days before this great Solemnity, which is perform'd in a large Field, they set up several Altars, some for the Sacrifices, others for the Names of the Illustrious Men whom they design to honour. The Eve before above 40000 Souldiers spend the night in this Plain, where all the Princes and *Mandarins* are ordered to meet with their Elephants and led Horses, and the King himself goes thither in person. After they have finished all their Sacrifices, and burnt good store of Incense to the Honour of the dead, the King and all the *Mandarins* make three pro-

found Reverences where the Altars are ; then the King ſhoots with his Bow and Arrows five times againſt the Altars, where lie the Names of thoſe that were ſo raſh as to rebel againſt their Sovereigns. After that the great Guns go off, and the Souldiers give three Volleys of ſmall Shot, to put all the Souls to flight. Then they burn all the Altars, and a great number of gilt Papers, which were made uſe of at the Sacrifices ; concluding all with a moſt hideous ſhout of all the Souldiery. Which done, the *Bonzes*, *Says*, and ſuch like people, come and devour the Meat that was made uſe of for the Sacrifices.

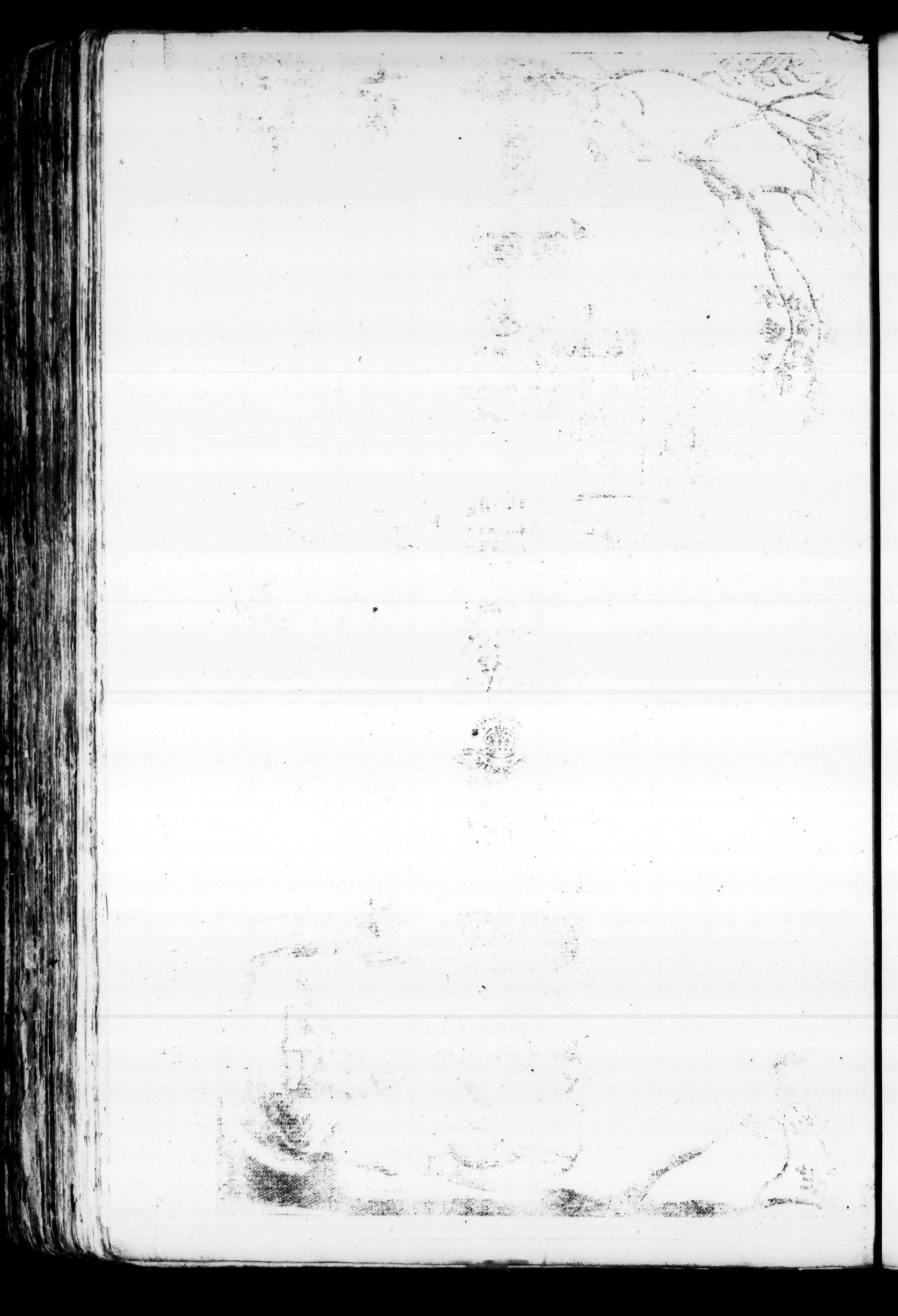
The firſt and fifteenth days of the Moneth 'tis a wonderful thing to hear the Chiming Din of their great Bells. For thoſe are the more eſpecial Holydays ſet apart for the Worſhip of their Gods, and all the *Bonzes* and *Says* give them more than ordinary Worſhip upon thoſe days, redoubling their Prayers, and repeating upon thoſe days every one of them a ſtrange kind of Charm ſix times over. At theſe times ſeveral people bring Meat and Drink to the Sepulchres of their Kindred, to ſacrifice for the good of their Souls to eat. The *Bonzes* fail not to be there, and when the others have paid their Devoirs the *Bonzes* fall to, and what they cannot eat they give to the poor. But for all the auſtere Lives of theſe *Bonzes* and *Says*, neither the King nor the *Mandarins* make any account of them, ſo that they are in credit onely with the common people.

In the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, where the great Cities have ſeveral *Pagods*, there is hardly a Town or Village that has not one, and for every *Pagod* at leaſt two *Bonzes* and two *Says*. But there are ſome *Pagods* that maintain forty *Bonzes* and as many *Says*, who live in common under a Superiour, they keep to the Doctrine of *Chacabout*, and a Goat is the Idol which they adore. They wear about their Necks a kind of Necklace, conſiſting of 100 Beads, very big and made of Wood. In their Hands they carry a Staff, which is headed with a Bird of varniſh'd Wood. They beg for their living, and are not like the *Bonzes* in other Kingdoms, who beg Alms as it were their due ; theſe on the contrary uſe all the modeſty and humility that may be, never taking more than is needful for them : and if they have any thing to ſpare, they give it to the poor Widows or Orphans that cannot get their

page 52. Tunquin.



The Representation Of The Pagods or Temples Of The Idolators In Tunquin, With The Figures Of Their Dieties, & Their Different Postures Which They Use When They Doe Penance, And Accomplish Their Superstitious Vowes. Or When They Practise Their Magic Impostures To Which They Are Much Addicted N.1. Thaibout. 2. Thaiphou Thoui. 3. Bagoti, Magitians, And Witches



their living. Their Orders permit them to marry, provided they leave their Monaſtery. They aſſiſt at the Funerals of great men, where they ſay a kind of Orizon, ſounding their Trumpets and Cornets, while the Bells in their *Pagods* go at the ſame time.

The *Tunquineſes* alſo have a great veneration for two Magicians, and one Magicianeſs. The firſt of their Magicians, whom they call *Tay-bou*, makes them believe that he knows the Events of things to come; ſo that when they have any occaſion to marry their Children, build a Houſe, buy Land, or undertake any buſineſs of Conſequence, they conſult this Oracle to know what ſhall happen to them. The Magician courteouſly receives them, and with a counterfeit modeſty demands of them (for Example) the Age of the perſon concerned. Then taking into his hands a great Book about three fingers thick, wherein are the Figures of Men, half Men, and ſeveral ſorts of Land and Water Animals, of Circles, Triangles, and Squares, he goes to work, and at the ſame time puts into a Goblet three Pieces of Copper, whereon are engraven ſeveral Characters onely upon one ſide. After he has ſhaken the Pieces in the Cup, he throws them upon the ground as at Croſs and Pile; if all the Characters lie undermoſt he looks no further in his Book, but looks upon it as an unfortunate ſign; but if one or two Characters come up, he looks in his Book, and makes the perſon believe what he pleaſes. But if all the Characters happen to turn uppermoſt, then the Magician cries out, that the Party is the moſt fortunate in the world.

The ſecond Magician is called *Thay-Phou-Thouy*, to whom they have recourſe in all their Sickneſſes. When any ſick perſon comes to him, he takes a Book full of Figures like the former; onely the Form of the Book is different, for this is not above an inch thick, and about four fingers long, with eight Panes full of Cyphers. If after ſeveral Apiſh tricks which he acts before the ſick perſon to amuſe him, he affirms that the Diſtemper comes from the Devil, he himſelf, together with the ſick party and they that brought him, do Homage to the evil ſpirit: this Homage conſiſts of ſeveral Sacrifices, and the Friends of the ſick party preſent to the Devil, or rather to the Magician, a Table furniſh'd with Rice and other Viands. But if after all theſe Offerings the ſick

ſick party do not recover his health, all the Friends and Kindred of the ſick party, with as many Souldiers as they can get, ſurround the ſick perſons Houſe, and ſhoot off their Muſquets three times, to drive away the Devil. Sometimes the Magician makes the ſick party and his Friends believe, that the God of the Waters is the cauſe of the Diſtemper, eſpecially if the ſick perſon belongs to the Water, as being a Mariner, Boatman, or Fiſherman. And to the end he may be cur'd, and that the appeas'd God may return to his watry Habitation, he orders that all the way from the ſick parties Houſe to the next River may be ſpread with all the Pieces of Stuff which all the Kindred have, and that they ſet up Huts at ſuch and ſuch diſtances, and keep in every one a ſeveral Table furniſh'd with all ſorts of Viands for 3 days. And all this to oblige the Deity to retire, and to entertain him till he gets home. But the better to know the riſe of the Diſeaſe, *Thay-Phou-Thouy* makes them believe, that they muſt go and conſult *Thay-Bou*, who is the chief Magician, and if he anſwer that the Souls of the dead have cauſed the Diſtemper, the Magician imploys all his tricks and devices to draw to him thoſe miſchievous Souls; and when he has got into his Clutches, as he pretends, the Soul that is the Author of the Diſeaſe, he ſhuts him up in a Bottle full of Water till the party be cured; and then breaking the Bottle he ſets the Soul at liberty to go about his buſineſs. When the party recovers, he makes him and his Friends believe, that if the Bottle had not been well ſtopp'd to keep in the Soul, their Kinſman would have died infallibly.

The Magicianeſs, which the *Tunquineſes* alſo conſult, is called *Bacoti*, and ſhe keeps a great Correſpondence with the Devil, to whom, if ſhe has a Daughter, ſhe offers her as ſoon as ſhe is born, the more to oblige him. If any Mother bewail the death of her Child, and be deſirous to know in what condition the Soul of the Child is in, in the other world, ſhe goes to *Bacoti*, who to ſatisfie the Mother preſently falls a beating her Drum, to ſummon the Soul to come to her, who preſently appears, as ſhe pretends, and tells her its Condition whether good or bad. But moſt commonly ſhe makes the ſilly Mothers believe that the Soul is happy, and bids them be of good cheer.

The Superſtitions of theſe people are very numerous, but the moſt remarkable are theſe:

The ſtudious ſort of people are very diligent to learn, how by looking in a Mirrour to foretell things to come.

There are ſome that preſent *Aqua Vitæ* to the dead, and ſprinkle their Aſhes with it; but this onely upon the Aſhes of their Anceſtors, from whom at the ſame time they beg for Health, Honour, and Riches.

Others there are, that upon the firſt day of their year take a piece of Chalk, and make ſeveral Figures round, ſquare, and triangular, upon the Threſhold and Steps of their Doors. They ſay thoſe Figures fright away the evil ſpirits. Some there are that make great Obſervations upon the Feet of their Hens, and draw ſtrange Concluſions of bad or ill fortune from thence. Others travelling into the Countrey, if they ſneeze but once by the way, return to the place from whence they parted in the morning, ſaying, That had they gone on, ſome miſchief would have certainly befallen them: but if they ſneeze twice, they purſue their Journey, never fearing any danger for that day.

There are ſome ſo ſuperſtitious, that going out of their Houſes, if they meet a Woman, they return home again for two or three hours; but if they meet a Man, 'tis a good *Omen.*

The firſt Fruit which they gather at the beginning of the year, is that which the *Araguer* bears, ſpoken of in the third Chapter. And this is the firſt which they eat with great Ceremony, during the firſt Quarter of their ſecond Moneth. To which purpoſe they are ſo poſſeſs'd with the Devil, that they poyſon one of theſe Fruits, and give it to a Child to eat, believing that by taking away the life of the poor innocent Child, they ſhall thrive the better all the year after.

When the Moon is eclipſed, they ſay there is a certain Dragon that aſſails her, and endeavours with all his might to overcome her, with an intention to devour her. Then to aſſiſt the Moon, and to put the Dragon to flight, they diſcharge their Muſquets, ring their Bells, beat up their Drums, and make a hideous noiſe till the Eclipſe be over: and then they believe that they have reſcued the Moon, for which they make as great a rejoycing, as if they had obtain'd ſome eminent Victory over their Enemies.

They

They are also very superstitious in reference to the hours of the day. They divide the natural day into twelve hours, and to every one they give the name of some Beast, as of a Tiger, a Lion, a Bear, a Horse, a Dragon, an Ape, &c. The Moneths also and Days have their particular Names: and when a Child is born, presently the Father and Kindred go to see the name of the Beast by which the Hour was call'd wherein the Child was born; believing that Animal will prove fatal to it. At the time that my Brother was at the Court at *Tunquin*, the King then reigning being born in the hour of the Horse, would never give Audience, nor ever stir out of his Palace at that hour, for fear some mischief should befall him at that time. That Prince was so superstitious, that one of his Children dying in the fifth moneth, which bears the name of the Horse, he would never permit him to be enterr'd, but caus'd him to be burnt, and scatter'd his ashes in the Air.

This is that which I could gather of most remarkable and most considerable matters concerning the State of the Kingdom of *Tunquin*, either out of the Manuscripts which my Brother (who died in the *Indies*) left me, or from the Discourse which I have had with the *Tunquineses* themselves both at *Bantam* and *Batavia*.



OF THE

ISLAND OF FORMOSA.

CHAP. I.

How the Hollanders *poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and how it was taken from them by the* Chineſes.

THE Iſland of *Formoſa* is about Eighty Leagues in compaſs; ſo that the *Hollanders* were never in poſſeſſion of the whole Iſland, but were onely Maſters of four Fortreſſes, and two and fifty Villages, wherein they could number about fourteen or fifteen thouſand Inhabitants. As for that part which is under the *Indians*, the beſt diſcovery that we can give, is onely ſuch as was made by a young *Hollander* upon this occaſion.

There was in the chief Fort belonging to the *Hollanders* a young man, imployed there as an under-Factor, who being wild and extravagant, was put out of his place and made a Souldier. He not able to undergo that miſerable courſe of life, reſolved with himſelf rather to die, than live in that mean condition. Thereupon having at ſeveral opportunities made a ſhift to make up a little Pack of what he thought was moſt fit for the Mountainiers of the Iſland, he watch'd his time and ſtole out of the Fort, and took his way directly toward the Mountains. With theſe Highlanders he liv'd four years, in which time having learnt the Trade and Language of the Countrey, he ventur'd to return to the *Hollanders* again, who received him kindly, as being willing to underſtand the Government of the People, and by what means they might traffick with them. Whereupon the young man made them this Relation.

As for the Government of the People he ſaid, that over every ſix Villages there was an Overſeer with four Counſellors, who adminiſter Juſtice, and puniſh the ſmalleſt Theft with Death. The Men are crucified; the Women are laid along upon a thick Beam of Wood, and then with a Scimitar their Bodies are divided into three parts. The Men are ſo puniſh'd for Theft or Murder, and the Women for Theft or Adultery. If it be a Pety Larceny, not above the value of a Shilling, they give them an hundred Laſhes with a Whip, and burn them in the Cheek. They that believe themſelves to be unjuſtly dealt with, whether in Civil or Criminal Cauſes, enter their Appeal to go to the North Eaſt part of the Iſland, in which diviſion of the Iſland there ſtands a City by the Sea-ſide, where he that commands all the Highlanders reſides. At the end of our Moneth of *March* ſeveral of theſe Highlanders reſort to this City, eſpecially the Merchants, who carry along with them all their whole Stock that they had hoarded together the year before in Horns of Oxen, Harts, Bufulo's, and Raw Hides; and then return again at the end of *April*, bringing back in return of their Commodities *Japon* and *China* Stuffs, Clothes, and Linen of the ſame Countrey, and Gold and Silver *Japoneſe* Money, of various Coyns and Value. He told them alſo, that he believed that in the Mountains near the Sea, there are certain Mines of Gold and Silver, or ſome River where they

they find it in Powder, and that the *Japoneſes* fetch it in their Veſſels. He did all he could to diſcover the truth, but after he had travelled two or three days Journey, the People would let him go no further. For at the end of every three or four hours travel there are Guards ſet, who examine all Travellers whither they go; neither will they let their own Countrymen paſs, but ſuch as go about their Law or to trade. Moreover he told them, that if they would give him Goods to trade withall, as Amber, Coral, Looking Glaſſes; but chiefly ſome Skins of the Sea Fiſh, which is rougher than Seal-skin, he would endeavour to get to the very City it ſelf where the Ships ride. Theſe Skins are greatly eſteemed by the Natives to adorn the Scabbards of their Cutlaſſes and Swords. For uſually upon the back of this Fiſh you ſhall find nine little Stones, which make a kind of a Roſe, eight in a Circle and one in the middle, as you ſee theſe nine diſpoſed in their exact order. When the *Portuguezes* traded onely to *Japon*, it is incredible how dear they ſold theſe Skins. For if Nature had well ſet theſe Stones at an equal diſtance, and even in bigneſs, one of theſe Skins would yield above ten thouſand *Piaſters*, and more. This Fiſh is caught in the *Perſian* Gulph, where I have ſeen of them, but I ſaw but very few ſo perfect as that which I have deſcrib'd, which would in thoſe Countries yield ten thouſand Crowns.



But to return to the Story; the Governour gave the young man what he deſired, and ſent him going: but the *Chineſes* ſoon after expelling the *Hollanders* out of the Iſland, it was never known what became of the young man.

It may be wondered why *Formoſa* was taken ſo ſoon: but here were two Reaſons, firſt the faint-heartedneſs of the Governour, and ſecondly his breach of word to a *French* Souldier of *Rouen*, call'd *Abraham du Puys*; for he having ſerved out his time of ſeven years, deſir'd leave to be gone, but the Governour, after he had promis'd him fair at firſt, at length abſolutely refuſed him. Soon after the *Chineſes* came to beſiege the place. The Souldier thus diſappointed, and ſeeing himſelf coop'd up who might have been free, had the Governour ſo pleaſed, ſtudied a fatal revenge upon all his Countrymen; for being by this means grown deſperate,

watch'd his opportunity, and flinging himſelf from the Fort into the Sea, ſwam directly to the Enemy. The Governour offered 200 Pieces of Eight to any perſon that would venture after him, and bring him back dead or alive. A Serjeant accepted his offer, but it was to get looſe as the other had done; and ſo they got both ſafe into the Enemies Quarters. The *Chineſes* preſently carried them to the General *Coxima*; and he being a perſon of Valour and Diſcretion, made very much of them, whereupon they readily and willingly inform'd him of the ſtrength and condition of the Fortreſs. They alſo adviſed him to remove his Batteries to the weakeſt part of the Town, whereas he was then aſſailing it where it was moſt ſtrongly fortified: which if he would do, they aſſur'd him he ſhould be ſoon Maſter of the Fort. The General was thinking a little before they came to have raiſed his Siege, but upon their encouragement he fell on again according to their direction; and as he was preparing for a general Aſſault, the *Holland* Commander, fearful of loſing his Life and his Eſtate, beat a Parley, and ſurrender'd the place upon Articles.

During the Siege the *Hollanders* made a Salley, but were beaten in again, and fourteen of their men were taken Priſoners. The *Chineſes* finding thoſe fourteen men in their power, and remembering how cruel the *Hollanders* had been to their Nation when they took any of them at Sea, brought the fourteen men all together, put out one eye of each, cut off their Noſes, Ears, and one hand, and ſo ſent them back to the Fort, with order to tell the Commander, that the *Dutch* had taught them that kind of Mercy.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Maurice *Iſland, where they cut Ebony.*

THE Iſland call'd *Maurice* Iſland lies almoſt in 84 degrees of Longitude, and 21 degrees of Southern Latitude, being but 2 degrees and 30 minutes from the Tropick of *Capricorn*, right over againſt the middle of the great Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, which it has upon the Weſt, from whence it lies 140 Leagues, and is in compaſs about 60 Leagues. It bears great quantities of Ebony: and here it was that the *Hollanders* did formerly ſend their Slaves, their baniſh'd and condemn'd Perſons, to cut that ſort of Wood, which is Labour much more ſevere and cruel than that of Rowing in the Galleys. The whole Iſland is ſubject to thoſe violent and outrageous Tempeſts call'd *Ouragans*, which nothing can withſtand, ſo that the People are forc'd to dig themſelves Holes in the ground, not being able to keep their Huts ſtanding. Neither had the poor Creatures any other Food than a little boil'd Rice, and about a Farthings worth of Salt-fiſh among four for a whole day. Since that the Price of Ebony being brought very low, the *Dutch* have forſaken the Iſland, the Profit not bearing the ſorry Expences which thoſe poor Creatures put them to.

So ſoon as this Tree is cut down it muſt be ſawed into Planks, and then buried ſeven or eight foot deep in the Earth, which ought to be ſomewhat moiſt. There thoſe Planks muſt lie two years, and ſometimes three, if the Wood be very thick. After that the Wood is fit to be wrought upon, neither will it ſplinter or ſplit, and will the ſooner admit of a glittering Poliſhment.

This *Maurice* Iſland puts me in mind of a Story, that the Sieur *Loocker* told me, concerning what befell him in his Voyage from *Holland* to *Batavia* in the Year 1643. *Cha Abbas* the ſecond of that Name, King of *Perſia*, having a great deſire to learn to paint, ſignified to the *Hollanders* at *Hiſpahan*, that he deſired them to ſend into *Holland* for ſome per-

perſon who was excellent both in Deſigning and Painting. Thereupon the Chief of the Factory wrote into *Holland*, and upon his Letters the Company ſent away *Loocker*, to oblige the King; and to do him the greater honour, gave him the charge of Merchant of the Veſſel, who is equal with the Captain, during the Voyage; to whom the Wind and Seaſon was very favourable till they came to the *Cape of Good Hope*; but after they had doubled the Point, the Pilots bare too much to the North, whereas they ſhould have ſteered directly Eaſt; ſo that when they had made the Height of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, they met with nothing but contrary Winds. For it is obſervable, that all the year long there blows but one Wind toward *Maurice* Iſland; ſo that a Ship may go thither in eight or nine days, but cannot return in thirty or forty. For you muſt ſteer Weſtward to 30 degrees, and from thence Eaſtward to 14 or 15 degrees, and then you light upon *Maurice* Iſland. Five days together the Ship was but rudely handled by the ſtorm; which at length grew ſo violent, and the Sea ſo boiſterous, that all the great Cabin was broken to pieces, the Beak of the Ship carried away, and the Foremaſt made unſerviceable. Thirteen days together they remained in this miſerable condition, toſs'd up and down by the Sea and Wind, all which time they never ſaw the Sun, unable to take any height or obſervation where they were. The fourteenth day it cleared up, and the Sun appeared, and then taking the Height they obſerved themſelves to be not far from the *Maurice* Iſland, which was very true; for the next day by break of day they found themſelves not above two Leagues from the Iſland; and they found themſelves upon the North ſide of the Iſland, whereas the *Hollanders* liv'd upon the South. And therefore perceiving that if the Wind did not change, it would be a long time, and that with great difficulty too, before they could fetch a compaſs about the Iſland to come to the Fort where the *Hollanders* were, they call'd a Council, where it was reſolved that *Loocker* with ten Souldiers ſhould be put on ſhoar, and that he ſhould endeavour to get to the Fort by Land, there to make proviſion of Water and Refreſhments for the reſt of the Company, againſt they could come about. *Maurice* Iſland has this advantage, to be furniſhed with excellent Water, and great ſtore of Goats, Oranges,

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Citrons, and other Fruits: but when the *Ouragans* happen there is not one to be ſeen upon the Trees, unleſs onely upon thoſe which are ſhelter'd by the Ebony Boughs, which are thick and ſtrong, and the Trees deeply rooted in the Earth. *Loocker* thereupon with ten Souldiers was put on ſhoar in a Shallop, with Proviſions for ſix days. Nor was the Iſland in that part above eight or ten Leagues broad, which they thought to travel in few days: but the Woods were ſo thick, that had they not been well provided of Carpenters Hatchets and Axes, they could never have made their way. The firſt day they travell'd not above a League, and the next day not above as much more, being ſtill forced to hack their way along with great travel and pains. So that being now weary and ſpent, they laid themſelves upon the ground to repoſe themſelves, and get a little ſleep. When they wak'd they heard the voices of ſeveral people, which much rejoyced them, believing them to be the Slaves and poor Creatures that were cutting Ebony not far off. Thereupon they fell to work to get as near them as they could: but the Woods proved ſo thick, that they deſpair'd of doing any good. Nevertheleſs the further they advanced, the clearer they could hear the voices of the people, ſome ſpeaking *Dutch*, others *Portugueſe*. Whereupon *Loocker* caus'd one of the Souldiers in his company that had a ſtrong voice, to call out in the *Portugueſe* Language, to the people to come and help them. But inſtead of that they all betook themſelves to their heels, and fled to the Commander's Lodge, telling him that there were Devils in the Woods, and that they had call'd to them in the *Portugal* Language. The Commander ſeeing both the Souldiers and the Slaves in ſuch a diſmal amaze and terror, knew not at firſt what to think; however he endeavoured to reſettle their diſtraction, and to revive a ſort of people that were half dead with fear. The next day he perſuaded them to return to their Work, perſuading them to lay aſide their vain Fears, which proceeded onely from idle Apprehenſions: but they flatly denied him, telling him that they would rather die, than return to be torn in pieces by the Devil. However, others that had not been preſent at the accident, and therefore gave not ſo much credit to the report, profered to ſee the utmoſt of this buſineſs, provided any one that had

had heard the voice would bring them to the place. Away upon this went a good number of them together, and coming to the place fell to work. Now becauſe *Loocker* and his Companions having labour'd all the night before, were fallen aſleep ; for a good while the Workmen heard no voice at all, nor ſo much as any thing ſtirring, ſo that they began to laugh at thoſe that had brought them thither, who ſtill obſtinately maintained the truth of what they had heard. This Diſpute at length began to grow ſo hot and ſo loud, that at length they wak'd *Loocker* and his Fellows, who being now got nearer to them by means of their laſt nights labour, heard diſtinctly every word they ſaid, and notwithſtanding their diſtreſs could not chuſe but laugh. Soon after *Loocker* and the Souldiers call'd out again, *Work toward us*, they cried, *we are Hollanders, come and help us out of the Wood, and we will put an end to the diſpute.* But the Workmen no ſooner heard them, but away they ran for their Lives, and when they came to the Lodge, they were ſo har'd, ſo ſcar'd, and quite out of breath, that the Governour in vain endeavour'd to get the leaſt tittle of a word from them. At length being come to themſelves, they aſſur'd him that it was too true that the Devils were in the Wood, and that the more to deceive and wheedle them, to day they had not onely ſpoken *Portugueſe*, but *Dutch* too. This put the Governour and all into a deep Conſternation, inſomuch that they were all at their Wits end. But the next morning *Loocker* and his Gang having made their way through, the Centinel ſpied them firſt from the Fort, and by the diſcharge of his Muſquet gave notice of the approach of the Devils. And then it was that the poor affrighted Mortals, laying aſide their fears, and going forth to meet their own Shapes, found them to be a company of their Countrymen in diſtreſs, whom they then received into their kindneſs, to give an account of their Misfortunes. Three days after the Ship came into Harbour, though in a miſerable condition.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Grandeur of the General at Batavia, *and what befell his Wife and his Niece.*

THE Company to maintain their Authority and Commerce in the *Indies*, believe it to be to their advantage, that the General whom they ſend to *Batavia*, and who commands in all the places in *Aſia* where the *Dutch* traffic, ſhould keep up the Port of a Prince. There is no Cavalry in *Europe* ſo well clad or mounted as his; the Horſemen all upon *Perſian* or *Arabian* Steeds. Nor is his Foot Guard leſs ſumptuous: His Halberdiers wear their yellow Satten Doublets, Scarlet Breeches lac'd with Silver Lace, and their Silk Stockins. But this onely for the General's Guards; for thoſe which they ſend abroad to their Forts and Garriſons, it is a great pity to ſee how poorly they are attir'd, and how meanly fed. When the *Dutch* Fleet arrives at *Batavia*, the Souldiers which they bring are drawn up in the Parade of the Fortreſs by the Major, who chuſes out the handſomeſt to remain at *Batavia*, the reſt are ſent and diſtributed into other places. When the General and his Wife go abroad, they always ride in their Coach and ſix Horſes, with ſix Halberdiers attending at each Boot, and a Troop of Horſe and two Companies of Foot for their Guard. The Authority of the General is very great, though he may be ſometimes commanded by his Wife: neither is it ſafe for them that depend upon them, to do or ſay any thing that may offend them. But for others, who have their Imployments immediately from the Company, they never oblige themſelves to be ſo circumſpect. For truth whereof I will relate the following pleaſant Story.

The Wife of General *Matſuker* having one day undertaken to play upon a Captain of a Ship call'd the *Lucifer*, and to laugh at him, for having loſt a Bale of Goods which had been ſeized by the Company, in regard no particular perſon is permitted to trade. The Captain nettled at her Diſcourſe, reſolved to be revenged. Nor was it long before he found

the means; for being commanded away for *Maſlipatan* in the Kingdom of *Goleonda*, where being arriv'd, laden, and ready to ſet Sail to return to *Batavia*, the chief of the Factory deſired him to take in four Bales of Goods for the General's Wife, as belonging to her, and to deliver them privately to her. This was Nuts to the Captain: ſo that being return'd to *Batavia*, ~~he went~~ he went immediately to viſit the General, and deliver him the Letters which concerned the *Cargo*. Immediately according to cuſtom the General invited him to dinner, at which time it is uſual for the General to inform himſelf of the Condition of the Factory. Among the reſt of the queſtions the General asked the Captain whether he had any Counterband Goods aboard, or any that were not upon the Company's ſole account. To which the Captain anſwered, that all the Goods belonged to the Company, except four Bales, which the chief Factor at *Maſlipatan* had particularly recommended to his care, as belonging to Madam General. This being publickly ſpoken in the preſence of a great many that were at Table, the Lady that was not aware of ſuch a blow, was not a little ſurpriz'd, and the General himſelf was not a little in wrath, ſternly ask'd her how ſhe durſt undertake to trade without his knowledge. Preſently ſhe denied the whole matter, and averred that the Captain was miſtaken, and took her for ſome other perſon. But the General ſent for the Piſcal, and order'd him to go forthwith with the Captain, and fetch the four Bales aſhoar; which being done, he order'd further that the Goods ſhould be carried into the public Hall of the Town Houſe, with a Writing fix'd upon them, that whoever own'd thoſe Goods ſhould come and claim them; but no body came. So that the Captain had the pleaſure to ſee the Lady in a delicate raging paſſion, and the Goods diſpos'd of to the Fiſcal, and the Poor of the Hoſpital.

The ſame General and his Wife having no Children, they began to conſider to whom they ſhould leave their Eſtates. At length the General bethought himſelf of a Niece he had at *Amſterdam*, and therefore wrote to the Directors of the Company to ſend her to him. This Niece of his cried Pot-herbs and Onions about the ſtreet to get her living; in which Calling ſhe was at laſt found out, and brought to the Directors, who preſently changed her Habit, and of a Crier of

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Cabbage made her a little Lady; who though she were of such a low condition, was not without a good proportion of natural Beauty.

The Fleet being ready to depart, there was a Cabin built on purpose for this Niece, and the Company having presented her with several pieces of Tissue and Silks, recommended her to *C. Rosse*, the Viceadmiral's care. This Captain had been several times at the *Indies* before, and was both rich and a Batchelour: so that when the Ship was out at Sea, he fail'd not to shew all the respects imaginable to this Niece. Now this young Virgin not being accustomed to the Sea, upon the least gust of Wind she was half dead; and all that time the Captain would not stir from her Bed-side, for fear any Accident should befall her. And as he was thus diligent not to stir from her Bed-side in fowl, 'tis verily believ'd he was seldom far from it in fair weather; and that instead of sitting by her Bed-side, he sometimes got fairly into it. But whether he were within or without, most certain it is, that before Madam Niece arrived at *Batavia*, she found her self to be with child, though she so discreetly concealed it, that none in the Vessel perceived it.

The Vessel had no sooner passed the Strait that lies toward *Bantam*, but Madam General with a great number of her Friends in several little Barques came out to meet Madam Niece, and were not a little surprized to find her to be a person so well clad and handsom withall, without any appearance of what she had been before.

A Coach and six Horses, and six Halberdiers, a Troop of Horse, and a Company of Foot, waited upon the shoar for Madam General. And thus was Madam Niece conducted to the Fort with great pomp, and as kindly received by Monsieur General. Some few days after several of the Gallants of *Batavia* came picquiering to the House to see Madam Niece; and so it was, that all being smitten, every one desired her in Marriage: but both Uncle and Aunt were deaf to all their Suits, as having design'd her to a young rich Merchant, who was then out of the way. *C. Rosse* laugh'd in his sleeve at the bustle that was made, and still continued his former respects and double Diligences, which were the more willingly permitted him in regard of the great care of

their Niece, for which the Uncle and the Aunt thought themſelves oblig'd to him during their Voyage. But at length ſeeing ſuch a ſwarm of Sweethearts about her, he thought it but charity to undeceive ſo many poor Gulls, and without further ceremony to go to her Aunt, and to demand her Niece for his Wife. The She General who look'd upon herſelf to be a kind of a Queen at *Batavia*, look'd upon it as a high offence and indignity for a Tarpaulin Captain of a Ship to dare to make her ſuch a Propoſal, having already refus'd ſuch Matches, perſons that might come to be Privy Counſellors of all the *Indies*. Nevertheleſs within a day or two after the Captain renewed his Charge, but then in a Majeſtic Fury ſhe utterly forbid him the Fort. He taking little notice of her rage, goes to the General, and after ſome Diſcourſe makes the ſame Propoſal, and receives the ſame Anſwer. But then the Captain gave the Husband ſuch a Bone to pick, that he would not give the Wife; Sir, ſaid he, twice already have I demanded your Niece in Marriage, this is now the third time that I make the ſame demand; if you refuſe me, you ſhall ask me four times before I accept of her: and ſo ſaying briskly left him. The General reflecting upon the Captain's words, went to his Wife and told her the Story, who gueſſing at the effects of a long Voyage Familiarity, call'd Madam Niece into examination: She not being us'd to Diſſimulation confeſs'd the whole matter, and without any more to do was married to the Captain, to the great wonder of the whole City, till the birth of a Boy at the end of ſix moneths unfolded the Riddle. But this lying in was her ruin; for about five or ſix days after, the Mother and the Nurſe being ill, the chief Chirurgeon of the Fort order'd them to take a little *Cremor Tartar*; and to that purpoſe ſent a young man to the Maſter Chirurgeon of the Town, to ſend him two quantities of *Cremor Tartar* in two Papers. He being drinking with his Friends, ſends a young Barber newly come from *Holland*, to put up the two quantities according to direction. But the Barber miſtook the Glaſs, and put up *Sublimate* inſtead of *Cremor Tartar*. So the two Women taking their Doſes, diſſolved in two Silver Cups of fair Water, died in 24 hours after.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of General Vanderbroug, *and of the Original of the City of* Batavia

GEneral *Vanderbroug* was of *Anverſe*, and having ſtudied in the Jeſuits College, retained ſome tincture of Learning, which he endeavoured to improve as much as his buſineſs would give him leave. While he was General he caus'd the *Alcoran* to be tranſlated out of *Arabic* into *Dutch*. He was alſo a man of courage, and ſeveral times expos'd himſelf to great hazards for the Service of the Company, as you ſhall ſee by the following Relation.

After the *Hollanders* had taken ſeveral Prizes from the *Portuguezes* by Sea, they wanted a place of Retreat, where they might repair their endamaged Ships, and repoſe after the toils of the Sea. At firſt they caſt their eyes upon the Iſland of *Java*, in that place where the *Engliſh* had built a ſmall Convenience for their Trade. There is a Road in that part, where Veſſels ride ſecurely all the year, into which a River diſcharges it ſelf that will receive Shallops of good burthen, for above a thouſand Paces. The Water of this River is moſt excellent; for being carried never ſo far to Sea, it never ſtinks, nor engenders Worms; which can only be ſaid of the *Thames* and *Ganges* beſides.

The *Hollanders* therefore came and lay upon the point of a River, over againſt the place where the *Engliſh* had their ſmall Houſe. They had with them then the greateſt part of the Ships which they had in the *Indies*, laden with thoſe great Bales of Cloth which come from *Bengale* and the Coaſt of *Surat*, ſo big that a dozen men can hardly manage them. Theſe Bales they landed, and of them made a kind of Fortification, planting a good number of great Guns between them: For they never wanted great Guns ever ſince they traded alone to *Japon*, the onely Kingdom of the World abounding in Copper; from whence they brought prodigious quantities to *Macao* and *Goa*, where they caſt their Artillery.

Thus

Thus the *Hollanders* thought that by Sea no body could endamage their ſmall Fortification, made of Bales of cloth, which was defended by their Veſſels which they had in the Road: But by Land they were afraid that the King of the Iſland, *viz.* either of *Materan* or *Bantam*, might diſturb them. Obſerving therefore the Situation of the Iſland, which on that ſide was all covered with Woods, which reached on that ſide within a League of the Sea; and that where they ended, to the Shoar there was no other way but a Bank, which ſeparated the Marſh from the River: So that the *Hollanders* the better to ſecure themſelves againſt the two Kings, reſolved to raiſe a Tower upon the Bank. In this Tower they planted ſeveral Culverins and ſmall Pieces, cramm'd with artificial Wildfire, and every evening relieved their Guards. The King of *Materan* perceiving this, and believing that the *Hollanders* would not ſtop here, advanced a powerful Army to pull down the Tower. To which purpoſe he brought with him great Chains of Iron, and Cables made of the *Coco* Flax; believing that by the favour of the Night, having got his Chains and Ropes about the Tower, by the ſtrength of his Men and Elephants he might eaſily pull it down. But having fail'd in his Enterprize, and for that the *Hollanders* Artillery kill'd him abundance of Men, he retreated with his Army. But it was not long before he return'd again with a more powerful Force by Land, and alſo a great Fleet of ſmall Veſſels to aſſiſt him by Sea. With theſe Forces he gave a furious Onſet a ſecond time, which the *Hollanders* with no leſs vigour ſuſtained, and beat him off. But nothing diſcouraged with his loſs, he reſolved to give a third Onſet, onely he ſtaid ſome few days in expectation of more Forces.

In the mean while one of the moſt conſiderable Captains of his Army was accus'd to the King not to have done his Duty: though ſeaſonably advertiz'd that the King was reſolv'd to ſeize upon his perſon, and cut him to pieces. For you muſt know, that among the *Javans* when any perſon has merited Death, they tie the Offender all along upon a great piece of Timber, and the next Lord or great perſon that has a mind to try the goodneſs of his Scimitar, comes and cuts the Body into four pieces, the firſt ſtroak being made upon the Breſt, the ſecond upon the Pit of the Stomach, the third

third upon the lower part of the Belly. The four pieces if they be Men, are burnt; if Women, thrown to the Dogs, which they keep for that purpose. For the *Javans* never burn any person.

This *Javanese* Lord therefore knowing what he was to trust to, made his escape to the *Hollanders*, and was kindly received by *Vanderbroug*. To ingratiate himself, he told the *Dutch* General all the King's Designs in reference to the carrying the place; where he would make his Onset, and what number of men he had. This however did not sufficiently chear up the General, who knew his own weakness. So that the *Javanese* perceiving him still pensive, I find (said he) that thou art afraid of the King's strength, and reason thou hast, but be rul'd by me: Thou art not ignorant that the *Javanners* are rigid Observers of the Law of *Mahomet*, and that if any Uncleanness from a Christian hand falls upon their Clothes, they fling them away, and spend six whole days in washing themselves, before they believe themselves clean. Hear then, said he; let all the Ordure and Dung of the People that are with thee be heaped in a place together, and made fluid in Pots for that purpose; and when they mount their Ladders, spare not for Showres of that Liquor, and I warrant ye they will retreat faster than they came on. Farther continued he; I know that the points of their Arrows and *Cric's* are poison'd, and that this poison is so strong, that whoever are wounded therewith die suddenly, unless they have recourse to this onely Remedy; which is to preserve their own Excrement, and to dry it to powder; and when they find themselves wounded, to take a little of the powder, and drink it off in a small Beer-glass of Water. The General observing what the *Javan* Lord had said, when the Enemy mounted their Ladders, lustily besmear'd them with the Liquor, which he caus'd to be prepar'd against their coming; so that instead of gaining the tops of their Ladders, they made all the haste they could down again; but being hindred by those that follow'd them, they threw themselves headlong to the ground; by which means several of them were maimed, and several kill'd outright. Thus the Army disbanded in a moment, and the Emperour was the first that took his flight. *Vanderbroug* observing the disorderly Retreat of the Enemy, took a small Party with him, and pur-

su'd

ſu'd the flying Enemy, who being encloſed by thoſe in the Fort, that ſally'd out upon them, were miſerably cut in pieces. But the General having left the greateſt part of his men, and returning onely with a ſmall and very inconſiderable Company, the *Javanners* who had hid themſelves in the Merſhes for fear, reſum'd courage, and ſuddenly fell upon him in his return, and ſo encompaſs'd him on every ſide, that it was impoſſible for him to eſcape. However they defended themſelves ſtoutly for a while, but being wounded with the Arrows and *Cric's* of the *Indians*, and not being provided of the forementioned Antidote, they died immediately. The General was taken alive, not ſo much as wounded; for as he told me afterwards himſelf, he found they had no deſire to kill him. So ſoon as he was taken they carried him to the Emperour, who as ſoon as he ſaw him bid him not fear any thing, but told him withall, that it was his pleaſure, that he ſhould command his Men to quit the Fort and Tower, and be gone; otherwiſe that he would make both him, and all thoſe that ſhould fall into his Hands, perpetual Slaves. At the ſame time the Emperour with his principal Officers, and the General with a good Guard, came to the Foot of the Wall of the Tower, where the General in the *Malay* Language, laying before them his own misfortune, and the improbability of their holding out long, commanded them to quit the Fort, after they had embarqued whatever they ſaw fitting, but onely 6 Pieces of ſmall Canon, 200 Bullets, and 500 Quintals of Powder. The Emperour was overjoy'd to hear what the General ſaid, and thought himſelf ſure of the Fort and Tower. But then the General turning to the Emperour, told him, that none of his men underſtood *Malay*, and that therefore it would be convenient for him to repeat the ſame in *Flemiſh*. Which being granted, he ſpoke to the Souldiers in *Flemiſh*, and ordered them quite the contrary; that is to ſay, that they ſhould not be Traitors to their Countrey, but hold out the place till death, not minding what became of him; and to that end, that they ſhould bid the Infidels forthwith retire, or elſe they would immediately fire all their Guns upon them. The Emperour aſtoniſh'd at their Reſolution retreats, and carries the General with him. Being thus retir'd, the General made him believe that he would find a means

means to write to the Company, to give them an account of what had pass'd, and that he was confident they would give such order for an Accommodation, as should satisfie His Majesty, which satisfi'd the Emperour for that time. In the mean while the General found an opportunity to get into a small Barque, and to get to the Fort, where he was joyfully receiv'd. This Recital I had from his own mouth.

The General having done this and several other eminent Services for the Company, and acquitted himself with Reputation and a fair Estate, was desirous to return home, where the Prince of *Orange*, and several of the States had no less a desire to see him. Streight he took up his Habitation at the *Hague*, and for a good while liv'd splendidly, gave great Presents and Entertainments to the Prince, and several other Grandees of *Holland*, by which means he ran himself into so great an Expence, that he was forc'd to desire of the Company, that he might return into their Service.

One day the Prince of *Orange* asking him what Rarities he had brought out of the *Indies*, he call'd for five Silver Plates, and setting them upon the Table, drew out five little Bags out of his Pocket, and emptied a several Bag upon a several Plate; which surpriz'd not onely the Prince, but several others of the States then present, to see such a number of Diamonds and other Jewels of a vast value.

It was not without some difficulty that he was again entertain'd by the Company; but at length they sent him Admiral of two Ships to *Batavia*, where being arriv'd, the General and Consuls made him Admiral of the Fleet that was just bound for the Coast of *Coromandel*, *Surat*, and *Persia*.

Being return'd to *Batavia*, General *Vandyme* and the Council sent him to *Malaca*, which the *Hollanders* then besieg'd, and where they found a stouter resistance than they imagin'd. There in an assault upon the Town he received a slight Wound, of which he was quickly cur'd; but soon after he fell sick, and died before the Town was surrendred.

CHAP. V.

Of the Country about Cochin, *and how the* Holland *General crown'd one of the* Indian *Princes.*

ALL the Countrey about *Cochin* is planted for the most part with that sort of Tree which they call *Cocos*, the Fruit whereof produces that sort of Wine which the Inhabitants call *Tary*, whereof they make their Strong Water. They mingle this Wine with course black Sugar unrefin'd, together with the Bark of a Tree which bears nothing but Thorns. This Bark causes the *Tary* and Sugar to boil and ferment like new Wine. When the *Tary* and the Sugar have fermented for above seven or eight hours, they distill them in an Alembic, and make Strong Water, which is stronger or smaller, by how much the more often or seldomer it is distill'd.

Besides the Coverture of these Trees the whole Country is full of Cows; for they are all Idolaters in this Country, that onely worship their Cows for their Gods, feed upon their Milk, and eat nothing that has Life.

When you leave the Countries of these Princes, which they call *Rajas*, travelling toward the North East you enter into the Territories of the *Raja* of *Velouche*, which are of a large extent. He and all his Subjects being Idolaters, unless it be about nine or ten thousand poor People call'd *Christians of S. John*, as being baptiz'd after the same manner that S. *John* baptiz'd the People in the Wilderness.

After the taking of *Cochin*, of which we have given a full Relation in our *Indian* Travels, General *Vangous*, who commanded at the Siege, became so haughty that he despis'd all the other Officers, as well Military as those that belonged to the Government and Justice of the City. However to recompence one of the *Raja's* by whose means he had taken the City, he persuaded him to quit the Name of *Raja*, and to assume the Title of *King*, that he might have the Honour to set the Crown upon his Head. To this end he made great inquiry through his whole Army for a Gold-

smith,

ſmith, and having found out one that undertook it, and caus'd him to make a Crown of maſſie Gold, that weigh'd near ten Marks, which I believe the *Raja* found more inconvenient and weighty upon his Head, than an old Muckender with three corners bound about his Head, which is the mark of the *Raja*'s Sovereignty.

While they were making this Crown there were great preparations for the Ceremony: It was performed in a Garden near the Town, where was ſet a large Tent ſpread all over with painted Calicut. Within was a Throne erected with a Canopy of *China* Damask, and all the Steps to the Throne were cover'd with *Perſian* Tapiſtry.

The day being come, the greateſt part of the Army, Officers and Souldiers, went to fetch the *Raja*, who lay in his Hut a quarter of a League off; where they mounted him upon one of two Elephants which the General ſent him, being attended likewiſe with two led Horſes, and two *Palanquins* for more State. Being come to the place, he was clad in a Scarlet Robe with great Hanging Sleeves, and ſo brought in where *Vangous* was ſitting upon his Throne, with a Sword and a Crown by him. The *Raja* being come to the Foot of the Throne, the Major of the Army took the Sword, deliver'd him by the General, and girt the *Raja*, who then aſcending the Steps of the Throne, proſtrated himſelf before the *Holland* General while he put the Crown upon his Head. Then the new King riſeth up, and lays his Hand upon the Head of a Cow that ſtood near the Throne. Which done, kneeling with his Hands claſp'd, and lifted toward the Head of the ſame Cow, he took his Oath to be true and faithful to the Company, and to embrace their Intereſts. On the other ſide the General promis'd him on the behalf of the Company, that they ſhould aſſiſt him when he ſhould have occaſion againſt his Enemies. Which Solemnities being very gravely perform'd the Muſquettiers gave three Volleys, and the new King was conducted back to his Hut with the ſame Pomp that he was brought. Thus you ſee the Pride of a Pepper Merchant, to make Kings and domineer over Crowns.

One other famous Act of *Vangous* muſt not be forgotten. You muſt know, that at the taking of *Cochin* the Jeſuits had in that City one of the faireſt Libraries in all *Aſia*, as well

for the great quantity of Books ſent them out of *Europe*, as for ſeveral rare Manuſcripts in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Arabic*, *Perſian*, *Indian*, *Chineſe*, and other Oriental Languages. For in all the Conqueſts of the *Portugals*, their firſt care was to ſummon all the Learned People of the ſeveral Nations, and to get all their Books into their hands. During that little time which the Jeſuits ſtaid in *Æthiopia* they had copied out all the good Books that came to their knowledge, and ſent all thoſe Books to *Cochin*. They had ſtaid longer in *Æthiopia*, had it not been for the Jealouſie of the Patriarchs, and their Biſhops, which are very numerous; ſo that if there be two men in one Village that belong to one Church, the chiefeſt calls himſelf Biſhop. At their Ceremonies of Baptiſm when they name the Holy Ghoſt, they apply a hot Iron to the neck of the Infant, ſaying that the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles in the ſhape of Fiery Tongues. The Patriarchs and Biſhops were jealous of the Jeſuits, finding that they had inſinuated themſelves into the favour of the King and Grandees of the Court. Which ſo enraged the *Æthiopians*, that they caus'd the People to mutiny, preaching that the King was about to alter the Religion of the Country, and to draw along with him ſeveral of the Lords. And the Fury of the People grew to that height, that whatever the King could do or ſay, he could not appeaſe their Fury: So that they put him in priſon, and elected his Brother in his place. The cauſe of this diſorder was laid upon the Jeſuits, and was the reaſon that they were expell'd the Kingdom; neither had they ſcap'd ſo, but that they were afraid of the Governour of *Mozambique*, and the *Portugals* that inhabit all along the Coaſt of *Africa*. But to tell ye what became of this Library, General *Vangous* made no conſcience to expoſe it to the ignorance of his Souldiers, ſo that I have ſeen the Souldiers and Seamen tear ſeveral of thoſe beautiful Volums to light their Tobacco.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Sieur Hollebrand Glins, *President of the Factory at* Ormus.

WHen the Ships come to *Ormus*, it is a great prejudice for the Goods to lie out of doors. For ſuch is the extremity of the Heat in that part, that if the Spices, eſpecially the Cloves, be not carried to the Water-ſide every foot, and there laid to ſteep in the Water for four and twenty hours, they would turn to a mere powder.

Sugar is brought thither in great Wooden Cheſts, but if there be the leaſt Cleft for a Fly or an Emmet to get in, in a ſmall time the Cheſt will be half emptied.

As for Camphire, which is brought from *Borneo* in Pipes, if it lie a little too long in that warm Air, it will exhale above half away.

To remedy theſe Inconveniences *Sieur Hollebrand* reſolved to build a bigger Warehouſe. Among the reſt of the Workmen that were imployed in this Building was a Gunſmith, who came in the *interim* in a Ship from *Batavia*. This poor Fellow was imployed to make Locks for the Warehouſe; for in thoſe Parts they have no other Keys, or Locks either, than what are made of Wood: So that it was a Crime for him to be found idle at any time. And therefore the Preſident finding him one Sunday in the Afternoon drinking with two of his Companions that came from the Ship to ſee him, gave the Fellow half a dozen good Licks with his Cane, and would have given him more, but that the Smith being a ſturdy Fellow, and feeling the Blows ſmart, wreſted the Stick out of the Preſident's Hands, and flung it out of the Window. For which the Preſident, upon pretence that the Fellow had ſtruck him four Blows, which was untrue, as I my ſelf being there could witneſs, ſent him laden with Chains to the Ship, where he would have tried him for his Life, in a full Court of the Merchants of the Factory: but they refuſing him, for very madneſs he took

two

two Notaries, that he had a power over, went to the Ship alone, made the Officers of the Ship, and condemn'd the Fellow to be hang'd. And he had certainly been executed but for me and ſome other of my Countrymen, (for the Fellow was of *Geneva*) that threatned the Preſident out of his deſign. Yet he caus'd him to be drubb'd Naked at the Main Maſt after that inhuman manner, that he loſt the uſe of one of his Arms. This the *Geneveſe* could never forget, and therefore ſought all opportunities to kill him; to which purpoſe he put himſelf in the ſame Ship with *Hollebrand* when he returned for *Holland*. But coming to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and being ſent aſhoar in the Shallop for Proviſions, the Shallop was overſet in a ſtormy Sea, and *Hollebrand*'s Life thereby ſecur'd.

But before we leave *Ormus*, where *Hollebrand* was building his Warehouſe that caus'd all this miſchief, let us take notice of this by the way, that there is no abiding at *Ormus* till *April*, leſt you pay for your ſtay with ſome Malignant Fever, that may hold a man as long as he lives; or if he be cur'd by chance, yet will the White of his Eyes be more yellow than Saffron. This ſame ſort of Fever ſeizes our *Europeans* in the Port of *Alexandretta* in *Syria*, and in the Iſlands where the *Hollanders* lade their Cloves, Nutmegs, and Mace.

By the way obſerve, that there is a particular ſort of Nutmeg which the *Hollanders* call *Maneque*, and we the Male Nutmeg, as long again and a little bigger than the ordinary Nutmeg; and this ſort they never carry into *Europe*, becauſe they ſell it to better profit in *Perſia* and the *Indies*. This I ſhall alſo further add, that the ordinary Nutmeg condited, ſuddles more than the ſtrongeſt Wine, eating but onely one either at the beginning or ending of the Meal.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Touching the Islands of the Prince.

THE Fort of *Batavia* has four fair Bastions, and is well built but upon an ill Foundation, those Bastions being plainly observ'd to sink, and requiring Reparation from time to time. For the perfecting of which Work the *Hollanders* wanted Slaves: whereupon a Consultation was had where to get Slaves. To which Answer was made, that there was no better place than the Prince's Islands. Which being concluded, the General of *Batavia* dispatch'd away three the biggest Ships belonging to *Batavia*. These Ships visited every one of these Islands, feigning that they came from *Holland* and wanted Refreshment. So soon as the Inhabitants discover'd the Vessels, they flock'd to the Shoar Men, Women, and Children, as they wont to do, bringing along with them the best of their Provision, as *Coco* Wine, Nuts, and other Fruits of the growth of the Islands. Happy were they that could first get aboard, for they always get more by the Mariners and Souldiers, than by those that go ashoar to trade. Now so soon as they were ashoar, they gave them Strong Water to drink till they were drunk; and when the Masters of the Ships saw them in that condition, they immediately sent a good number of their men well armed ashoar, who bound them that were upon the Sand to truck for their goods, and carried them away to their Ships, killing all those that made any resistance. But they did them little service; for finding themselves so inhumanly us'd as the *Hollanders* use their Slaves, they took a resolution to eat nothing, and to starve themselves to death, rather than to be forc'd to labour and be beaten every day.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Hollanders *ſent to declare War againſt the* Perſians, *and of the ill Succeſs of their Fleet.*

MUch about the ſame time *Charles Conſtant* was ſent by the Company with a Fleet of ſeven great Ships, to declare War againſt the *Perſians*, in caſe they would not comply with the *Dutch* in reference to their Silk Trade and their Cuſtoms. Being arriv'd at *Ormus* he left the Fleet there, and haſten'd to *Iſpahan*, and from thence to *Casbin*, where then the King was. But his Embaſſie had not that effect as he expected: For he thought that the King would have been frighted at the noiſe of a Fleet of ſeven great Ships that lay at *Ormus*, but he was miſtaken. For the *Perſian* knew he need not ſend any Force againſt the ſaid Fleet, in regard it would be ruin'd without: It being impoſſible for our *Europeans* to ſtay at *Ormus* in the heat of Somer, as well by reaſon of the Heat, as for want of Water; for there is no good Water at *Ormus*, nor upon any part of the Coaſt of *Perſia*, but what is kept in Ciſterns, and that full of Worms. 'Tis true, that upon the Coaſt of *Arabia* there are Wells of good Water, but when the *Arabians* diſcover any Ships upon the Coaſt, they come down all in Arms to defend their Wells; for it is their profit to ſell their Water, and that at a very dear rate, to thoſe that are in neceſſity.

Now the King and Council not being ignorant, that the longer the Fleet lay at *Ormus*, the worſe would be its condition, would not give the Commander his firſt Audience in two moneths. During which time there died above half the Men; for from ſix a clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, if any of the Seamen went to take a little Air upon the Deck, he preſently fell down dead. The Admiral was to blame not to make proviſion of Water being bound for ſuch a place as *Ormus*.

The Commander *Conſtant* did not take the right courſe to effect his buſineſs, by publiſhing what he intended to preſent

ſent the Miniſters of State withall. For the Lords of *Perſia* never take any Preſents themſelves, for fear it ſhould come to the King's Ear. But there is a private Bill ſent to the Party for whom it is intended, and he ſends whom he thinks fit to receive it. Had he ſo done, and doubled his Sum of 5000 *Venetian* Ducats, perhaps the *Athemadoulet* might have us'd him more kindly, eſpecially for ſo long time as that King had. For whatever a Predeceſſor does, a Succeſſor changes many things. So that if the deceaſed King have given any Houſe or Land to any perſon, it muſt be confirmed by the ſucceeding King in his firſt Year, or elſe the Gift returns to the King. It is the ſame thing if any perſon builds a Houſe upon the King's Demeſns: which has been a great inconvenience to the *Auſtin* Friers and bare-foot *Carmelites*, becauſe their Houſes are built upon the Land; which *Cha Abbas* gave them of the Royal Demeſns. So that every time a new King aſcends the Throne, they are forc'd to make the *Athemadoulet* new Preſents, ſometimes to the Value of the Land: for it is a rare thing to find a prime Miniſter that is a Friend to the Chriſtians. But the Jeſuits and Capuchins, who came after them, provided better for themſelves, each of thoſe Orders having bought the Ground upon which their Houſes are built.

The Commander ſeeing that he could not compaſs his Deſign, and that the *Athemadoulet* would abate nothing of the forty four *Tomans* which he demanded, went to the *Divanbegai* and told him, that buying the ſame Goods of particular perſons, they might be had for thirty two, or at moſt for thirty three *Tomans*. To which the *Divanbegai* anſwered him, That all thoſe particular perſons paid the King Cuſtom, and Convoy upon the Road, the Cuſtom alone amounting to Eighteen *per cent.* which the *Hollanders* did not pay: and that there was not a Year wherein they did not bring in Goods to the Value of 30000 *Tomans*; and that if account ſhould be taken of the Silks which they carried away, and of the Goods which they brought in, the *Athemadoulet* ought to make them pay near 50000 *Tomans* for Duties. The Commander ill ſatisfied with this Anſwer went to his Lodging, and without asking the Advice of the Merchants that were with him, or of his *Frenchman*, who better underſtood the Practice of the Court, or without taking his

leave of the King, return'd privately to *Iſpahan*, intending for *Bander* where the Fleet lay. The *Athemadoulet* being advertiz'd of his ſudden departure, was very much offended; ſo much the more becauſe at the Commanders firſt Arrival he had done him great Civilities, even to the furniſhing his Lodgings after the *European* manner, with a Bed, Stools, and Tables. Thereupon he gave notice thereof to the King, who when he heard of it utter'd theſe words, *Has any one given him any diſtaſte, or is he turn'd Fool? He ſhall be glad to come back again.*

Being come to *Iſpahan*, to the great wonder of the *Franks*, who heard nothing of his taking leave of the King, he began to make up his Pack, intending for *Gomrom*, in caſe the King did not ſend for him again; which he did, 'tis true, but not with thoſe Compliments which he expected; for he flatter'd himſelf that the King would have petition'd him to return. The King ſent for him indeed, but his Compliment was not very pleaſing; for the perſon that brought the Meſſage told him, That it was the King's pleaſure he ſhould ſpeedily return, and if he would not go willingly he had order to carry him by force. But notwithſtanding the King's Command and the Counſel of his Friends, he ſet out from *Iſpahan* for *Bander*, according to his firſt intent. We accompanied him ſome part of his way, and being juſt ready to take our leaves, we ſaw a *Perſian* Gentile and well mounted, (he was a Captain of an hundred men) who calling the Interpreter to him, Go (ſaid he) and tell thy Preſident, that he muſt return to his Lodging, and to morrow make haſte to the King, according to the Order he has already received: and with that he rode away full ſpeed. The Interpreter told the Commander what the Captain ſaid; but notwithſtanding all this the Commander being a perſon of a hot and obſtinate humour, continued his way. Neither the Merchants of *Zulpha*, nor any of the *Perſian* or *Armenian* Servants would follow him, fearing the Baſtinado, and believing he was ſecure enough; as it happen'd: for he had not rode far, before three Captains with their Bows and Arrows in their hands bolted out upon him, one of which riding up directly to the Commander, Art thou (ſaid he) the onely perſon that ever ſet foot in this Empire, that refuſeſt to obey the Companion of the Sun, whom ſo great a part

of

of the World obeys? At the ſame time came up fifty ſtout Horſemen, and one of them who cammanded them made at Mr. *Conſtant* with his Mace. Then the Admiral was forc'd to lower his Sails and return back, forc'd to receive an Affront which he might have avoided When he was come to his Lodging, the *Perſian* Officer without alighting call'd the Interpreter, and bid him go forwarn the Commander in the Name of the King, that neither he nor any of the *Hollanders* preſumed to ſtir out of their Houſes till further order; for that if any of them were ſeen abroad, they ſhould be taught to obey the King's Commands. Thus the *Hollanders* having been coop'd up nine days, word was brought the Commander he might return to *Cusbin*, where he found that all his *Rodomontado's* ſignified nothing, but that he muſt comply with the *Athemadoulet*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Severity of the Holland *Commanders in the* Indies.

GEneral *Speck*, before he came to his Imployment, had a Daughter by a Woman which he kept onely as his Miſtreſs, not as his Wife. After his time was out he returned into *Holland*, and not being willing to carry his Daughter along with him, knowing that ſhe would go off better at *Batavia* than in *Holland*, left her to the care of General *Com*, who ſucceeded him in his charge. The Girl was fair and left rich, ſo that her Father was no ſooner gone, but ſhe had many Suitors that courted her, without any conſideration of her Birth, among all which there was none that ſhe fancied, like one that was a Superior Merchant of the Fort, for whom ſhe had a particular eſteem. Neither did ſhe believe but that General *Com* would have given his conſent upon the firſt requeſt, knowing the young man to be of a good Family. Nevertheleſs they were both deceiv'd; for being ask'd, he utterly denied to yield to any

ſuch matter. However, the young Man and the Maid continued their Fidelity to each other, and that with ſuch a cloſe reſpect, that at length the Virgin's Belly began to ſwell. Whereupon ſhe made one of the Ladies of the City acquainted how the caſe ſtood, as alſo of her Council, believing that the General upon notice how Affairs went, would marry her to keep all things private. But ſo ſoon as the Lady had revealed the Myſtery, he was ſo far from anſwering their expectation, that he threw the young Man laden with Fetters into priſon, and ſhut up the young Woman cloſe Priſoner in her Chamber. Next day he call'd a Council, declar'd to them the Matter of Fact, and gave his Opinion, that the young man deſerv'd to loſe his Head, and that the Maid ſhould be whipp'd. The Council were of a contrary Judgment, and advis'd him to reconcile the Miſchance by a Marriage. But notwithſtanding all their perſuaſions the General reſolv'd to have his own humour, the next day privately ſent for the Executioner, and cauſing the young Man and the Maid to be brought into his Hall, commanded the Man's Head to be forthwith ſtruck off, and the Virgin to be whipp'd though big with Child.

The Sieur *Goyre* commanded the *Holland* Fleet that was ſent to the *Manilles*, he landed all his Souldiers, and moſt of his Mariners. When they began to march, he commanded that not a man ſhould ſtir out of his Rank upon pain of death. It happen'd that a young Souldier, who was troubled with the Bloudy Flux, ſtept a little aſide to eaſe Nature, which the ſaid Commander perceiving, caus'd him to be apprehended and bound, and calling a Council of War would have had him hang'd; and when the Officers refus'd to give Sentence againſt one that had committed no offence, he cauſed ſeven or eight Blacks of the Low Countries to hang him up upon a Tree. But the Sieur *Dirk Hogel*, Lieutenant General, marching by in the nick of time, and ſeeing the poor Fellow in that condition, preſently order'd him to be cut down, and ſo ſav'd the poor Fellow's Life; who returning into *Holland*, and making his Complaint to the Company, the Directors wrote ſmartly to the General and Council at *Batavia* about the buſineſs; who upon Examination of the matter, in regard the Lad was ſent by the Directors of the Orphans Houſe at *Amſterdam*, condemned the Sieur *Goyre*

to

to pay four thouſand Crowns to the Orphans Houſe, and three hundred Crowns yearly to the poor Souldier.

CHAP. X.

Touching the Women.

OFttimes when Women think that their Amours are moſt ſecret, they are by ſome ſtrange and unexpected accident odly diſcover'd. While I was at *Batavia*, the Secretary of the Hoſpital, as handſom a perſon as any was in the City, had a Wife that paſs'd for a *Batavian* Beauty, neither indeed was ſhe deſpicable. This Couple had been ſeven years married without any Children; ſo that the Woman deſpairing of her Husband's Abilities, and to know where the fault lay, reſolved to beſtow her Favours upon one of her Slaves, who was well ſhap'd but very black; chuſing rather a private Familiarity with him, than with any young *Hollander*, whoſe frequent Viſits might breed ſuſpicion. It ſeems the fault did not lie in her, for her Sable Gallant had ſo improv'd his Talent, that in a ſhort time ſhe found the effects of Change. In ſhort, the Womans Belly ſwell'd, and her Husband thinking his time had been come, began to boaſt of his Manhood, and great Joy there was among the Friends of the Woman upon the hopes of Iſſue. Great Proviſions were made againſt the Lying in, and the General himſelf made choice of for Godfather. But when the good hour was come, and the Woman delivered, their Joy was turned into Mourning, for the Child prov'd one of the ſooty Of-ſpring of the Sun-burnt race, a perfect Black. The Husband and Mother of the Woman bluſh'd as red for ſhame as the Child was black, and the Goſſips hung down their heads like Bulruſhes: nay the Husband was ſo tranſported with fury, that he could not hide his reſolution to murder his Wife, for bringing ſuch a piece of live Charcole into the world. But he was prevented, and ſecur'd in the Fort by the General, till by the intermiſſion of Friends, who wiſely laid before him the original cauſe of his Wifes

Tranſ-

Tranſgreſſion, they were at length made Friends, and the Slave for having ſhew'd himſelf a Man, was condemn'd to tug at the Oars in the Galleys that go to fetch Stone for the uſe of the City.

Now as a White Woman may bring forth a Black, ſo ſometimes a Black may be deliver'd of a White Child. For at *Baçaim* a *Cafer*'s Wife, as black as himſelf, was deliver'd of a white Child. The *Cafer* ſeeing his Child white, would have immediately fallen upon his Wife and ſtrangled her, had not the good women that aſſiſted at her Labour prevented him, and one of thoſe Goſſips was ſo cunning as to run to the Jeſuits Houſe, who are well reſpected by thoſe Blacks, to deſire Father *Thomas de Bare*, who had a long time been Rector at *Agra*, to come to the *Cafer*'s Houſe. Preſently the Father came with another of the Fraternity, and finding the *Cafer* ſtamping and ſtaring almoſt out of his wits, and in open hoſtility without all reaſon, to appeaſe his fury ask'd him whether he kept any Hens, and whether he had any that were black. The *Cafer* anſwer'd that he did keep Hens, and that he had likewiſe black Hens. Preſently the Father order'd one to be brought him; and then holding it in both his hands before the good Women, Does this Hen (ſaid he to the *Cafer*) lay thee any Eggs? Yes, replied the *Cafer*. Of what colour are they, ſaid the Father? White, anſwer'd the *Cafer*. Well then, ſaid the Father, thou art worſe than thy ſilly Creature, and haſt far leſs reaſon; for if this Hen which is black lay thee white Eggs, why may not thy Wife which is black bring thee a white Child? This Compariſon ſo wrought upon the *Cafer*, who was no Diſputant, that he embrac'd his Wife, kiſs'd his Child, and all was well again. Though for all the Jeſuit's Compariſon it was believ'd that ſome *Portugal* Souldier had quarter'd with his Wife, which was the reaſon of that more than uſual Production.

To conclude, there was a certain woman, the wife of one of the Counſellors of *Batavia*, who had both kindneſs and affection for a Merchant of the Fort, who was both young and handſom. And it is the Cuſtom in that Countrey to be not onely kind but free, ſhe had for ſeveral years ſo well ſupplied his wants, that he was Company for the beſt. It happen'd that this Counſellor was ſent abroad upon

on ſome Negotiation, and ſtaid longer than he thought he ſhould have done. For this reaſon Money grew ſhort with the Lady; ſo that her Gallant coming for a Supply, and ſhe not having ready money to anſwer his Expectations, ſhe gave him a Gold Chain worth 400 Crowns to pawn for his preſent Neceſſities till ſhe could redeem it. But this Fatal Chain was the diſſolution of all their former Love: For the young Gentleman being ſtreighten'd for Money, and finding no perſon that would lend him ſo much Money as he wanted upon it, very fairly goes and offers it to a Goldſmith to ſell. While this unfortunate Lover was driving his Bargain in the Shop, who in the name of ill luck ſhould come by but one of his Miſtreſſes Slaves, and ſpying the Chain in his hand, runs and tells her Patroneſs how ſhe had ſeen her Gallant imploy'd. Who ſurpriz'd that her Gallant ſhould go about to ſell the Chain, when he had onely promis'd to pawn it in private and ſure hands; now (quoth ſhe) all will out, there will be the Devil upon Dun when my Husband comes home; and I forſooth that have liv'd credibly thus long, muſt be the ſport of my Neighbours and the talk of the Town. This produc'd a Duel between Love and Intereſt, wherein Intereſt getting the victory, away ſhe immediately ſends to all the Goldſmiths, to give them notice that ſhe had been robb'd of a Gold Chain, deſiring them to apprehend the Party that brought it. She alſo gave the ſame notice to the chief of the *Chineſes*, and deſir'd the Advocate Fiſcal to make a public Search. Well, by theſe means the Chain was quickly found, and the Merchant whatever he could ſay for himſelf was apprehended and put in priſon; ſoon after he was condemned for a Thief, and ſentenced to row all his life in the Stone Galley, which is the Galley that fetches Stones for the uſe of *Batavia*. But happy for him, General *Vanderlin*'s Lady falling into a hard Labour before the time of Execution, and deſiring his Pardon at ſuch a ſolemn Juncture, eaſily obtain'd it, ſeaſonably recovering him from the Misfortunes of Folly and Neceſſity.

A RELA-

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MAPP of TUNQUIN

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SO

IT

TS EGEN

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SANGANI

Cansula

AVA

BANDEL

Marcksma Isle

TOI Isle

YYNOXIMA Isle

TONDO XIMA Isle

Silver Mines

Sando

NOTO

NAYMA

XIVA

Canga

FVCHV

VTCHV

Quiranoro

YECHIGEN

VACOSA

VBAMA

Vomi

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Hino

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MICAVA

MIA

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Ingo

Yonda

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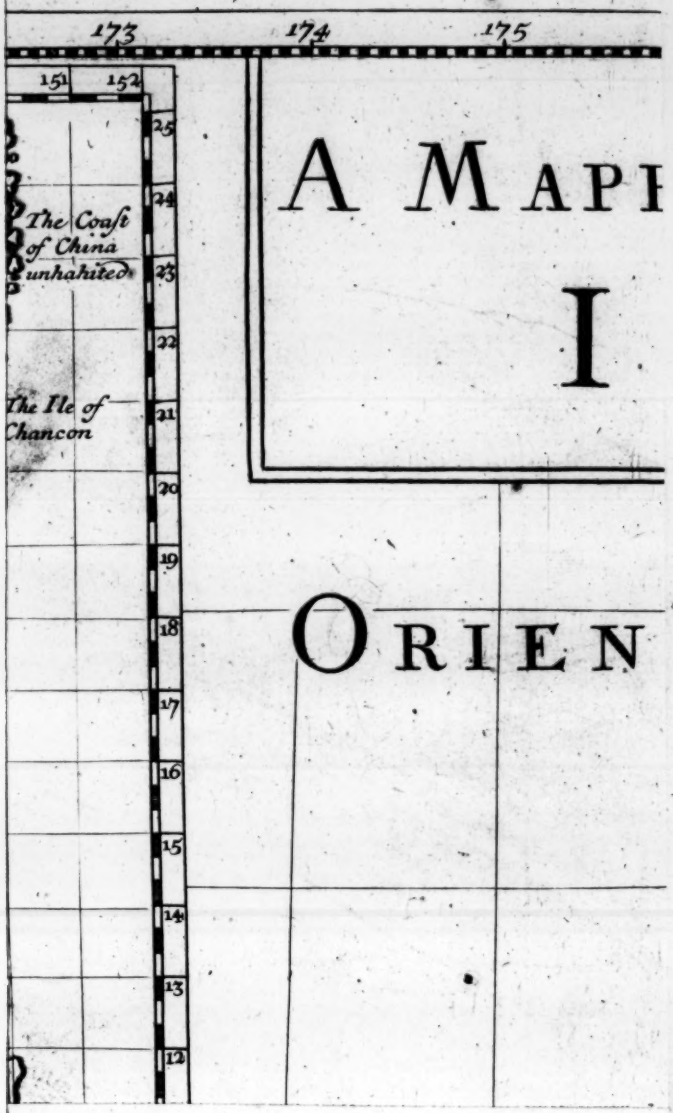
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A MAPI
I
ORIEN

A RELATION OF JAPON,

AND

Of the Cauſe of the Perſecution of the Chriſtians in thoſe ISLANDS.

THE Modern Geographers have made Deſcriptions of *Japon*, by means of ſuch conjectures as they have drawn from the Relations of certain Merchants who have traded in thoſe Countries. But in regard there are very few Merchants who are skilful in *Geography*, as being ſuch who only mind the profit and advantage of their Voyages, thoſe Deſcriptions have prov'd very uncertain. As to the knowledge of the Ancients, in reference to this part of the World, it is no leſs imperfect; and it is but only by conjecture to this day, that we believe the *Abadii* of *Ptolomy* to be that Iſland which is now call'd *Niphon*. That which I could learn of moſt certainty, was by the Relation of ſeveral perſons who have Travell'd theſe parts, that the Empire of *Japon* is at preſent compos'd of ſeveral Iſlands, of which ſome perhaps may not be abſolute Iſlands, but rather *Peninſula's*, and particularly thoſe that make a part of the

Land of *Yesso*, the Inhabitants whereof are Vassals and Tributaries to *Japon*. Nevertheless a *Holland* Pilot, who has been industrious to discover whether the whole Country it self were an Island, or a Continent adjoyning to that vast Tract of Land call'd *Corea*, unknown to this day; in those parts where it extends it self behind *China* to the bottom of *Tartarie Niuhan*, saith, that it is separated from *Japon* by a narrow Sea, which at this day is call'd *The streights of* Sanguar. Through all the Islands of *Japon*, where formerly were accompted to have been 66 Kingdoms, there are three remarkable for their largeness, of which that of largest extent is called *Niphon*, the next *Ximo*, and the third *Xicock*. The *Japonners* accompt it a Journey of twenty seven days from the Province of *Quanto*, to the Country of *Yesso*; and they say farther, that this Country of *Yesso*, in those parts which are remote from the Sea, is so full of inaccessible Mountains, that those *Japonners* who have attempted a discovery by Land, could never accomplish their design, being discourag'd by the length of the Journey, and the difficulties and badness of the ways.

The Island of *Niphon* is four times as big as the other two; and there is also a Mountain therein that vomits up Flames of Fire, like Mount *Etna* in *Sicily*; formerly it was distinguish'd into thirty five Kingdoms, but at this day it is only divided into five parts, the names whereof are *Jamasoit*, *Jetsen*, *Jetsesen*, *Quanto*, and *Ochio*, lying all in order as you travel from West to East. These five parts are again divided into several Provinces. The Island of *Ximo*, or *Saycock*, is situated to the South-West of *Niphon*, being about 160 Leagues in circuit. The Island of *Xicock* is seated by the South of *Niphon*, being about 120 Leagues in compass. The other Islands that lye round about are not so considerable, for in those Seas lye several Islands scatter'd up and down, as in the *Archipelago*, between the *Morea* and the Coasts of *Asia* the less. As to the rest, I refer the Reader to the Map annexed, believing it to be very true, as having been made upon the places themselves.

The Emperour at present keeps his Court in the City of *Yeddo*, in regard the Air is there more temperate, and the Heats not so violent; but when he has a Son that is arriv'd to the Age of fifteen years, he sends him to *Surunga*, there to reside, till the death of his Father makes him way to the Throne.

Since *Yeddo* has been made choice of for the Seat of the Empire, it has so greatly enlarg'd it self from day to day, that it is at present three Leagues in length, and three in breadth, very populous, and the Houses standing very close together. When the Emperour rides through the City, or that there is any publick shew to be seen, it is impossible to get by the crowd of the people, though the Women are not permitted to be of the number. The Emperours Palace is cover'd with Plates of Gold, to which the Palaces of the Lords are every way correspondent in Magnificence; so that afar off the City affords the richest and most magnificent Prospect that was ever beheld: Though it be not so beautiful within, by reason that the ordinary Houses are built only of Wood. The Great *Dairy* keeps his residence at *Meaco*, which is also a very large City, containing above a hundred thousand Houses; it was formerly the capital Seat of the Empire, at what time the *Dairy*'s were laid aside. So soon as he is Crown'd by the *Bonzes*, who are the *Priests* and *Lawyers*, he is then no more to expose himself to the light of the Moon, nor to

shave

ſhave his Head, or cut his Nails. The Natives report, that the Empire of *Japon* was formerly govern'd by a Prince call'd *Dairy*, who had acquir'd ſo high a reputation for Holineſs, that his Subjects ador'd him as a God, and that to increaſe the awe and reverence of the people, he ſuffer'd his Hair and Nails to grow, affirming, that it it was a piece of Sacriledge to make uſe either of Razor or Sizzars. The Princes that ſucceeded him, though they had only the name of Kings, have ſtill preſerv'd the ſame cuſtom, believing that it becomes not their Grandeur to appear in view of the Moon, as being Sons of the *Sun*. If he have a Daughter that is ripe for Marriage, the Emperour is oblig'd to Marry her, and ſhe it is that bears the Title of Empreſs, though ſhe ſhould happen to have no Children, which is contrary to the Maxims of all the Eaſtern Monarchs, who give the Title of Queen and Sultaneſs only to her, among all the reſt of their Wives, that is firſt brought to Bed of a Male Succeſſor to the Crown.

At the end of every ſeven years, the Emperour ſends one of the chief Princes of his Court to the *Dairy* with a Basket full of Earth, and to tell him, that all the Lands which the Emperour commands, are at the *Dairy*'s Devotion; and indeed the Empire belongs to him by right of Succeſſion, though at preſent he enjoys only the Title, and very large Revenues, which render him highly conſiderable in the Empire.

The *Japonners* are Idolaters, and adore the Sun; but though they have a great number of Temples and different Idols, yet they are not over obſtinate in their Devotion, only the Emperour is very ſevere againſt all other Religions. They never ſtir out of their Native Country to travel, unleſs it be to *China*, and the Land of *Yeſſo*; and within theſe few years the Emperour has prohibited his people under extream penalties, from having any Commerce with Foreigners, the *Chineſes* and *Hollanders* excepted. He had receiv'd Ambaſſadours at ſeveral times from ſeveral Princes, but never ſent any of his own to them again. Nevertheleſs it is affirm'd, that ſeveral Lords of theſe Iſlands newly converted to the Faith, in the year 1585, ſent their Children to *Rome*, to render their acknowledgments to *Gregory* the Thirteenth; and that being return'd back in the year 1587, to *Goa*, they were afterwards receiv'd, and welcom'd again into their own Country with great marks of joy. The little inclination which they have to Navigation and Traffick, proceeds in part from the great abundance of all things neceſſary for Human ſupport, which their own Country produces; and then in the next place from the jealouſies of the Emperour, who is afraid of the alterations which new Religions may make in his Government; for they are very fickle, and eaſily ſeduc'd after Novelties, which has been the occaſion of many Revolts, and Civil Wars, till *Quabacondon* wreſted the Empire out of the hands of the *Dairy*, and reunited all the Provinces. They are ſo fiery and revengeful, that upon the leaſt affront given them, if they cannot have an opportunity of a preſent revenge, they will rip up their own Bellies, and kill themſelves. I was told a Story to confirm this. Two young Lords that ſerv'd the Emperour met in the Palace, and joſtl'd one the other by accident; the moſt furious of the two was immediately for drawing his Sword. The other told him, the place was not convenient, that he was going to wait; but that if he would ſtay for him in ſuch a place, he would give him ſatisfaction. Accordingly the party that thought himſelf affronted went and ſtay'd, but

his impatience was ſuch, that after he had ſtay'd awhile, not finding the other to come, he ripp'd up his own Bowels for very vexation. Upon which the people crowding about him, ask'd him the reaſon of his killing himſelf; to which they could draw no other anſwer but this, *A cowardly Raskal has affronted me.* By and by the other comes, makes way through the throng, and ſurpriz'd with what he beheld; *Poor Creature*, ſaid he, *thou need'ſt not have doubted my being as good as my word, this Dagger ſhall aſſure thee of it:* And ſo ſaying, he kill'd himſelf upon the place, and fell by the others ſide.

There is no Nation under Heaven that fears Death leſs than this, or that is more enclin'd to cruelty. If any Prince or great Lord makes a Feaſt for his Friends, at the end of the Feaſt he calls his principal Officers, and asks 'em, if there be any that has ſo much love for him as to kill himſelf before the Gueſts for his ſake. Preſently there ariſes a diſpute among them who ſhall have the Honour; and who ever the Prince is pleas'd to name, rips up his Belly with a *Cric*, which is a kind of Dagger, the poynt whereof is Poyſon'd. This cuſtom is alſo practis'd upon the Death of their Maſters, or when they lay the Foundations of any Palace; for they are ſo ſuperſtitious as to believe, that theſe Victims are neceſſary to render both the Owners of the Building, and the Habitation fortunate.

They puniſh all manner of Theft with Death. 'Tis alſo a capital Crime among them to play for Money. Adultery is only puniſh'd in the Women: But Coynage of falſe Money, ſetting Houſes on Fire, Deflowring and Raviſhing of Virgins, are not only puniſh'd in the perſons of the Criminals, but alſo of thoſe who are next of kin to them. The Women live retir'd, and are very faithful to their Husbands. The Emperour having put to Death one of the Lords of his Court, out of hopes to enjoy his Wife; ſhe fearing violence, beſought the Emperour to give her time to conſider, which was granted for ſome few days. At the end whereof ſhe ſhut her ſelf up in a Room with her Children; and after ſhe had delivered a Paper to one of her Servants to carry to the Emperour, ſhe ſet the Chamber a Fire, and burnt both her ſelf and her Children. The Emperour met with nothing elſe in the Paper but reproaches of his Tyranny, and atteſtations of joy from the Lady, that ſhe had the opportunity to Sacrifice her ſelf to the memory of her Huſband. Several other ſtories I have heard, which make me believe, that this Nation is not uncapable of doing actions worthy a *Roman* Vertue.

The *Portugals* were the firſt people of *Europe* that diſcover'd the Iſlands of *Japon*. They were thrown upon the Coaſt by a violent Storm, in the year 1542, and underſtanding that there was great ſtore of Gold and Silver in the Country, they return'd with a reſolution to ſettle themſelves. The firſt place where they thought to fix was neer *Surunga*, a City which ſtands about four Leagues from the Sea: But becauſe there is but one Road, and that not very ſecure neither for Shipping, they remain'd there not above five years. At length they took poſſeſſion of a little forſaken Iſland call'd *Kiſma*, which they peopl'd afterward's; but ſince the laſt Perſecution of the Chriſtians, the *Portugals* were forc'd to abandon it, having no more Commerce with the *Japonners*. How the *Hollanders* came to erect their Factories there, I ſhall tell the Reader in another part of this Relation.

Seven

Seven years after the firſt coming of the *Portugals* to *Japon*, St. *Francis Xavier* made a Voyage thither to Preach the Goſpel. The firſt place where he Landed was the Iſland of *Niphon*, where he ſtay'd two years and ſome Months, and travel'd ſeveral parts of theſe Iſlands; but his principal deſign being to go to *China*, he took ſhipping accordingly. The Veſſel was no ſooner out at Sea, but St. *Francis* fell ſick, ſo that the Captain put him aſhore again in the Iſland of *Sechen*, by others call'd *Haynan*, belonging to *China*, where in a few days after he dy'd, and never was in *China*, as ſome have reported and believ'd.

After his death the Chriſtian Religion ſpread it ſelf very much in *China*, the people being very docible, and apprehenſive of the inſtructions which were given them; but the behaviour of the *Portugals* diſpleaſing the Principal Governours, and thoſe who had moſt Power at Court, they did them ill Offices to the Emperour, and the *Bonzes* miſliking the new Religion, and jealous of the effects thereof, were the fomenters of continual perſecutions againſt the new Converts, pretending they favour'd the deſigns of the *Portugueſes*.

Nevertheleſs the Chriſtian Religion daily got footing, and perhaps the whole Nation would have embrac'd it, if the covetouſneſs and wickedneſs of the Chriſtians themſelves had not been the chief impediment of their converſion. The *Hollanders* did all they could to lay the fault upon the *Portugals*, but the truth will eaſily appear by the Letter written to one *Leonard Campen*, a *Hollander*, wherein it is ſaid, that when the *Hollanders* were ask'd by the Natives what Religion they were of, they made this anſwer, *We are no Chriſtians, we are* Hollanders. I do not go about to blemiſh a whole Nation for the fault of a few, but only to ſhew what a dangerous thing it is, to make an ill choice of Officers upon the ſetling of a new Commerce in Regions ſo remote.

The *Holland Eaſt-India* Company having ſet out a Veſſel for *Batavia*, put aboard about a dozen young Boys, and as many Girls, taken out of the Hoſpitals in the Country. Among theſe Boys there was one who was deſign'd to ſerve in the Kitchin, but Fortune made him an Inſtrument of one of the greateſt Misfortunes that ever befell our Age. During the Voyage, the Merchant having obſerv'd him to be a Boy of a ready wit, and for that reaſon believing that he might one day prove ſerviceable to the *Holland* Company, caus'd him to be taught to write and read; wherein he improv'd ſo well in a ſhort time, that being come to *Batavia*, he was thought capable of a higher Employment. The Veſſel being arriv'd, the General and his Council reſolv'd to ſend the ſame Veſſel to *Japon*, with ſome part of the Lading which was brought from *Europe*. Thereupon the Merchant was commanded upon this Voyage, and the under Accomptant happening in the mean time to dye, this Boy was by him advanc'd to the place, and by the Merchant carefully inſtructed in the knowledge of the *Eaſt-India* Trade.

The Veſſel being arriv'd at *Firando*, the new under Accomptant believing no place more proper for him then that to raiſe his fortune, reſolv'd to leave his Benefactor, and therefore when the Ship was to return, he hid himſelf out of the way, till he knew the Ship to be far enough onward on her Voyage, and by that means becoming a Member of the Factory, he grew ſo perfect in the Language of the Natives, and ſo uſeful to the Company, that at length he came to be Preſident of the Factory; the Authority of which Employment ſo puff'd him up,

up, that he was not only for continuing and upholding the Commerce of his own, but excluding all other Nations. Now, as I have already obſerv'd, the *Portugals* were the firſt Traders, and the firſt that propagated the Chriſtian Religion in thoſe parts; therefore it was that the Chriſtian *Japonners* would not Trade with any but the *Portugals*, as having known them longer, and finding them more true to their words. This the Preſident obſerv'd, and made it his buſineſs to render them obnoxious at Court, and by vertue of his Preſents, engag'd the Governours of Provinces, and other great Lords, to favour his deſign.

However, the *Portugals* wanted neither friends nor confederates. And though they were not in a condition to be ſo liberal as the Preſident, yet they made aſhift to defend themſelves, and render his under-hand Dealings ineffectual. Thereupon finding that thoſe Tricks would not take, he had recourſe to the fouleſt of Calumnies; for he counterfeited a Letter written in the *Portugueſe* Language, containing a diſcovery of a deſign of the Chriſtian *Japonners* to have made a general Inſurrection, and a particular Conſpiracy againſt the perſon of the Emperour. This Letter he carry'd to a Lord of the Country, into whoſe favour and confidence he had wrought himſelf, who preſently thought it to be his duty to give intelligence of ſo important a deſign to the Court.

The Preſident inform'd him by what accident the Letter came to his hands, and gave an account of ſuch circumſtances, as made his Impoſture look with a probable countenance, relating, how that the *Hollanders* had taken a *Portugal* Veſſel returning from *Japon* to *Goa*, and that the *Holland* Captain having taken this Letter among other Papers, open'd it, and perceiving of what conſequence it was, had ſent an Expreſs to the Preſident to proceed as his prudence, and the affection of the *Dutch* Company toward the Emperour ſhould guide him. That the *Portugals*, who were but Subjects to the *Spaniards*, had a pernicious Maxim, not to ſuffer any Religon but their own in any place where they had to do, and that for their own ends they never ſpar'd either the Life or Liberty of Man; that they thought it an acceptable Sacrifice to God, to cut the Throats of thoſe whom they could not convert. And laſtly, that the *Hollanders* were a people that accorded with all Nations and Religions, and minded nothing but their Trade.

The Lord believ'd all theſe fraudulent Calumnies, and ſent a Copy of the Letter to the Emperour, the ſubſtance whereof was, That the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* Iſlands, and the *Portugals* in *Japon*, being in confederacy with the Chriſtians of the Country, had ſent to the Governour of *Goa* to ſend by a time prefix'd eight or ten Veſſels, with Men and Arms, but eſpecially a good number of Officers to command the Revolters, for that then there would be a numerous Army ready, and that they ſhould eaſily make themſelves Maſters of *Japon*.

The *Portugals* were then under the Dominion of the *Spaniard*, and though they would ſuffer no *Spaniard* in their *Indian* Acquiſitions but the Viceroy, yet ſeveral of the Religious Orders did ſlip into *Japon*, carried thither by a true and real zeal; yet this zeal, when once indiſcreet, does as much miſchief as covetouſneſs it ſelf. The Father *Pauliſts*, for ſo they call the *Jeſuits* in the *Indies*, by reaſon that their Church in *Goa* is dedicated to St. *Paul*; theſe *Jeſuits* I ſay, had made a fair progreſs, and gain'd great credit among the people, notwithſtanding their

their continual perſecutions, according as the Lords of the Country were well or ill affected towards them. Their number therefore encreas'd, and the new Converts had this advantage, that they enrich'd themſelves by Trading with the *Portugals*, who had made a poſitive Agreement not to Trade with the *Bonzes*. This provok'd the *Bonzes* againſt them, and the multitude of the Chriſtians ſo far augmented the Emperour's jealouſies and fears, that in a ſhort time they produc'd the effects of open rage and cruelty.

The *Jeſuits* had converted to the Faith a great Lord of the Kingdom, who liv'd moſt commonly at *Bugen*, in the Iſland of *Xima*, a perſon of great Intereſt and Power in the Iſland. He had four Sons, two of which liv'd with him, and following his Example, had embrac'd the Catholick Faith. The Father was Baptiz'd by the name of *Ignatius*; the eldeſt of the two was call'd *Francis*, and the youngeſt *Charles*: the two eldeſt Sons were at Court in great favour with the Emperour. The younger of the two that had embrac'd the Chriſtian Religion, addicted himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of the Scripture, and retir'd with the *Jeſuits* to their Seminary. His Example had wrought with a great number of young Lords, and as he was eloquent beſides, he was of great uſe to the *Jeſuits* in preaching the Goſpel, and reclaiming the people from the groſſneſs of their Errors.

The *Japonners* are naturally endow'd with a noble mind, and great inclination to Learning; ſo that there is nothing wanting in that Nation but able Teachers. Not but that they have Doctors of their own: the *Dairy*'s Court is full of them; where they preſerve the Annals of their Country, and pretend that Printing and Artillery were in uſe among them before they were known in *Europe*. From this Court come all their Books, in regard the perſons that attend upon this Prince apply themſelves only to their Studies. It is reported, that they learnt all theſe things by their frequent Commerce with the *Chineſes*, and that they are alſo originally deſcended from them. And in truth, the greateſt Province of the Iſland of *Niphon* is call'd *Quanto*, according to the name of the Sea-Coaſt part of *China*, where lies the greateſt Traffick between the *Japonners* and *Chineſes*. Moreover, if there be any credit to be given to the *Chineſe* Hiſtories, they ſay it was but a ſmall part of their vaſt Empire, which extended it ſelf from North to South 56 Degrees of Latitude, from the Frozen Sea to the Equinoctial Line, being bounded to the Weſt by the *Caſpian* Sea, and extending Eaſtward over all the Southern *America* to *New Spain*.

Father *Thomas Barr*, a *Portugueſe*, has often told me when I was at *Agra*, a capital City of the *Great Mogul*, where the *Jeſuits* have a very fair Houſe, that this and ſeveral other young Lords improv'd themſelves ſo far in ſix or ſeven years, that they were as Learned as their Maſters themſelves, and that they were more zealous in converting thoſe of their Nation. Now the *Jeſuits* at that time had no Houſe for the Inſtruction of Youth and Proſelytes, and therefore they deſir'd this young Lord to lend them one of his. Thereupon he having four very fair ones, with great Revenues belonging to them, gave that which was neareſt to the City to his Converters. A while after, the youngeſt of his Sons fell ſick, and was carried to this Houſe for the Air's ſake, where he recover'd by the care of the Fathers, and the Prayers of the Chriſtians; but his Father did not long enjoy the pleaſure of ſo great

a Cure, which ſeem'd almoſt miraculous; for he dy'd at what time both his Sons and the Chriſtians ſtood moſt in need of his protection.

The two eldeſt, who were with the Emperour, underſtanding the the Death of their Father, came to take poſſeſſion of their Inheritance, and demanded of the *Jeſuits* the Houſe which their Father had given them, for in *Japon* no Parent can alienate the Eſtate of his Children; nay, when they come to ſuch an Age, he is oblig'd to put them in poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, reſerving only ſuch a proportion to himſelf. The *Jeſuits*, loth to part with ſo fair a convenience, would not quit their hold, though it were for their own quiet, and to engage the whole Family to ſtand by them in their time of trouble. This refuſal provok'd the two Brethren, and this quarrel between them and the *Jeſuits* happen'd at the ſame time that the *Dutch* Preſident was labouring to bring about his deſigns. He had notice of this diſpute, and as he was a great Impoſtor, he made it his buſineſs to enflame the two Brothers, not only againſt the *Jeſuits*, but againſt the *Portugals* in general, giving them a Copy of the Letter which he had fram'd, as is before-mention'd.

Theſe two Lords, who were Favourites of the Emperour, joyning Intereſt of State to their particular Intereſt, made their complaints at Court, with extraordinary aggravations; urging that there was no ſecurity for the Eſtates of particular Men, for the quiet of the Empire, nor the Life of the Prince, unleſs not only all the *Portugals*, but alſo all the Natives of *Japon*, who had ſuck'd their Errors, were exterminated out of the Iſland. To make good the reaſons of their Exaſperation they ſhew'd the Emperour a Copy of the Letter, and put him into ſuch a fright, as well for his Perſon, as the Empire, that he would admit of no juſtification on the other ſide.

Some of his Lords, who were Friends to the *Portugals*, beſought him to examin the truth of what was alledg'd, before he proceeded to utmoſt extremities againſt a whole Nation, and againſt his own Subjects. But he was inexorable, and preſently gave private Orders to certain Commiſſioners, to go through all the Provinces of the Empire, and to baniſh not only the *Portugals*, but alſo all the Chriſtian Natives. Now in regard they had their private confederates, as well in the Court, as in other places, they had intelligence, in all parts, of the cruel reſolution tak'n againſt them, though none were more zealous and faithful to them then the two Lords of *Ximo*, *Francis* and *Charles*. Thereupon the Chriſtians met together to conſult for their own ſafety, and their common preſervation, and ſeeing all attempts to juſtifie themſelves prove ineffectual, they reſolv'd to ſtand upon their guards, and to dye in the defence of their Innocency and Religion. The two Lords put themſelves at the head of the Chriſtians Army, the elder of which had been a Souldier, and underſtood the Art of War; the younger kept up their Spirits and Courages by his continual Exhortations.

The Emperour's Commiſſioners underſtanding that the Chriſtians were thus embody'd, gave him ſpeedy notice thereof, but ſaid nothing either of the number of their Forces, or of their deſigns. The *Jeſuits* and *Auſtin Fryars* at *Goa*, told me, that the Army of the Chriſtians conſiſted of above 40000 Men, beſides thoſe recruits that came up to them before and after the Battel was fought.

The

The Emperour not beleiving that the Army was ſo numerous, ſent againſt them at firſt not above 25 or 30000 Men, under the Command of the youngeſt of the two Lords of *Ximo*, that liv'd at Court. But thoſe Troops were no ſooner upon their March, but he rais'd new Forces, and ſent another Army after them, conſiſting of 40000 Men, commanded by the young Lord, to whom the *Dutch* Preſident had ſhew'd the Letter firſt of all.

The Chriſtians having intelligence of the approach of theſe two Armies, prepar'd to receive them, chooſing an advantagious place to intrench themſelves. The firſt Army ſoon appear'd in ſight of the Chriſtians, who lay ſo encamp'd, that the Imperialiſts could diſcover no more than one part of them. However, before the Engagement, the youngeſt of the Chriſtian Brothers advis'd his other Brother to ſend to the General of the Emperour's Army, who was their Brother likewiſe, to deſire Peace, and to beſeech him to intercede for them to the Emperour, and to aſſure him, that they were ready to lay down their Arms, and throw themſelves at his Feet, and to juſtifie their Innocency. To this purpoſe a Letter was fram'd and ſent to the General, but the Meſſenger that carry'd it was nail'd to a Croſs in ſight of the whole Army of the Chriſtians, and at the ſame time the Enemy came on with great fury to aſſail them.

The Fight laſted almoſt three hours with equal advantage; the Captain of the Imperialiſts ſeeking every where for his Brothers, while they ſtrove to avoid him. The Chriſtians, who knew that all their ſafety conſiſted in their Victory, and that there was otherwiſe no hope of pardon, fought with ſo much valour, that the Imperialiſts were forc'd to give ground. Their General was ſlain upon the place, and at length the whole Army of the Idolaters was cut in pieces.

This Victory wrought the Converſion of ſeveral of the Idolaters; and the Chriſtians, after they had given thanks to God three days together, prepar'd themſelves for a ſecond Combat, not doubting but the other Army would ſet upon them while they were weary, and weaken'd by the laſt Battel. But that General more prudent then the former, only poſted himſelf where the Chriſtians could not come at him, and writ to the Court the particulars of the Defeat of the firſt Army, upon which he expected the Emperour's Orders.

In the mean while, the Army of the Chriſtians daily encreas'd, ſo that in a few days they were above fifty thouſand ſtrong. The Emperour, reſolv'd to ſtifle this Revolt in the beginning, ſent Orders through all his Empire to make new Levies; and all the while the *Dutch* Preſident's Confederates ceas'd not to aggravate him againſt the Chriſtians, not ſuffering the other Courtiers to open his Eyes, and prevent ſo unjuſt a proſecution. The defeat of his Army had put him into ſuch a rage beſides, that though the Captains of the Chriſtians Army did all they could to clear themſelves from the falſe accuſations laid upon them, and to obtain their pardons, there was no poſſibility of being heard.

The Emperour call'd his Council, where the wiſeſt were of opinion, that it would prove the beſt way to receive the ſubmiſſions of the Chriſtians, who offer'd to lay down their Arms upon a general pardon, and the free exerciſe of their Religion. But the Preſident's Cabal carry'd it beyond this ſober advice, and the Emperour, exaſperated by his Impoſtures, took the wrong courſe. Thereupon the Council reſolv'd with

all ſpeed to raiſe a vaſt Army, which was to joyn with the other, and ſo to ruin the Chriſtians all at a blow. The *Dairy* alſo, who is conſulted upon all important affairs, approv'd this Council. Thereupon the Lords who are oblig'd to furniſh the Emperour with Men, ſtrove who ſhould bring their Troops and Companies firſt to the Randevouz appointed; which was neer the place where the ſecond Army lay; ſo that when both Armies were joyn'd together, there was in the Field a Body of 150000 Men. The Brother of the General, who was ſlain in the firſt Battel, commanded under the Emperour, who reſolv'd to go in perſon.

But firſt of all he caus'd a Proclamation to be made in his Camp, whereby he forbad any Quarter to be given to any Chriſtian, unleſs it were the two Brothers, whom he intended to puniſh openly; and that they who left the Field before the Chriſtians were baniſh'd, ſhould be put, they and their Kindred, to the moſt cruel Deaths that could be imagin'd; but that they ſhould be rewarded that brought the Head of a Chriſtian to the Emperour. The Copies of this Proclamation were ſcatter'd in the Army of the Chriſtians, though they did no harm but only encourag'd them againſt the Idolaters, ſeeing there was no hope of pardon.

Nevertheleſs the youngeſt of the two Brothers offer'd to go and throw himſelf at the Emperour's Feet, to implore his clemency in the name of the whole Army; ſaying withall, That he ſhould accompt himſelf happy to ſuffer Martyrdom to ſhew his Innocency; but they would not ſuffer him to ſtir. All he could obtain from them, was to write a Letter full of reſpect, ſubmiſſion, and repentance for what had been already done, declaring that they were ready to lay down their Arms, if the Emperour would grant them pardon, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion, offering with the hazard of their Lives to make out the falſity of all thoſe things wherewith they had been accus'd.

This was by an Idolater carry'd to a certain Lord who ſecretly favour'd the Chriſtians; but the Emperour tore it without reading it, vowing at the ſame time, that he would never return to his Court 'till the Idolaters were all extirpated. The Chriſtian Army underſtanding the Emperour's reſolution, minded nothing more then their own defence. 'Tis true, the Ground where they lay was advantagious enough for the ſmallneſs of their Number, but the Idolaters were three to one; beſides that the Idolaters of the Country, who favour'd the Chriſtians before, now declar'd all againſt them ſo ſoon as they ſaw the Imperial Army. So that now both Armies lying ſo near together, ſeveral hot Skirmiſhes paſs'd between 'em, and at length it came to a general Battel. At firſt the Chriſtians overthrew the Idolaters, not able to ſtand before them: with ſo much vigour did the youngeſt of their Chieftains aſſail them. He was remarkable for his Habit that day, but more remarkable for his courage; ſo that the Field was cover'd with the Bodies of the ſlain, fear and dread poſſeſſing the yielding Enemy. But while the Victor forgot his Brother's advice, and purſu'd too far from the Body of the Army, he was encompaſs'd on every ſide, wounded, and being carried away by the preſs of his Enemies, was at length taken, and lead before the Emperour. His eldeſt Brother, more experienc'd in War, rally'd and recall'd thoſe that had follow'd his Brother, and till Night maintain'd the advantages, which he had got over the Imperialiſts, who were ſtill ſupply'd with freſh Succours, as neceſſity requir'd. The next day the Fight

was

was renew'd again by break of day, and with a ſucceſs as honourable, but more bloody to the Chriſtians.

The third day the Emperour enrag'd at ſuch a reſiſtance, caus'd them to be ſet upon in ſeveral places at one time. The General of the Chriſtians Army rode from Rank to Rank, encouraging the Souldiers both by his Exhortations, and his Example: but at length having receiv'd ſeveral wounds, he was overlaid by the multitude of his Enemies that crouded to his deſtruction. And now the General being loſt, and the Chriſtians having no perſon to command them, it ceas'd to be a Combat, and became a Maſſacre. However, reſolving to dye with their Swords in their hands, they flung themſelves into the thickeſt of their Enemies, and Sacrific'd themſelves to their own Innocency. Their Camp was ſoon forc'd, and all the old Men, Women, and Children put to the Sword, except ſome few that eſcap'd and hid themſelves in the Mountains, who afterwards made a relation of this bloody Story to them who rehears'd it to me.

This was the deplorable end of the Chriſtians, and indeed of the Chriſtianiſme of *Japon*, which the Preſident procur'd by his impoſtures and fallacies. And it has been made appear by three exact accompts, that there has periſh'd, either in Battels or by Tortures, above 60000 Chriſtians. The eldeſt of their Captains ſuffer'd a moſt cruel Martyrdom for ſeven days, neither could any offer, that the Emperour could make him for his Brothers and his own Valours ſake, induce him to renounce the Chriſtian Faith. After that, there was a kind of Inquiſition ſet up thorough the whole Empire, which laſted for ſeveral years, whereby thoſe that perſever'd in the Faith, were condemn'd to moſt intolerable Torments, in ſo much that the Relation which *Van Varen*, a *Hollander*, whoſe credit it would be a vanity to queſtion in this particular, cannot be read over without Horrour. In ſixteen years, that is, from 1613 to 1629, the Chriſtians were ſo multiply'd, that there were above 400000; but in the year 1649, the ſame *Hollander* relates, that thoſe *Japonners* who were brought from thence by the Company's Ships to *Amſterdam*, affirm'd, that Chriſtianity was utterly extirpated out of the Iſland.

Being at *Ogli*, a large Town upon the faireſt Arm of the *Ganges*, I met a *Holland* Merchant, who had ſerv'd the Company in *Japon* a long time, and had made ſeveral Voyages. He came thither with two Ships laden with Bars of Silver and Copper, which he had exchang'd for Silks, which the *Hollanders* buy at *Bengale*. This Merchant knowing I was there, came to viſit me; and I finding him to be a ſincere honeſt Man, and well verſt in the affairs of *Japan*, eſpecially in reference to the laſt perſecution of the Chriſtians, grew covetous of his converſe, and invited him often to my Houſe. In our familiar diſcourſes concerning the ſettlement of the *Hollanders* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and of the extraordinary gain which they make by their Trade there, and paſſing thus from one thing to another, at length I ask'd him who was the Author and Contriver of a Maſſacre ſo horrid, as that was reported to be. Whereupon he related to me all the particulars of which I have here made a recital, and many more which I have forgot or omitted, as being either not pertinent to my ſubject, or elſe already related by others. He had his information from ſuch of the Natives that had eſcap'd out of the Battel, and ſeveral of the Idolater

Merchants, in whoſe memories the fact was then freſh: and indeed he was ſo ingenious in his Story, that I could not find any motive to incite me to miſdoubt the truth of it. For many times he could not forbear ſhedding tears, and to interrupt his diſcourſe with his ſighs, often imprecating Heav'ns Vengeance upon the Preſident, and proteſting he wonder'd the Company employ'd him ſo long. But God reſerv'd his puniſhment to himſelf. For the deſerts of his crimes always attending him, and provoking judgments and misfortunes upon whatever Enterprize he took in hand, he miſerably periſh'd in ſight of *Lisbon* in fair weather. All the men in the Ship were ſav'd; only he returning to recover a certain Cabinet of Jewels which he had there, the Ship ſplit, and the *Portugals* had the ſatisfaction to ſee him ſwallow'd up in the Sea, who had been the occaſion of the Ruin of ſo many of their Country-men in *Japon*; and immediately they rang their Bells in the City for joy of his Death.

In my laſt Voyage to the *Indies* I was at *Bandar-Abaſſi*, where the *Hollanders* have a Factory. Thither arriv'd two Veſſels from *Japon* to take in Silks, which the *Hollanders* buy of the *Perſians* to exchange in *Japon*. The Captain of one of the Ships told me, that during ſeveral trading Voyages which he had made to that Iſland, the Emperour had caus'd two Inquiſitions to be made after the Chriſtians; in the firſt of which the Inquiſitors met with 247, who were all moſt exquiſitely tormented to Death; in the latter they only found 63, among whom were ſeventeen Children, twelve Girls and five Boys, of which the eldeſt were not above thirteen years of Age.

Among all the perſecutions which the Chriſtians ſuffer'd, there was none comparable to this for extremity of Torments: For the *Japonners* are the moſt ingenious in cruelty of any people in the World, and the moſt conſtant in ſuffering. For there have been Children from ten to a dozen years old, who for 60 days together have endur'd to have their Bodies faſten'd to the Croſs, half burnt, half torn in pieces, while their Executioners forc'd them to eat, on purpoſe to prolong their Lives in miſery; and yet they would not renounce the Faith which they had embrac'd. Neither did this barbarous Inquiſition extend only to the Chriſtians, but to their Kindred and Relations, nay, to their very Neighbours. For if a Prieſt were taken in any Houſe, all the people in that Houſe, and the Houſes adjoyning, were hall'd to Execution, for not having made the diſcovery.

At the beginning of every year there is a new Inquiſition, at which time all that can write are requir'd to ſubſcribe, or elſe the chief of the Family ſubſcribes for all the reſt, that they neither are Chriſtians, nor are acquainted with any Chriſtians, and that they abominate Chriſtianity as a Religion dangerous to the State.

Don John of *Braganza*, being advanc'd to the Crown, that ſudden change which in one day, and without the leaſt Tumult in *Lisbon*, wreſted the Crown of *Portugal* from the King of *Spain*, wrought the ſame effect at *Goa*. All the *Portugals* at *Goa* at the ſame time acknowledg'd their new Soveraign; the Viceroy who was a *Spaniard*, was ſent away to *Spain* by the firſt Veſſels that were homeward bound; and *Don Philip de Maſcarennas*, a *Portugal*, Governour of *Ceylan*, came to *Goa*, and took upon him the command of Viceroy.

So

So ſoon as he came to the Government, his firſt thoughts were how to Eſtabliſh the Trade of the *Portugals* in *Japon*, which when they were expell'd, amounted to three Millions of *Pardo's* yearly, one *Pardo* being worth twenty ſeven *Sous* of *French* Money. The hopes therefore of regaining ſo great a loſs, made him toward the end of the year 1642, take a reſolution to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Emperour of *Japon*, furniſh'd with magnificent Preſents: For which reaſon he made choice of what was moſt rare, and moſt likely to be acceptable to the Emperour, and the Grandees of his Court. The moſt coſtly of theſe Preſents was a piece of *Lignum Aloes*, otherwiſe call'd *Wood of Calambour*, four Foot in length, and two Foot in Diameter; a larger piece then which the *Indies* had never ſeen, having coſt 40000 *Pardo's*. To this he added a great quantity of fair Coral Beads of an extraordinary bigneſs. This is the moſt acceptable Preſent that can be ſent to the Lords of *Japon*, which they faſten to the Strings wherewith they draw their Pouches together. With theſe he ſent a great number of Carpets and Hangings of Cloth of Gold, Silver, and Silk, and ſeveral pieces of Tiſſue of Gold and Silver. 'Tis ſaid the whole Preſent coſt the City of *Goa* above eight hundred thouſand *Pardo's*, which amounts to about 86666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* of *Engliſh* Money. Beſides all this, the two great Ships which were prepar'd for the Embaſſador, carry'd one of them 50 Peeces of Canon, and the other 35, both laden with all ſorts of Commodities which are eſteem'd and priz'd in *Japon*, amounting to about 83333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* Sterling. The Equipage of the Embaſſador was no leſs ſumptuous. And becauſe the Viceroy would not be thought to give any occaſion of offence to the Emperour, he would not ſuffer one *Jeſuit* in the Train, but only four *Auguſtins* for the Admiral, and four *Jacobins* for the other, Men of diſcretion and conduct. While I was at *Goa*, in the year 1648, I met with ſome of theſe Fathers, who gave an exact accompt of the Embaſſy.

They made a proſperous Voyage, and arriv'd happily at their intended Port. But you muſt underſtand, that when any Ship arrives at *Japon*, no perſons are permitted to come aſhore, 'till the Governour of the place have an accompt who they are, that they may give notice thereof to the Emperour, and know his pleaſure, whether they ſhall be received or no. In the mean time the Ships rode in a very dangerous place, at the entry of the Haven, into which there was no ſteering, without the aſſiſtance of the Native Pilots.

The Governour of *Nangaſaqui* ſurpriz'd to underſtand that they were *Portugueſes*, wrote in all haſt to the Emperour. The *Dutch* Preſident being inform'd of the news, play'd all the pranks he could, us'd all the contrivances imaginable to fruſtrate the ſucceſs of the Embaſſy, and to ruine the Veſſels that brought the Embaſſadour and his Preſents. To which purpoſe he found a way to bribe the Courrier, who was ſent with the Emperours Orders; ſo that inſtead of twenty days, which were ſufficient for his journey, he made it above two Months before he deliver'd his diſpatches. During which time the two Ships had ſuffer'd very bad weather upon the Coaſts, and endur'd many a ſevere Storm. At length the Orders came that none ſhould be permitted to Land but the Embaſſadour, the two Captains, and the two Pilots, to give an accompt of the ſubject and cauſe of their coming. The Embaſſadour being Landed, acquainted the Governour that he came to compliment the

the Emperour in the behalf of the King his Maſter, and to aſſure him that they were no longer under the Power of the King of *Spain*. That about a year ſince, a lawful Heir of *Portugal* had recover'd the Diadem of his Anceſtors which the *Spaniard* had uſurp'd. That this new King was ſo juſt and generous a Prince, that underſtanding that ſome of his Subjects had deſerted the Iſland of *Japon*, without paying their Debts, he had now ſent to make a general ſatisfaction; but chiefly out of that reſpect which obliges all Soveraigns newly come to the Crown, to give notice thereof to thoſe Princes, whoſe friendſhip they deſire.

The Governour inform'd the Emperour of all theſe things; but the Preſident having as good intelligence by means of his Friends at Court, alledg'd to the Emperour that they were Rebels, who came from the utmoſt parts of the Weſt, to bring the News and Example of their Revolt to *Japon*: That the natural reſtleſneſs of this Nation caus'd frequent diſturbances and revolutions among them. That they were never long at reſt themſelves, nor would ſuffer others to be at quiet. That conſidering the experience he had had, he could not be either too cautious for the ſecurity of his perſon, or the tranquillity of his Empire. Laſtly, that the Emperour and the Empire would be ruin'd paſt recovery, if thoſe people were ever admitted to ſet footing therein.

This Counſel well ſeconded by the reſt of the Cabal, eaſily made an impreſſion in the Heart of the Prince naturally Barbarous, and an Enemy to the Chriſtians. Thereupon he ſent an Order to the Governour to invite all the *Whites* aboard, and to treat them for eight days in the beſt manner he could. At the end of eight days they were order'd to repair aboard again, and at the ſame time he made a Preſent to the Embaſſadour, and chief of his Train, conſiſting of ſix great Cabinets, and ſix Coffers lacker'd with black, with Figures in Relief, intermix'd with ſpangles of Gold, all the Embelliſhments being of Maſſie Gold. With them were ſix Cabinets, and ſix Coffers, lacker'd with Red, Embelliſh'd after the ſame manner with Silver. I ſaw ſome of them when I was at *Goa*, and I muſt confeſs I never beheld any ſo rare and beautiful in that kind, which made me admire the ingenious Induſtry of the Artiſts of *Japon*; Our *European* imitations of their workmanſhip being no way comparable to them.

The Embaſſadour having receiv'd his Preſent, had Order to remove all the Goods in the ſecond Veſſel into the Admiral. He would have made great Preſents to the Governour, who refus'd them; telling the Embaſſadour withall, that he had expreſs command to refuſe them, and to declare to the Embaſſadour, that if he did not make haſt away, he would ſink his Ship. That the Emperour his Maſter had made a new prohibition, forbidding all *Portugals* and *Spaniards* to venture near his Dominions upon any pretence whatſoever; nay, though it were upon pretence of an Embaſſy, upon pain of being crucifi'd upon the place, without liberty to ſpeak for themſelves. As for the Debts of the *Portugals*, he had undertaken to diſcharge them himſelf; only he had ſent that Preſent to the King his Maſter to thank him for that Embaſſy. The Embaſſadour had no ſooner remov'd the Goods out of the ſecond Veſſel into the Admiral, but they ſank her before his face. And not contented with that affront, the Governour ſent for all the Blacks that were in the Admiral, and cut off their Heads, pretending they were *Indians*, and that, as ſuch, they could not be ignorant of the Rigorous prohibitions which

which the Emperour had put forth, forbidding all Strangers, except the *Hollanders*, to ſet footing in *Japon*.

After the *Portugal* Embaſſadour was thus barbarouſly fruſtrated and diſmiſs'd, he ſent News thereof to the General at *Batavia*, urging him to execute the deſign which the *Hollanders* had upon *Macao*; telling him alſo, That though there were a probability of a League between the *Hollander* and the *Portugal* againſt the *Spaniard*, yet that it could be no harm to ſeize *Macao* beforehand, as they had made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral places, while the *Portugals* were under the King of *Spain*. The General taking the Preſident's advice, was ready to ſet Sail upon this enterprize, when a Meſſenger from *Portugal* brought him the News of the Treaty concluded between *Portugal* and *Holland*; as alſo of the Navy which the *Hollanders* had ſent to *Lisbon* to aid the *Portugals*. At firſt he made as if it had been a falſe Rumour, and put the Meſſenger in Priſon; nevertheleſs while he delay'd the departure of the Fleet, he receiv'd expreſs Orders from his Superiours to Treat the *Portugals* as Friends and Allies. So that he was conſtrain'd to turn all his Forces againſt the *Molucca* Iſlands, then in the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*.

The Preſident was very ſorry for the laſt News, by reaſon that the General and he had great deſigns upon the Conqueſt of that place, and had promis'd the Company by that means to make them abſolute Maſters of the Trade of *China*, and of all the Eaſt. True it is, that *Macao* is very advantagiouſly ſeated for thoſe that deſign to be Maſters of thoſe Seas, eſpecially upon the Coaſts of *Quantung* and *Fockien*, which are the Provinces, whither are brought down all the Merchandizes of this Empire. It lies at the Mouth of the Gulph of *Canton*, in a ſmall *Peninſula* adjoyning to a larger Iſland, and built upon a kind of a Promontory, on three ſides environ'd with the Sea, which no Ship can come neer by reaſon of the Flats, unleſs it be on that ſide next the Port, which is defended by a ſtrong Fortreſs. This City drew from the only Fair of *Quanchiu* 1300 Cheſts of Silks of all ſorts, every Cheſt containing 150 pieces, and 2500 Lingots of Gold, not reckoning the raw Silks, the Gold Wire, and other Merchandizes: whence it may be eaſily judg'd what advantage the *Portugueſes* made of it; and wherefore the Preſident deſir'd ſo much to expell them from thence.

But his Deſigns were diſappointed, not only by the revolution in *Portugal*, but alſo by the loſs which the *Hollanders* ſuſtain'd of the Iſland of *Formoſa*, which the *Chineſes* took from them, following the advice of a *French* Souldier, whom the Governour of *Tayovan* had refus'd to diſmiſs after his time was out. For the better underſtanding this accident, you muſt know that the *Hollanders* being ſetl'd in *Japon*, and having excluded all other Nations from thence, except the *Chineſes*, whom the Emperour permitted to return, after that the Maſſacre committed by the *Japonners* in a City of *China*, of which they had a deſire to make themſelves Maſters, had caus'd a Ceſſation of the Commerce between the two Kingdoms, and conſtrain'd the Emperour of *China* to ſet a price upon the Heads of the *Japonners*. Nevertheleſs the *Hollanders* did all they could to make a new Rupture between the people, or elſe themſelves to ſeize upon ſome place that lay proper to ruin the Trade of the *Chineſes* to *Japon*.

To this purpoſe, not daring to attempt upon the *Portugueſes*, they over-ran the Seas which environ'd the neighbouring Iſlands, and took the

the Veſſels of the *Chineſes* which were bound for *Macao*, exerciſing ſtrange Cruelties upon the people that had eſcap'd into thoſe Iſlands, after the irruption of the *Tartars* into *China*. *Coxinga*, the Son of *Chinchilunge*, that famous Pirate, who ſav'd the remainders of that ruin'd Empire, then commanded thoſe people, and was become formidable to the *Tartars* themſelves. Who to revenge himſelf upon the *Dutch* Pirates, undertook the Siege of *Tayovan*, where they uſually retir'd, and by gaining that place drave them wholly out of *Formoſa*.

This is a large Iſland plac'd at the poynt of the *Phillippines*, ſtretching out in length from North to South, and to the Weſt lying oppoſite to the Provinces of *Fockien*, and *Quantung*. The *Chineſes* call it *Taliеukieu*. Since which time, 'tis very probable that the *Spaniards* gave it the name of *Formoſa*, from its beauty and fertility. They being the firſt people of *Europe* that diſcover'd it, and inhabited it; and upon one of its Promontories to the North built the Fort of *Kiling*. The natural Inhabitants live almoſt all in the Woods and Mountains, where they maintain themſelves by hunting the Hart, and wild Boar, whoſe dry'd Fleſh, Skins, and Horns they ſell to the *Sangleys*, who in exchange bring them other neceſſaries. The little Iſland of *Tayovan* lent its Name to the little Fort which the *Engliſh* built, over againſt the great Iſland; it was very convenient for the *Hollanders*, who made great advantage of the Cattel, Hides, and Horns, both of Harts and Bufalo's, which they carry'd from thence, and ſold to the *Chineſes* and *Japonners*, who make great uſe thereof in ſeveral of their Trades and Manufactures. But the chiefeſt advantage which the *Hollanders* made of this Iſland conſiſted in this, that it lay in the middle way between *Batavia* and *Japon*, and ſerv'd as a place of ſecurity for their Ships in bad Seaſons, and to take in refreſhments. There alſo they laded off ſeveral of the Goods of the *Chineſes*, which they took by way of Piracy from the *Chineſes*, or which were brought them by the *Sangleys*, who are the Original Merchants of the *Chineſes*, ſetled at the *Philippines*, but who drive the greateſt Trade of that Country, independent from the *Spaniards*.

Coxinga, though an Idolater and a Pirate, baniſh'd out of his Country, and provok'd by the *Hollanders*, had ſo much humanity as to ſend to the General at *Batavia* to ſend away Veſſels to fetch away his Men, and deliver'd them all without ſuffering them to receive the leaſt injury. He had his Friends and Favourers in the Emperour of *Japon*'s Court, as being a declar'd Enemy to the *Tartars*, whoſe neer Neighbourhood the *Japonners* cannot endure. For ſo quick a Conqueſt of ſo many Lands and Provinces in ſewen years, as it were only upon ſight of the Enemy, had very much alarum'd them. He by his Friends acquainted the Emperour of the acts of Hoſtility, committed by the *Hollanders* againſt the *Chineſe* Merchants: Adding moreover, that they had made private propoſitions to league themſelves with the common Enemy; and that it was one of the Nations of the North, born for the deſolation of other Countries, and to invade the Peace of Empires. That they had ſetled themſelves in the Iſlands of the Eaſt only by treachery and violence. That for ſome years ſince, they had made it their buſineſs to cruiſe the Seas between *China* and *Japon*, on purpoſe to make themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Trade, and that if he did not take a ſpeedy courſe, they would do the ſame miſchief in his Dominions which the *Tartars* had done in *China*.

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The Preſident had much ado to divert the Storm, for the moſt potent Lords at Court, although his Penſioners and Friends, began to open their Eyes, and in ſome meaſure took *Coxinga*'s part, ſaying, That the *Chineſes* were unfortunate enough, in being laid waſt by the *Tartars*, without being perſecuted and afflicted by the *Hollanders*. That ſeeing that after they had been expell'd their Country, they had nothing left but their Boats, and ſome few Rocks for their places of refuge, it was a piece of inhumanity to diſturb them in their laſt Sanctuaries, and to deprive them of their liberty of the Sea, and their Commerce with *Japon*, from whence thoſe miſerable Exiles had their chiefeſt ſupport. The *Bonzes*, the Merchants, the vulgar People, all took the *Chineſes* part. Thereupon the Emperour ſent for the *Dutch* Preſident, and told him, I underſtand, ſaid he, that thy Company abuſes my Protection, and that their Veſſels, inſtead of being contented with the Trade which I have permitted them, preſume to play the Pyrates upon the *Chineſes*, and to trouble the Seas adjoyning to my Empire. If I hear any more of theſe complaints, I will cauſe thee and all thy Nation to be Crucifi'd. I know not how the Preſident appeas'd the Emperour's fury; this I know in general, that the *Hollanders* made a ſecret alliance with the *Tartars* againſt *Coxinga*. Him the Inhabitants of *Fockien* call'd to their aſſiſtance, having rais'd an Army of 200000 Men; whereupon he went to aid them with a very powerful Navy. After ſeveral Skirmiſhes, the *Tartars* and *Chineſes* came to a pitch'd Field, where the Captain of the *Tartars* having plac'd the beſt part of his Cavalry in Ambuſh, order'd his Men to retreat by degrees, 'till they had drawn the *Chineſes* into the Ambuſcade; at what time the *Tartars* encompaſſing them on every ſide, kill'd 80000 upon the place; *Coxinga* with his Navy not being able to relieve them.

During this War, the *Hollanders* took their opportunity, and made themſelves Maſters of the Iſland of *Fiſhers*, between *Formoſa* and the Coaſt of *Fockien*. In a ſhort while after *Coxinga* dy'd, and *Savia* his Uncle, the richeſt Merchant of *China*, who out of his own revenue had disburs'd the expences of the laſt War, grew weary of the charge, and was deſirous to make Peace with the *Tartars*. Of which one of the Sons of *Coxinga* being advertiz'd, ſeiz'd upon his Uncles perſon, and ſhut him up in a cloſe Priſon, where he kill'd himſelf for madneſs. The *Hollanders* overjoy'd at the Death of *Savia*, who had always hinder'd them from the Trade of the Province of *Fockien*, ſent a Navy againſt his Nephew in favour of the *Tartars*, who made War againſt him all along the Sea-Coaſt. Several Combats happen'd between the *Juncks* of the *Iſlanders* and the *Holland* Veſſels in view of the *Tartars*, who ſatisfi'd themſelves with being only Spectators. But all the benefit which the *Hollanders* reap'd from the advantages which they obtain'd over the *Iſlanders*, was only to put into the Hands of the *Tartars* the Cities of *Bemos* aed *Queſmoy*, and all the places thereabouts, which *Coxinga*'s Party poſſeſs'd before. For notwithſtanding all their kindneſs, the *Tartars* would not aſſiſt them to retake *Tayovan*; ſo that they only were content to build certain ſmall Forts in the ſmall Iſlands adjoyning to *Formoſa*: and ſince my return from the *Indies*, I never could inform my ſelf of the truth of the iſſue of that Enterprize.

But the *Hollanders* were not content with their ſettlement at *Firmando*, which was an Iſland both deſert and barren, ſeated upon a Streight,

which ſeparates the Point of the Land of *Corea* from *Japon*, a place no way commodious for their Deſigns of Engroſſing the Trade of *China*, as being too remote from *Nangiſaqui*: Beſides, that the North and South Winds are ſo violent at their Seaſons in this Streight, between the two Coaſts, that it is impoſſible to come near the ſhoar when they blow. The Preſident therefore having ſuch good luck in the Expulſion of the *Portugals* out of *Japon*, doubted not but that he might obtain the ſmall Iſland of *Kiſma*, an Iſland that had been wholly deſerted ever ſince the Habitations of the people had been deſtroy'd. At firſt he only deſir'd leave to build a ſmall Tenement for the conveniency of the Factors. Now between this Iſland and *Nangiſaqui*, there is only a narrow Frith, not above a Musquet Shot over. Here the Preſident deſir'd the Governour that he might make a Bridge of Boats for a more eaſie intercourſe between the City and the Port. The Governour gain'd by Preſents, gave him leave to build the Bridge; but ſeeing that the *Hollanders* made an ill uſe of it, and that they came too frequently and numerouſly into the City, he built two Forts at both ends of the Bridge, and furniſh'd them with Souldiers, who were to take notice who paſs'd to and fro. He alſo publiſh'd an Order, That ſuch *Hollanders* as came by day into the Town, ſhould return to their Lodgings before night, upon pain of Death. This Order, and the little conveniency which they had for Lodging in their own Quarters, very much troubl'd them; ſo that the Preſident made new Applications at Court, and obtain'd leave to build a Factory, and Warehouſes for their Goods.

The Governour thereupon ſent a Surveyor to the *Hollanders*, to mark out the Ground which the Emperour had given them to build upon. This perſon being largely rewarded, made them good meaſure, and yet they were not contented; ſo that in the Night-time they had enlarg'd their Quarters, by removing the firſt marks. The Governour, being advertiz'd thereof, began to be very angry; but they found means to appeaſe him with their Preſents: ſo that he eaſily condeſcended to the ſlight reaſons which they gave him for what they had done. Thus in a ſhort time they finiſh'd their work, which was without encompaſs'd with a Wall, much like a Garden Wall, but within contain'd a real Fort, flanck'd and lin'd according to all the Rules of Art; and which, the outward Wall being beaten down, not only defended their Bridge, but commanded the entry into the Haven of *Nangiſaqui*.

They took great care not to admit any but *Hollanders*, for fear their Deſign ſhould be diſcover'd. So that when the whole was finiſh'd, the Preſident gave advice to the General at *Batavia* what he had done, deſiring him to ſend him eight Braſs Guns, ſo broken, as to be eaſily put together in the places where they were broken. He adviz'd him alſo to put them up in Hogſheads, pack'd up like other Goods; and inſtead of Mariners, to ſend a good number of Souldiers, habited like Mariners, for the ſecurity of the Factory. But this Stratagem had not that ſucceſs which he expected; for about that time the Emperour had ſent a new Governour to *Nangiſaqui*: So that when the Ships arriv'd at *Batavia*, the new chang'd Officers, being more vigilant then the former, coming to weigh the Bales as they were put aſhore, and finding certain Hogſheads at the bottom of the hold, which they could not remove by reaſon of their weight, they preſently brake them up, and perceiving there the broken pieces of Canons, carry'd ſome of them

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to the Governour, who immediately ſent intelligence thereof to *Yeddo*, of which the Preſident had as ſuddain notice by his Penſioners. He having his invention at command, repairs forthwith to the Emperour's Court, and there tells the Emperour, That he had receiv'd Orders from his Superiours to preſent him with certain Peeces of Canon, made according to the neweſt Invention of his Country, the uſe whereof was ſo convenient, that they were with little difficulty and trouble to be drawn up, and made uſe of, where others could not poſſibly be brought to play: and that he thought no Preſent could be more acceptable or ſerviceable to him, to render him Victorious over his Enemies. Upon this the Emperour was very well ſatisfi'd, and ſent to the Governour of *Nangiſaqui* to ſend him thoſe Guns, and withall, not to moleſt the *Hollanders*, either in their Factory, or in vending their Wares.

Having ſo fortunately diſengag'd himſelf out of theſe Briers, he lays another deſign, and ſends to the General at *Batavia*, a perſon of a turbulent and unquiet Spirit like himſelf, to ſet out two Veſſels, to make a diſcovery of all the Coaſts of *Japon*, and particularly of thoſe Coaſts which were next the Gold Mines, and to ſee if they could find any ſafe Harbour for Ships to ride in, in thoſe tempeſtuous Seas, or any places proper to fortifie, that they might no longer depend upon the uncertain humour of the Court of *Japon*, which was as inconſtant as their Seas. The General provided two Ships, and furniſh'd them with excellent Pilots, good Souldiers, expert Mariners, and Proviſions for two years, with all other Neceſſaries and Inſtruments, as well for delving as building. One of the ſeven of the General's Council was chos'n Superviſor of the Enterprize. 'Tis ſaid, that thoſe two Veſſels skirted all along the Coaſt of *Japon*, from the Eaſt to the South, and from the South to the North, fetching a compaſs about the Iſlands to the 47 *deg.* of Northern Latitude, and that they diſcover'd one Iſland which they call'd *The States Iſland*, and afterwards touch'd upon another Land which they nam'd *The Company's Land*, inhabited by White people, with long Hair, habited after the *Japon* faſhion, which they found to be a Continent adjoyning to *Niulhan*, and *Corea*; and that after they had wander'd a long time upon the Sea, without any other deſign then to make new Diſcoveries, they paſs'd through the Streights of *Sanguar*, which ſeparates the Land of *Yeſſo* from *Japon*, and kept along thoſe Coaſts of *Japon* to the Eaſt, to obſerve the Bays of *Aizu*, and *Xendai*, where are the Gold Mines. In that part a furious Tempeſt took them, in ſight of the Mountains, where the Gold Mines lye, which laſted four days together. The ſecond of theſe Veſſels run full againſt a Rock, and ſplit her ſelf, with the total loſs of every Mothers Son in the Veſſel. The Admiral held out a longer time, but coaſting the Land where the Mountains of *Sataque* appear, the Tempeſt grew ſo violent, that ſhe alſo brake againſt the Rocks. In this ſecond Shipwrack only the Admiral, and thirteen perſons more eſcap'd, partly by the help of the Planks, and partly by Swiming. The *Japonners* upon the Coaſt preſently ran to view them, and wonder'd to ſee people in thoſe parts, whoſe Language they did not underſtand. Nevertheleſs, they entertain'd them civilly enough; but in regard they were Strangers, and that there was a ſtrict prohibition not to receive any Strangers among them upon any pretence whatſoever, they were at a great loſs what to do with 'em. One, wiſer then the reſt, adviſ'd his

Brethren to carry them to the Emperour, whoſe counſel was follow'd; and ſo they took their journey toward *Yeddo*, which was above a hundred Leagues off.

The Emperour, being inform'd of their arrival, order'd that they ſhould be civilly us'd; and at the end of eight days ſent for them, and caus'd them to be ask'd, of what Country they were, and what Deſign brought them into his Seas? The Admiral, who was a perſon of a ready ingenuity, anſwer'd, That he was a *Hollander*, who all his life time had ſerv'd his Country as a Souldier, where he had the command of a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot, at what time Fortune, or rather the care of preſerving his Honour, forc'd him from his Native Soyl. I was, ſaid he, one of the chief Commanders in the Army, and though I ſay it, my Service had gain'd me a fair reputation. The Prince, who commanded us, had a great confidence in me, which made one of his near Relations jealous of me; ſo that he was not only content to do me all ill Offices with the General, but ſought all occaſions to pick a quarrel with me. I dare be bold to ſay, that had he not been ſo nearly related to the Prince, I ſhould not have taken his affronts ſo long patiently. But at length he provok'd that patience to ſuch a degree, and ſo deeply and openly affronted me, that I was conſtrain'd to meet him with my Sword in my hand. His misfortune and mine ſo order'd it, that I kill'd him at the firſt puſh. My Friends aſſiſted me to make my eſcape, and kept me hid for ſome days, thinking to have appeas'd the Princes anger; but it continu'd ſo violent, that they advis'd me to abſent my ſelf for ſome years. Therefore to render my Exile leſs tedious, and that I might be ſtill doing ſomething for the Service of my Country, I deſir'd my Friends to furniſh me with two Ships, with a reſolution to ſeek out and deſtroy all thoſe Pirates that infeſted the *Indian* Seas. I have been in chace of them for a whole year together; and ſometimes we met with Tempeſts ſo violent, that drave us we know not whither our ſelves, my Pilots not being experienc'd in the Eaſtern Seas. Soon after meeting with another Tempeſt no leſs rude and boyſtrous, we were forc'd to let our Ships drive as the Winds themſelves were pleas'd to force them, which at length drove us upon the Coaſts of this Empire, where we have ſuffer'd Shipwrack, not having ſav'd above fourteen of four hundred, which I brought along with me. Happy in ſuch a misfortune, to be caſt upon the Territories of a Prince ſo potent and generous, that, no queſtion, will have compaſſion upon our miſeries.

When the Interpreter had repeated this Relation to the Emperour, the Prince, and all the Lords of the Court were very much concern'd, and admir'd both the Courage and Aſpect of the Stranger. The Emperour ſent him very rich Preſents, and to all thoſe of his Company; and gave Order, that he ſhould be conducted to *Kiſma*, to the *Holland* Factory, and that he ſhould be well treated upon the way, during the whole journey, which was five and twenty or thirty days Travel. There this famous Champion ſtay'd four Months, in expectation of the Ships that come every year from *Batavia* to *Japon*; ſo that he had time enough to make a full Relation of the Lands which he had obſerv'd, and of all the particulars of the Shipwrack. One day as he was telling how he had cajoll'd the Emperour, and that the Preſident was applauding the quickneſs of his wit for inventing ſuch an imaginary piece of Knight-Errantry,

Errantry, a *Japoneſe* Boy that ſerv'd the Preſident, heard all the diſcourſe, without being obſerv'd by his Maſter. Some Months after, the Preſident had beaten this Boy, which he, as all the *Japoneſes* are of a fiery and vindicative Nature, reſolving to revenge, went to the Governour of *Nangiſaqui*, and repeated to him the whole Diſcourſe between his Maſter and the Admiral. The Governour, finding it to be a buſineſs of importance, ſends advice thereof to the Court. The Emperour was ſo enrag'd at the injury and affront put upon him, that he commanded the Governour to ſtop the Admiral and his Train, and to ſend him with a good Guard to *Yeddo*, and not to let any Ship enter the Harbour, 'till he had had a full Examination of the matter.

This Order was not ſo ſecret, but that the Preſidents Friends had notice thereof, who preſently gave him intelligence of it ſo ſeaſonably, that the Admiral was ſent away before the Order came to the Governour. Eight days after, three *Holland* Veſſels arriv'd at *Kiſma*, to whom the Governour ſent expreſs command to keep out at Sea, and not to come aſhore. The Preſident feigning to be ſurpriz'd at this Prohibition, went to the Governour to know the reaſon, who gave him this Anſwer, The Emperour, ſaid he, is acquainted with your tricks, you ſhall have no more kindneſs from me; I have ſent to Court to give notice of the arrival of your three Ships, and I ſhall follow my Orders when they come. Upon this the Preſident made no doubt but the Admiral's ſtory was diſcover'd; and recollecting with himſelf that he had beaten his *Japoneſe* Boy, and that he was run away from him, he ſoon conjectur'd at the Author of all the miſchief. In ſhort, the Governour receives his Orders, the Tenour whereof was, That he ſhould ſend away the three Veſſels, without permitting them to land either Men or Goods; and that he ſhould tell the Preſident, That the Emperour was ſatisfi'd that the Admiral was a Cheat and a Spy, whom he intended to puniſh ſeverely; and therefore, if he did not ſend for him to *Japon* by the firſt opportunity of the Winds, he would put to Death all thoſe of his Nation, and fling their Goods into the Sea.

Upon the return of three Ships to *Batavia*, there was no ſmall hurly burly in the Iſland; for by them they underſtood the danger that their Country-men were in, if they did not ſend back the Admiral. Thereupon an extraordinary Council was call'd, to deliberate upon an affair of ſo great importance, who were all of one mind, that the Admiral was to be ſent back, and that it was better for one to ſuffer, then a whole Nation.

The Admiral being advertiz'd of this their reſolution, publickly proteſted againſt the violence and injuſtice they were about to do him; telling them, that he was born a Subject of the Republick of *Holland*, who had only the Power of his life and death; that in their Service, he would expoſe his life to a thouſand hazards, but that he was not oblig'd to ſacrifice himſelf for the particular Intereſts of a private Trade. The Miniſters took his part, and made it a caſe in Religion. The common people mutiny'd againſt the General, and the Tumult grew to that heat, that the Sea-men were ſent for from aboard their Ships to diſperſe the multitude. At length, by the interpoſition of a Miniſter, the buſineſs was brought to a concluſion; who perſwaded the Admiral by his ſmooth Language, to appeaſe the diſorder of the people, by ſubmitting to the Reſult of the Council. Thereupon he promis'd

promis'd to return to *Japon*, propvided they would allow him what he demanded, not only for his reward, but alſo that which ſhould bear him out in that ſame new part which he had in his head to act.

Firſt he demanded two Ships magnificently trim'd, a Train of fifty choſen Men, every one of which was to have three changes of Habit, of the richeſt Stuffs that could be had: Moreover 50000 Crowns for his Voyage, a Cupboard of Gold and Silver Plate, with all Equipage proportionable, and that thoſe that accompany'd him ſhould reſpect him, as a perſon of great Quality.

All this was allow'd him, and the Admiral departed from *Batavia*, and arriv'd well at *Nangiſaqui*. The Governour ſurpriz'd at the beauty of the Veſſels, could not believe them to be Merchants, and therefore ſent to know who they were; but he was more ſurpriz'd when he knew that it was the Admiral. Forthwith he diſpatch'd a Courrier to the Emperour, to give him notice, and to inform him with what magnificence the Admiral was return'd. The Preſident alſo ſent, that he might have a favourable reception, and to deſire his Friends to let the Emperour know, that this was a Perſon of great Quality, whom an Honourable Action had driven from his Country, and that he no ſooner underſtood the accuſation that lay againſt him, but that he was return'd with that Equipage that became him, to juſtifie himſelf.

'Till the Order came, the Governour, according to cuſtom, caus'd all the Sails and Rudders of the Ships to be brought to him, not permitting any perſon to come aſhore. At length the Order came, that the Admiral and his Attendants ſhould be receiv'd into the City, together with all things neceſſary for their perſons, and that they ſhould be convoy'd to *Yeddo*, and that in all places where they came, they ſhould be nobly treated. The Preſident accompany'd the Admiral to aſſiſt him, as well with his Councils, as with the favour of his Friends. Their Entry was very magnificent, and the richneſs of their Habits brought the people from all parts, as being mainly greedy after Novelty, ſo that the noiſe thereof was ſpread all over the Court: Yet the Emperour would not admit them to their Audience upon the day which they deſir'd.

Two Months were elaps'd, during which time the Admiral kept open Table, and diſplay'd his daſling Riches to the Eyes of the *Japoneſes*, and being of a quick and apprehenſive wit, he caus'd himſelf to be inſtructed in the Language of the Iſland, and in a ſhort time he began to underſtand many Words. When the Emperour ſent for him, he clad himſelf and his Train in a richer Habit then that which they had on when he made his Entry. At firſt the Emperour ſeem'd to be angry; I underſtand, ſaid he, that thou art an Impoſtor and a Traytor, that thy Birth is obſcure, and that thou art come as a ſpy into my Kingdom, and therefore I am reſolv'd to puniſh thee according to thy merits.

When the Interpreter had explain'd the Emperour's words, the Admiral with an undaunted countenance, Sir, ſaid he, a Prince ſo great as you are, ſhould rather be a comfort and ſupport to the unfortunate, then add to their affliction. Fortune, that perſecutes me, has in nothing been more cruel to me, then in raiſing thoſe Calumnies, with which ſhe has endeavour'd to blemiſh my reputation with your Majeſty. She might expell me my Country, and caſt me upon unknown Coaſts at the other end of the World; but ſhe can never inſpire into

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me thoughts unworthy of my Birth. This is the ſecond time I have been within your Dominions, the firſt by occaſion of Shipwrack, the ſecond to obey your Majeſties commands. The firſt accuſes none but the Winds. And had I been guilty of what I am accus'd, I ſhould never have ventur'd my ſelf into your hands ſo far off from your Power. But, Sir, my Accuſers have one advantage which I have not; they ſpeak your Language, I underſtand it not, nor how to make you apprehend the truth of my juſtification. Allow me eight Months to learn the Speech of your Country, and then, if you will be ſo gratious as to hear me, I make no doubt but to confound my Accuſers, and to ſatisfie your Majeſty in all things.

The Emperour was ſurpriz'd, and mov'd with his Anſwer, but more eſpecially at his requeſt of eight Months to learn the *Japonick* Language. I grant it thee, ſaid the Emperour, for it is but juſt that a perſon accus'd ſhould have both the Liberty and means to do it. And in the mean time I will take care that thou be honourably entertain'd in all places where thou haſt a deſire to reſide.

The Admiral us'd this Liberty with ſo much prudence, and got ſo much the love of the Courtiers by his carriage and his liberality, that by their converſe, he not only learnt the Language, but by vertue of their good Character, the Emperour would often ſend for him, and ask him ſeveral Queſtions concerning our *Europe*, in reference to the Qualities of the Countries, the Manners of the People, the ſeveral Forms of Government, the Extent of the ſeveral Kingdoms, their Riches, Strength, and War-like Diſcipline; of all which, the Admiral gave him ſo handſome an Accompt, that the Prince took great delight in his Diſcourſe. And at length he had gain'd ſo much the favour and confidence of the Emperour, that he utterly laid aſide all the ill thoughts which he had of him, and condemn'd to Death, as a falſe Witneſs, and a Traducer, the *Japoneſe* that had accus'd him.

After ſo fortunate an eſcape, the Admiral thought it but common prudence to make a fair retreat in the Grandeur of his Reputation, and thereupon he took leave of the Emperour, who loaded him with Honours and Preſents. The Courtiers were alſo ſorry for his departure, ſo that ſome of them accompany'd him back, and took order for his entertainment, which was very magnificent all the way to *Nangiſaqui*, where he took Shipping a few days after, and return'd to *Batavia*.

All the People throng'd to the Port to ſee him when he Landed. He told them in few words the ſucceſs of his Voyage. Some applauded his ingenuity and courage; others extoll'd the Service which he had done the Company and Nation. The Council receiv'd him alſo with thanks and praiſes, and gave him all the Gold and Plate which he had brought back. A while after he departed for *Amſterdam*, where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he preſented a Petition to the States General againſt the *East-India* Company, for ſending him back to *Japon*, and for reparation of the violence and injury done him. The buſineſs was long in debate, but at laſt the Company was condemn'd to pay him great damages, and Intereſt for the ſame.

But to return to the Preſident: He began now to be weary of being confin'd to one Factory, though he made up his Pack well enough where he was. But his Ambition carry'd him farther, and he thought he had done Service enough to be advanc'd to a higher Dignity. Neither

ther was his preſence ſo neceſſary at *Japon*, where he had ſettl'd the *Dutch* Trade in as good a condition as it could well be. And in truth, the *Hollanders* had then almoſt the whole Trade of the *Eaſt-Indies*. They had taken from the *Engliſh*, *Formoſa*, *Amboyna*, and *Pooleron*, and by that means engroſs'd all the Trade of Cloves, Mace, and Nutmegs. They had taken *Baton* by ſurprize. The Inhabitants of the *Celebes*, *Ternate*, and *Tidor*, were become their Vaſſals; and the King of *Macaſſar* having made an Alliance with them, had expell'd the *Portugueſes* out of his Dominions. By means of their Factories in *Sumatra*, they had got all the Pepper Trade of the Weſtern Coaſt of that Iſland into their hands, beſides ſeveral other advantages which they had in ſeveral other places, where they had encroach'd upon the *Portugals*, *Spaniards*, and the *Engliſh* themſelves. The *Eaſt-India* Company at that time entertain'd 140 Ships, part Men of War, and part Merchant-men, provided with great Guns, Ammunition, and Proviſion of all ſorts, and in theſe Ships above 6000 Men, part Souldiers, part Mariners. *Batavia* was the Soul of their Conqueſts, made upon the Ruins of the *Portugueſes*, which had they lain all together, would have made a large Empire, and by which they might have grown infinitely rich, had not the expences of their Navies and Souldiers eaten out the gains of their vaſt Trade. One of their wiſeſt Generals told me frequently, *We have*, ſaid he, *but too many Fortreſſes, we need no more then the* Cape of Good Hope, *and* Batavia, *Factories well ſettl'd, good Ships, and honeſt Men to ſerve us.* For in ſhort, their Officers pillage unmercifully, and cauſe the Commerce and Dominion of their Country-men to be deteſted by the *Indians*, through their *Covetouſneſs* and *Cruelty*.

I know my ſelf, that in the year 1664, the Expences of the *Hollanders* in the *Eaſt-Indies* amounted, *communibus annis*, to twelve Millions a year, not to reckon Shipwracks, decay of Ships, and waſt of Goods, and yet their Cargo's for *Aſia* and *Europe* have not amounted to above ten Millions; and ſometimes the Cargo's are ſo mean, that the Receits do not anſwer the Expences. Nevertheleſs their perſeverance and courage were worthy of admiration. For what could be more to be admir'd, then to ſee that a ſmall number of Merchants, aſſembled at firſt upon the ſingle ſcore of Trade, ſhould afterwards preſume to make War in Regions ſo far diſtant, aſſail ſo many Princes and Nations, plant ſo many Colonies, beſiege ſo many Cities and Forts, and laſtly, ſet forth ſo many Navies at ſuch prodigious Expences, that it would put many potent Soveraigns to a plunge to do as they did?

This was the Eſtate of the *Holland Eaſt-India* Company, at what time the Preſident, the principal Subject of this Relation, was recall'd from *Japon* to *Batavia*, there to take upon him the Office of *Chief Director*. He carry'd thither great ſtore of Wealth, and built ſeveral magnificent Houſes in the City. His Authority alſo was very large; but he exercis'd it according to his uſual cuſtom, and was hated by all the Officers of the Company, and the Citizens themſelves. He thought himſelf ſecure of the Employment of General, but he was deceiv'd in his hopes; upon which he took pet, and return'd for *Amſterdam*, where he liv'd quietly for ſome years. At length his turbulent and ambitious Spirit put him upon new Deſigns, to revenge the injury which he thought he had receiv'd. To which purpoſe he return'd to the *Indies*. His undertaking was not ſo proſperous for thoſe that employ'd him, and who merited to have

have been better ſerv'd. He pillag'd, couzen'd, and caus'd ſeveral diſorders in their affairs, and at length returning home again, periſh'd in the River of *Lisbon* with his Money and Jewels, as hath been already related.

The End of the Firſt Part.

A RELATION OF

What paſs'd in the Negotiation *of the* DEPUTIES

Which were ſent to

PERSIA and the INDIES,

As well on the behalf of the KING, as of the FRENCH COMPANY, *for the ſettling of* Trade.

IN the Relation which I have undertaken, I ſhall make a faithful Report of things in ſuch manner as I ſaw them tranſacted by the Deputies ſent to *Perſia*, and the *Indies*, as well on the behalf of the King, as of the *French* Company, for the ſettlement of Trade.

The Thirteenth of *July*, 1665. the Sieur *Lalin*, Gentleman in Extraordinary to the King, and the Sieur *de la Boulaye*, a Centleman of *Anjou*, with the Sieurs *Beber*, *Mariage*, and *du Pont*, Deputies of the new *French* Company, for the ſettling of Trade in *Perſia* and the *Indies*, arriv'd at *Iſpahan*, and took up their Lodgings at *Zulpha*, being the Suburbs of the ſame City, where alſo at that time liv'd the Sieur *L'Eſtoile*, a *French* Merchant. *Lalin* and *Boulaye*, without ſaying any thing to the Deputies, deliver'd to *L' Eſtoile* the Letters which Monſieur *de Lyonne* had written to him; the Inſcription whereof was thus. *To Mr.* L' Eſtoile, *firſt* Valet du Chambre *to the King of* Perſia, *or in his abſence, to Mr.* Logis, *his Son in Law.* Which was not a little to be admir'd at by the *Franks*, who had ſojourn'd any time in that Country, to find that Monſier *Boulaye*, who had been before in *Perſia*, and ſhould have better underſtood the Cuſtom of the Court, ſhould be no better able to inſtruct a Secretary of State, then to let him give *L' Eſtoile* the Title of *Valet du Chambre* to the King of *Perſia*, who

who has none to ſerve him in his Chamber but Eunuchs, and never ſuffers a *Chriſtian* to touch his Habits, for fear of being defil'd.

The purport of the Letters, was to admoniſh *L'Eſtoile* to ſupport, aſſiſt, and protect the Deputies in the Buſineſs upon which the Company had ſent them; and in caſe of loſſes by the way, to furniſh them with ſuch neceſſaries as they ſhould want.

The King of *Perſia* was then three days journey from *Iſpahan*; for which reaſon a Meſſenger was diſpatch'd with a Letter to the *Nazar*, or Grand Maſter of the Houſe, and another to the *Mirzateker*, or his Lieutenant, to know whether his Majeſty would command them to wait on him there, or whether they ſhould expect his return to *Iſpahan*.

In the mean while the Deputies could not agree amongſt themſelves: For the three Merchants *Beber*, *Mariage*, and *du Pont* affirm'd, that the two Gentlemen were only intereſted by the by in this Negotiation; and that having no right to take cognizance of the Affairs of the Company, they ought not to trouble themſelves any farther, then the King's Letters directed them, in the affairs of the Company. That the Effect of the King's Letters was no more, then that two Gentlemen, deſirous to ſee the Court of *Perſia*, were joyn'd with the Deputies of the Company; and therefore it belong'd to them only to treat with the Miniſters of the King of *Perſia*. That the Gentlemen had no more to do then to deliver the King of *France*'s Letter to the *Perſian* King, and to deſire a nomination of Commiſſioners to treat with the Deputies. This conteſt, which all the *Franks* in vain endeavour'd to compoſe, came at length to the *Nazar*'s Ears; who was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at it, having then a deſign to procure an Order from the King to remove out of *Iſpahan* and the Suburbs, all the *Chriſtians* of what opinion ſoever, and place them over againſt *Zulpha*.

However, the Deputies rais'd new objections and difficulties every day; which Father *Raphael* of *Mans*, Superiour of the Order of *Capuchins* in *Perſia*, employ'd all his credit and induſtry to accommodate. He wrote them out ſeveral forms of a Letter, which they were to ſend to the *Nazar*; but thoſe that pleas'd the one Party, did not like the other. At length Father *Raphael*, weary of ſcribling and altering, amending and correcting, and all to no purpoſe; told them ſeriouſly, they did ill to act in ſuch a manner, and to inſiſt upon idle formalities; that the *Perſian* Style, wherein they ought to write to the *Nazar*, ought to be conciſe and plain, without ſuperfluities, or impertinencies; and laſtly, that all their contentions did but redound to the diſadvantage of the Company, whoſe Intereſts they pretended to manage. After ſeveral conteſts, Father *Raphael*, at laſt, finiſh'd the Letter to the content of both Parties, which was tranſcrib'd into the *Perſian* Language; with another to the *Mirzateker*, and both were diſpatch'd away. The *Nazar* having read it, preſently inform'd the King of the *French* Companies deſign, and of the arrival of the Deputies. His Majeſty commanded him to let them know that they were welcome, and that in a ſhort time, he would return to *Iſpahan*, and give them Audience.

Some few dayes after, the Court return'd to *Iſpahan*, and while the King ſtopp'd at one of his Houſes near the Gates of the City, the *Nazar* ſent for Father *Raphael*, to know of him who the *French* Deputies were, and who had ſent them into *Perſia*, to which the Father gave him the beſt ſatisfaction he could. For the *Nazar* wonder'd that they were

come into the Kingdom, and ſent, as they ſaid, from ſuch a potent Prince, and yet that the Governours of *Erivan* and *Tauris* ſhould know nothing of their paſſage through thoſe Cities. The *Athemadoulet* alſo was in the ſame Aſtoniſhment; and it gave them reaſon to ſuſpect both the Quality of their Perſons, and the Reality of their Commiſſion. For either they were ignorant of the cuſtom of the Country, or elſe they did ill to travel *incognito*, like ordinary Tradeſmen, and Perſons of mean condition. But Father *Raphael* having aſſur'd them, that they were ſent by the King of *France* to ſettle a Company of Trade, and that he had Letters of Advice thereof out of *Europe*, the *Nazar* bid Father *Raphael* tell the Deputies they ſhould be in a readineſs, for that the King would give them Audience in a few days.

But the former miſunderſtanding, ſtill continuing between the Gentlemen and Deputies, Father *Raphael* fearing ſome miſchievous conſequence of it in the preſence of the King, or that they ſhould make ſome diſpute for priority, the Father repreſented to the *Nazar*, that whereas the Deptuies were of two Orders, the one of Gentlemen, and the other of Merchants; therefore to take away all ſuſpition of jealouſie, it would do well, that His Majeſty would be pleas'd when he admitted them to their Audience, to permit the Gentlemen their ſeats on the one ſide, and the Merchants on the other. Which the *Nazar* approv'd, and the King allow'd of the ſame day.

The 27th of *September*, the King being at his Palace of *Scader-Abbas*, upon the bank of the River, between the Bridge of *Zulpha*, and the Bridge of *Schiras*, caus'd a preparation of Artificial Fire-works to be made, which came to above 2000 *l.* and early in the Morning caus'd notice to be given, that he intended that day to give audience to the King of *France*'s Deputies. Father *Raphael* alſo had Order to be ready with the Deputies, to the end, the *Mehemender*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies, might not be oblig'd to wait. Accordingly that very day the *Mehemender* came to *L'Eſtoile*'s Houſe, and from thence conducted the Deputies, with all their Train, and the reſt of the Franks then reſident in thoſe parts all mounted on Horſe-back, with a march ſo ſlow and grave, and for the advantage of the ſight ſo far about, that it was almoſt Night before they arriv'd at *Scader-Abbas*; at what time the *Mehemender* enter'd the Palace alone, leaving the Merchants at the Door. In the mean while, the Merchants believing that Father *Raphael* did not favour them ſo much as the Gentlemen, cry'd out aloud, that they would have an Interpreter alſo for themſelves, or elſe would go no farther. Father *Raphael*, who acted only by the *Nazar*'s Order, and for the advantage of the *French* Nation, told them, that whither they went any farther or no it was all one to him: that for his part he was not there as an Interpreter, either for the one or the other, but only in obedience to the King's commands.

In the mid'ſt of this debate the *Mehemender* return'd to carry the Deputies to their Audience; five hundred Musketeers being rank'd in order upon the bank of the River, to give them a Volley as they paſs'd along. The *Mehemender*'s march at firſt was ſlow and grave, but approaching the place where the King was, and from whence he had a view of the Deputies, he caus'd them to double their pace to the foot of the Steps, where the Lackeys took off their Shooes, and from thence they proceeded into the Hall of Audience, where the *Kans*, and other great Lords were ſitting.

ſitting. Upon each ſide ſtood the Youth of Quality, ſumptuouſly clad in Tiſſue of Gold and Silver, their Cloaks and Mantles being lin'd with Martins, Sables, and other rich Furs. The Deputies being come into the King's preſence, the *Mehemender* caus'd them to kneel, and bow their Heads to the Ground three times: That done, he caus'd them to riſe, and lead up *Lalin* by the hand alone, as being the perſon who had in charge the preſenting of the Letter to the King. After him follow'd *Boulaye*, and the reſt of the Deputies, and thus they mounted up to the place where ſate the *Athemadoulet*, and the *Nazar*. The King was ſeated upon a Scaffold ſomewhat higher then the reſt, encompas'd with 150 young Gentlemen magnificently clad, to whom the *Sieur Lalin*, at the head of the Deputies, made his compliments in *French*, and then humbly preſented the Kings Letter, ſeal'd with a flat Seal upon a flying *Label*, enclos'd in an Embroider'd Box, with the Arms of *France* and *Navar*, in relief, upon the Lid. Father *Raphael* explain'd to the King the effect of *Lalin*'s Speech. After which the King gave a little bow with his Head, and at the ſame time gave a ſign to the Maſter of the Ceremonies to carry them back to their places. Being come to the bottom of the Hall, where the Officers had Order to ſeparate the Gentlemen from the Merchants, the Officers by miſtake put *Boulaye* with two of the Merchants, and *Mariage* one of the Merchants with *Lalin*, which made *Boulaye* cry out aloud in the *Turkiſh* Language *Menbeg-Zaddè*, I am a Gentleman; but the thing being done, and the King being preſent, there was no help. Then the *Perſian* Muſick began to play for a quarter of an Hour; which having given over, the Maſter of the Ceremonies came again, and carried up Father *Raphael*, and the two Gentlemen, as he ſuppos'd, of which *Mariage* by the forementioned miſtake happen'd to be one, again to the King: at what time *Lalin* with a comely grace made his Harangue, and ſet forth the occaſion of his Deputation to His Majeſty, of which His Majeſty teſtifi'd his good liking by a nod of his Head. For *Lalin* had a handſom preſence, and ſpake with an acceptable Tone, and his magnificent Habit very much added to the comely Air of his Perſon. The Speech was expounded by Father *Raphael*; which when he had done, the King ask'd the Deputies ſeveral Queſtions, and then with his hand made them a ſign to retire to their places, beck'ning at the ſame time to Father *Raphael* to ſtay; and cauſing him to come near him, more particularly inform'd himſelf of the Power of the King of *France*, the Extent of his Dominions, his Military Diſcipline, and his Councils: of all which the Father gave him the beſt accompt he could, and then with the King's leave, retir'd to his place. This Scene being over, a Flagon of Gold, and a Glaſs were ſent to the Deputies, attended with a ſhort Banquet of Fruits, and other ſorts of Food; the Inſtrumental and Vocal Muſick playing all the while. Which being over, the King again ſent for *Lalin*, *Mariage*, and Father *Raphael*, and after a ſhort Diſcourſe, having diſmiſs'd all but father *Raphael*, he fell into a diſpute with him touching the Unity of the Divine Nature, the neceſſity of one Prophet, and how *Mahomet* was the Seal and Crown of all Prophets. He ſeem'd to admire that the *Franks*, who had the Reputation of being People of Wit and Diſcretion, could think *Jeſus Chriſt* to be a God: to all which particulars, the Father endeavour'd to give the King the beſt ſatisfaction he could. But then, Father *Raphael* being deſirous that the three Deputies

ſhould

ſhould partake of the King's favour as the other two had done. Whereupon the King ſent for the other three Deputies, and having diſcours'd a while with *Boulaye*, while Father *Raphael* interpreted between them, in a ſhort while he diſmiſs'd them all again, but Father *Raphael*, with whom he enter'd into a more jocular Diſcourſe then the former, of the Colours, Black and White, and of the Beauty of the *French* Women, the King confeſſing that naturally he did not love Brown Women, the White complection being more agreeable to him, as being that complexion which alone compos'd the Beauty of Women. The Father modeſtly made his anſwer, that Beauty conſiſted only in fancy; for that the *Perſians* lov'd thick and full Eyebrows, which were not at all eſteem'd in *France*. Then the King caſting his Eyes upon the Box wherein the King of *France*'s Letter lay, he took out the Letter, and obſerving it to be a ſmall piece of Parchment, and not ſuch a one as he had receiv'd from ſeveral Princes and Potentates of *Europe*, nor indeed like thoſe which the *Jeſuits* had brought him formerly from the King of *France* himſelf, in a fair piece of Parchment, with a large Seal deep cut, he gave evident Demonſtrations of his contempt of it, and was about to have thrown it away. Father *Raphael* perceiv'd him to be out of humour, to whom the King in purſuance of his diſlike, ſaid, *Raphael*, I never receive open Letters without a Seal, take it, and let me ſee it no more, for I do not believe it comes from ſo great a King as the King of *France*, and at the ſame time made him a ſign to retire. He durſt do no otherwiſe then take the Letter, and ſo returning to his place, he told both *Lalin* and *Mariage* what had paſs'd in his Diſcourſe between him and the King. Two hours, after that, were ſpent in beholding the *Mummeries* of their common Dancers, a paſtime very uſual in *Perſia*. Which being over, the King ſent again for *Lalin*, *Mariage*, and the Father; and after ſome few Queſtions, to whith they gave the beſt Anſwers they could, he again diſmiſs'd both the Deputies, retaining only Father *Raphael* with him. The Father, then taking his opportunity, told the King, that he had always obſerv'd it to be the cuſtom of the *Athemadoulet* to cauſe the Letters, which the *European* Princes ſent His Majeſty, to be interpreted in his preſence. And therefore, added the Father, I beſeech Your Majeſty to permit me to give the King of *France*'s Letter to the *Athemadoulet*, to the end, it may be truly interpreted to him according to uſual cuſtom. Thereupon the King made a ſign to the Father to give it him, and glad he was to be ſo rid of it. The Father obſerving the King in a good humour, ſpoke to him in behalf of the other three Deputies, that he would be pleas'd to admit them to be ſent for a ſecond time, in regard the others had been ſent for three times. But the King told him, it was enough for him to ſpeak to the Gentlemen, let his Miniſters talk with the Merchants. The Father being then diſmiſs'd, he ſent for *Lalin* alone, for whom he ſhew'd himſelf to have a very great kindneſs and affection; and at the ſame time commanded the *Nazar* to bring him the next day, together with Father *Raphael*, and *Lagis* the *Geneveſe*, who was retain'd in his Service, to Court, for that he intended to be merry with them. Then he went on, and told *Lalin*, that ſo ſoon as the *French* Ships were arriv'd, he would ſend an Embaſſadour to the King of *France*, and make a ſtrict Alliance with him. *Lalin* reply'd, that His Majeſty of *France* deſir'd nothing more. Why then, reply'd the King, is not my Alliance ſufficient

cient, but that you muſt go ſeek the Alliance of the Blacks, from whom you will not draw thoſe advantages, with which you flatter your ſelves? For you muſt know, that the Deputies kept their affairs ſo ſecret, that no body knew of them but all the World, the Servants as well as the Maſters. Not conſidering, that the *Perſians* are good Politicians, and that that Court is never without Spies. Therefore the King knew, that as ſoon as the Deputies had diſpatch'd at his Court, they were to depart for the *Indies*, with which Nation he keeps no good Correſpondence. And for that reaſon, he was not a little offended with them, though they endeavour'd to perſuade him, that their Errand to the *Indies* was only for Linnen and Spices.

The Deputies preſented to the King a very fair *Fuzee*, together with the Kings Picture, in little, drawn to the Life, which was ſo much the more eſteem'd, becauſe at the ſame time ſeveral large Cuts had been brought to *Iſpahan*, and preſented to the King, which perfectly agreed with the Picture in Oyl, by which the whole Court was convinc'd that it was the real Portraiture of the King. When theſe Preſents were laid before the King, he ask'd the Deputies, for which of the Eaſtern Nations the *French* had moſt affection; to whom M. *Lalin* made anſwer, that certainly for the *Perſian*; thereupon the King return'd, that certainly they had reaſon; for that the *Perſians* were white, like the *French*, and that it was impoſſible for them to have any affection for the *Indians* who were black.

At length the King, to ſhew the Deputies his higheſt favour, would have them drink the *HEZARD PICHE*, in a golden Cup, which holds about a Pint of *Paris*. He order'd the Wine to be the ſame which he drank himſelf, which was in a Bottle of Chryſtal Glaſs, ſtudded with Diamonds. *Lalin* drank couragiouſly, and ſo did *Mariage*; but Father *Raphael* made a fair excuſe, and got off. After midnight the *Zerhaſtes*, or Table-Cloaths of Cloth of Gold were ſpread upon the Floor, and ſeveral roaſted Viands very hot of the Spice, and Diſhes of Salt Fiſh, purchas'd from the *Caſpian* Sea, were brought and ſet upon the Cloaths; together with ſeveral Paſtrie Meats, dry'd Raiſins, Comfits, Almonds, and Piſtaches, and other provocatives to drink. The repaſt being ended, ſeveral Buffons were brought in, who Sung and Danc'd after the *Turkiſh* faſhion, and made a hundred wry Mouths and ugly Faces. Among the reſt of the Divertiſements, there were two Men introduc'd, that play'd one againſt another with each a Battoon in his hand, with a piece of Linnen dipt in Naphta, ty'd to the end of the Stick, which caſt forth a very clear brightneſs in the dark; at the ſame time four artificial Whirle-Winds were made to riſe one after another, which were all hovering in the Air at once, and in a continual Agitation.

Three Hours after Midnight the Maſters of the Ceremonies came to raiſe the Deputies to take leave of the King; and ſo leading them to the lower end of the Hall, after a profound reverence, they retir'd, not one perſon beſide ſtirring out of his place, to the end they might have time to take their Shoes without confuſion. When they were gone, the King diſmiſs'd the Court, and then it is that the croud is ſo great, that not one in twenty but loſes their own, and gets whoſe-ever Shoes he can lay his hands on.

The Deputies and Father *Raphael* being upon their return home, by that time they got half way, met an Officer belonging to the *Athemadoulet*, who

who told Father *Raphael* that his Maſter expected the *French Begzades* at his Houſe by Ten a Clock next Morning, to treat them, by his Majeſties Order.

Father *Raphael*, *Lalin*, and *Boulaye*, were punctual to their time, and no ſooner did the *Athemadoulet* know of their arrival, but he came down into his Hall of Audience, to receive them, where he had alſo order'd a very fair Banquet to be ready for their entertainment. There Father *Raphael* left them, while he went with the *Athemadoulet*'s Secretary, to Tranſlate the King of *France*'s Letter into the *Perſian* Language; which being finiſh'd, and he come again into the Hall, after ſeveral Civilities paſt on both ſides, the Father and the Deputies return'd to *Zulpha*.

The Merchant Deputies offended at the Honour which the Gentlemen had receiv'd, would have gone in their Turn; but Father *Raphael* told them, that it was not the Cuſtom in *Perſia* to viſit the Prime Miniſter, without being ſent for. In the Evening, Father *Raphael*, and the *Begzades* received new Orders to attend the King, but the King ſtirr'd not out that Evening, ſo that their Journey was in vain.

The Merchants ſtill perceiving the Honours which were done the Gentlemen, and believing Father *Raphael* to be the cauſe of all, they began to rail at him, and give him foul Language, and threaten'd to write into *France* to give an accompt of his behaviour. Father *Raphael* netled at the Language of the Deputies, told them, that he had done what in him lay to procure them the ſame Honours, which the others had receiv'd, though they were ſo little ſenſible of it. That he would continue his endeavours for the Advancement of their Affairs, though not for their own ſakes, yet for the ſake of the Company, that had ſent them. Which anſwer, though it were ſharp enough, and ſhew'd that the Father was angry, yet he did not forget, that they were his Countrymen; ſo that he ventur'd to carry them twice to the Prime Miniſter of his own accord, contrary to the Cuſtom. The firſt time he was not to be ſpoken with. The ſecond time, he made an Errant to him with the three Deputies, to preſent him a Copy of the Letter from the Directors of the Company, in the *Perſian* Language; at which time he ſhew'd them the Deputies, acquainting him withal that thoſe were the Perſons with whom he was to treat in point of Trade. To which the *Athemadoulet* reply'd, that he had no Commiſſion from the King to meddle with thoſe Deputies, but only, to entertain the *Begzade* that brought the King's Letter, which he had already done. Thereupon the Father deſir'd him he would be pleas'd to ſpeak to the King to nominate Commiſſioners to treat with them, which the *Athemadoulet* promis'd to do. That day in the evening, a Meſſenger was ſent to Father *Raphael*, to acquaint him, that the King had appointed the *Nazar* to treat with the Deputies the next day, and to know their demands. Of which the Father gave the Deputies quick intelligence.

The next day, being the Firſt of *September*, Father *Raphael* fail'd not to be with the Deputies very early in the Morning, to bring them to the *Nazar*; but he was very much ſurpriz'd to ſee, that they would not go altogether, but ſtill look'd with an evil Eye one upon another, and continued their former differences. To the end therefore that he might ſet things to rights, he went to the *Nazar*, and told him, that he thought it would be the beſt way for the Merchants Deputies to come

firſt,

firſt, becauſe that they were the Perſons with whom he was chiefly to Treat. The *Nazar* anſwer'd, that the King underſtood that they were all five in the ſame Commiſſion joyntly. To which, when the Father anſwer'd the ſecond time, that it would be the beſt way to do as he had propos'd; The *Nazar* with a Surly Countenance, why, What's the matter now? ſaid he to the Father; Are not you *French-men* aſham'd to be thus at odds one with another, and to give all the World, nay the very Foot-boys occaſion to diſcourſe of your Diviſions? What would they have us think of them and their Commiſſion? Are they ſo little afraid of offending the King? Or, is their King more indulgent then the King of *Perſia*, who would never pardon ſuch faults in his Subjects? To this rebuke the Father made no reply. Only he deſir'd the *Nazar*, that he might have two Horſe-men to attend the Deputies at *Zulpha*, telling the *Nazar* not a word of his deſign to bring the Merchants an Hour ſooner then the Gentlemen. This fell out to the Fathers deſire; For the Father ſent one of the Horſe-men to *Zulpha*, to the Gentlemen, with order to drink with them, and not to be over haſty, but to bring them fair and ſoftly along with him; with the other he made haſt to the Merchant Deputies, and cauſing them to double their pace, they got betimes to the *Nazar*'s Houſe, where they were civilly receiv'd. *Dupont* preſented the *Nazar* with the Deputies Commiſſion, tranſlated into the *Perſian* Language; after which they fell into a diſcourſe, which laſted above three quartes of an Hour, concerning the Cuſtoms, Tolls, and Quality of the Merchants, and the juſtneſs of the *French* in their Dealing. They had juſt finiſh'd their Diſcourſe of Trade, when the *Nazar* was advertiz'd, that the three Gentlemen were arriv'd; who thereupon deſir'd Father *Raphael* to go and receive them. The Father went and waited upon them in, neatly chiding them for having ſtay'd ſo long; and making the *Nazar* wait. Well ſaid he, now you are together, go into that Cabinet, and write down your demands, and the Articles of your Commiſſion. The Merchant Deputies, which had now diſcours'd with the *Nazar* what they had to ſay, were well enough content to enter into a General Conference with the Gentlemen. Then calling for Pen, Ink and Paper, they made a draught of their Demands, the chief of which were, three Years Immunity from Cuſtoms and Tolls, to begin from the time of the arrival of our Ships; and that after that, they ſhould enjoy all the Priviledges and Favours granted to other Nations. They alſo deſir'd precedence above all other Nations, when they ſhould be call'd to Court, as they ſuggeſted, that they had at the Court of the Grand Signior. And laſtly, they requir'd a Houſe for thoſe that belong'd to the Company, to live in the City.

Theſe demands were dictated word for word by Father *Raphael*, to the *Nazars* Secretary, in the Name of all the five Gentlemen; and becauſe the *Nazar*'s Secretary knew not how to pronounce them, the Father undertook to write them in the *Perſian* Character; which being done, and the writing read in the hearing of the Deputies, the *Nazar* took the Paper to preſent to the King.

Thus after a fair Banquet, accompany'd with Muſic, both Vocal and Inſtrumental, the Deputies were diſmiſs'd by the *Nazar*, who bid them rely upon his care; for that he would do them all the Favour that lay in his pow'r, and give them his Majeſties Anſwer in a ſhort time. The Deputies very well ſatisfy'd with the *Nazar*'s reception, ſent him

afterwards a Preſent, which was a Shame both to the Nation and the Company, that pretended to ſuch great and high things, and endeavour'd to fix an opinion of their Wealth and Grandeur among Strangers. For they ſent him only a *Tin Cup* Enamel'd, and eight little Caſes of Perſpectives, or Looking-Glaſſes, the whole not amounting to above 40 Crowns. They alſo made much ſuch another Preſent, but meaner, to the *Mirzateker*, conſiſting of about a Dozen Pair of Gilt Sciſſars for Women. We muſt ſpeak the Truth: For they were not a little laught at for their ridiculous Preſents, which were the Scorn and Contempt of thoſe that receiv'd them, when the Deputies were gone.

To Father *Raphael* they preſented a Purſe, with 40 *Tomans*, or Six Hundred Crowns in it, believing that he would never accept of it; and indeed he refus'd it with ſcorn; not a little angry with them, that they ſhould have ſuch mean thoughts of him, as to believe him Mercenary.

Two days after, the *Nazar* gave notice to the Father, that the King had granted the *French* their Demands; and had order'd every one of them a *Calaat*, or a Veſt-Royal, and in reſpect of Superiority, a Horſe for Monſieur *Lalin*. That the Kings Anſwer and the *Grant* were both ready for the Directors of the Company, according to their deſire.

The King was then onward upon a journey to *Mazandran*, three days Travel from *Iſpahan*, at one of his Palaces, call'd *Tajabat*. A Pleaſant Situation, in the mid'ſt of a great Valley, ſhaded with Trees, and full of Villages.

The Ninth of *October*, came a Letter from the *Nazar*, to Father *Raphael*, ſignifyiug the King's Pleaſure, that both he and the Deputies ſhould repair to *Tajabat* with all ſpeed. Thereupon the Father and they made ſuch haſt, that in leſs than three days they got to *Tajabat*, where the *Nazar* order'd them to lye in the Houſe of an *Armenian* Renegado. The King ſent them immediately eight or ten bottles of Wine, with four Gold Diſhes, full of lovely Fruits, and Tapiſtries for their Dining Room. But theſe Preſents occaſion'd new Quarrels; For there being two Factions, and both living apart, there was a great diſpute who ſhould have this preſent. Father *Raphael*, having done all that poſſible he could to reconcile the buſineſs, and not being able to perſuade them, in a juſt Paſſion, bid them take their Swords and Piſtols, and go and decide the Quarrel in the Field. Till now, ſaid he, I have done all I could to conceal your deteſtable diviſions from the Court, which nevertheleſs, is but too well acquainted therewith: Is it your deſign to publiſh your own Ignominy, and to make not only your ſelves, but the whole Nation of the *French* ridiculous to the *Perſians*? At length they were ſo far reconcil'd, that one Room ſerv'd them to Feed, and conſequently the ſame Furniture. For the Father's reproofs had put them a little out of Countenance.

The Seventeenth of *October*, the *Mehemander* came to the Deputies Lodgings, and brought five Royal Veſts; The Richeſt, which was of Tiſſue of Gold, was for Monſieur *Lalin*; the next, not altogether ſo rich, for Monſieur *Boulaye*; and the other three of a lower price, for the Merchants; The value of the whole might amount to 600 Crowns, for which the *French* Deputies moſt generouſly gave the Officers that brought them 25 or 30 Crowns, as a Gratuity. The Officers of the Stable

Stable alſo brought two Horſes for the Gentlemen, for which they receiv'd ſix Crowns in Gold, as a reward. I confeſs, I ſhould have been aſham'd of ſuch a poorneſs of Spirit, at ſuch a time as that.

At length alſo the *Ragan* or Patent for the Company was deliver'd into the Hands of the Deputies, faithfully Tranſlated by Father *Raphael* to this Effect.

" That whereas the Merchants of the Kingdom of *France*, who are " favour'd by the Favour extreemly Royal, and the Juſtice exceſſively " Royal, being made conſtant in the hope and participation in the " time, have preſented their Petition, which is arriv'd at the Ear " of the Miniſters Commiſſioners for the Court of Grandeur and high " Fortune; Their Intentions and Demands have found the Viſage of " Acceptation, and we have ſtrictly commanded, that the Conſervatours " of Rights, Tolls and Priviledges, acknowledge them for exempt " and priviledg'd, during the ſpace of Three Years; and that there be " nothing demanded upon their Goods and Factories, conformable to " the requeſt of the Deputies, *&c.*

The next day, the *Mehemander Bachi*, came early in the Morning to attend the Deputies, and bring them with all ſpeed to the Court: Where being admitted into the Garden, they met the King a Horſe-back, and all the Court a Foot. The *Athemadoulet* held the King's Anſwer to the King of *France*, in a Bag of Cloth of Gold, Seal'd with the Kings Seal upon red *Spaniſh* Wax. The Sieur *Lalin* then, and the reſt of the Deputies were order'd to go neer and Kiſs the Kings Boot, who kept his Grandeur, without ſpeaking a word. When they had ſo done, the *Athemadoulet* calling them to him, there, ſaid he, there is the Anſwer for the *Grand Cha*, that is, for the King of the Kings of *France*. The Deputies having made their Obeyſances to the King, the whole Court took Horſe; and the King took the Road of *Cachan*; and within an Hour, that Campaign, which look'd like a thick peopl'd City, became as Deſert as the moſt part of *Perſia*.

The Deputies, having read over the Patent, began to find many defects, and *Mariage* would fain have follow'd the Court for amendments, and would have perſuaded *Lalin* and Father *Raphael* to have gone along with him. But Father *Raphael* over-perſuaded them to return firſt to their Lodgings at *Zulpha*, and there to hear the Patent diſtinctly read over, and to conſider better of it. When they came to *Zulpha*, and that they had debated upon the meer Letter of the *Patent*, then they were worſe mad then they were before. Then there were ſo many Cavils, ſo many Diſputes, ſo many Exceptions, and ſo many Expoſitions put upon the Words *Conformably* and *Reaſonably*, that they muſt get a Horſe back immediately. *Boulaye* ſtopp'd this fury for a while; So that after many Diſputes and Conſultations, it was agreed, that *Mariage*, as chief of the Negotiation, and *Lalin*, ſhould follow the Court; and that *Boulaye*, *Breber*, and *Dupont*, ſhould proceed forward to the *Indies*. The Sieur *L'Eſtoile*, and all the reſt of the *Franks*, were of opinion, that *Lalin* ſhould forthwith depart for *France*, with the King's Letter. But their Counſel was not follow'd, and ſo the Deputies divided themſelves: *Lalin* and *Mariage* to follow the Court, which was then remov'd as far as *Mazandran*: And the other three to purſue their Journey to the Eaſt *Indies*. The two former fain would have had Father *Raphael* have accompany'd them to the Court; but he fairly excus'd himſelf.

Neither would *L'Eſtoile* permit his Son, to whom he allow'd 20 *Tomans* a Year, to return to the Court, chooſing rather to ſend him to *Bander* with the other three. Whereupon, the Seventeenth of *November*, they ſet forward upon their Journey.

Du Pont, without doubt, was the moſt ſolid and judicious of all the Merchants, but he took it ſo to heart, to ſee the diſ-union among them, that he fell into a languiſhing Diſeaſe at *Iſpahan*, and dy'd not far from *Schiras*.

As for *Lalin* and *Mariage*, they left *Iſpahan* the Fifteenth of *December*, and arriv'd at Court ſoon after, where they lay a long time neglected, their Diviſions ſtill continuing, which made them contemptible to the *Perſians*, and ruin'd the Affairs of the Company. One Evening, the *Nazar* ſent them a Flow'r, adviſing them, that as that Flow'r never chang'd; ſo it became them not to vary in their Reſolutions. After a long and tedious ſtay, *Mariage* obtain'd ſome few impertinent Alterations in his Patent; and permiſſion to make Wine at *Schiras*, as the *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *Portugueſes* had.

With theſe Alterations they both leave the Court; and *Mariage* would certainly have accompany'd *Lalin*, who had an intention to ſee *Ardevil*, *Tauris*, and *Kom*, had he not been ſolicited to return to *Zulpha*, by a Young *Dalilah*, that had ſmitten his heart. For by the means of an old Woman, the Mother of one of his Lacqueys, he had debauch'd a young *Armenian* Virgin, whom he kept privately to himſelf; yet not ſo privately, but the noiſe thereof was quickly ſpread all over *Zulpha*. All the *Armenians* were ſcandaliz'd at it, and ſent to ſeize the Baud, to puniſh her, by their Laws, as ſhe deſerv'd. *Mariage* advertiz'd thereof, flew out of his Lodging to her aſſiſtance, and to protect her from Juſtice. But ſeeing the People in an uproar, and finding the Stones to flye too thick about his Ears, he was forc'd to mind his own ſafety, and to ſeek for ſhelter in the next Houſe where he could be admitted. But the Buſineſs was not ſo put up, for the *Armenians*, wondring to ſee that a Deputy of an Illuſtrious Company, who was come to the Court of *Perſia* upon ſo ſerious an Affair, ſhould do ſo much wrong to his Nation, by publickly appearing in ſo ſhameful an Action, and ſo unworthy of a Perſon in public Employment, that they reſolv'd to proſecute him all manner of ways. They were reſolv'd, to that end, to have ſent into *France* an Expreſs, to have Complain'd to the King of his ill Management and bad Behaviour. But *Mariage* at length reſtor'd the *Armenian* Girl which he had kept cloſe lock'd up; after which time the *Armenians* never look'd upon him but with ſcorn and contempt.

Lalin being return'd to *Iſpahan*, departed thence the 22*th* of *November*, 1666. for *Bander*, with a Reſolution, to Travel into the *Indies*. But he fell ſick at *Bander*, and thinking to return to *Schiras*, for the Air's ſake, he dy'd by the way at a Village call'd *Bend-Ali*. A Gentleman endow'd with noble Qualities, and whoſe Gentile and Generous behaviour was an honour to his Nation.

The Thirtieth of the ſame *November*, *Mariage* alſo left *Iſpahan*, and departed for *Bander*, with one Father *Mercier*, a *Jeſuite*, whom he took along with him as his Almoner, and *Lewis L' Eſtoile*, his *Kalmachi*, or Interpreter: There he ſtay'd four Months for the arrival of the Ships, but none coming, and the heats encreaſing, he reſolv'd to ſpend the reſt of the Year at *Schiras*. As for the *Jeſuit*, and young *L' Eſtoile*, becauſe

becauſe there was no Converſe but with the people of the Country, they return'd back to *Iſpahan*.

Boulaye and *Beber* arriv'd at *Suratte* the firſt of *April*, 1666. Being come to the *Bar*, they ſent to Father *Ambroiſe*, chief of the Miſſion of the *Capuchins*, who preſently attended them with a Sloop, which he had obtain'd of the Governour, and brought them home to the *Capuchin*'s Houſe, where they ſtay'd till they departed for *Agra*. Sometime before was arriv'd there a Merchant of *Aleppo*, who had run himſelf out at heels, and of a *Maronite* Chriſtian was become a *Roman* Catholick, in hopes to patch up his broken Fortune, being in truth a meer Counterfeit, and a Hypocrite: For theſe *Levantine* Chriſtians ſeldom change their Religion, but upon ſome motive of Intereſt; and when they have got a good Sum together, they preſently whip back again into their own Country, and for a ſmall piece of Money obtain abſolution of their Patriarch. Thus ſeveral of the Religious *Franks* that travel out of *Europe* into *Aſia* are often deceiv'd, making a great noiſe of their Converſion of the *Levantines*, when the Converſion, at the bottom, is only an outward Converſion, and a meer piece of Gullery. Among many others that I could relate, I will only mention one, of a *Franciſcan*, call'd *Paul Stella*, who coming with 400 Crowns, or thereabouts, in his Pocket, for his ſubſiſtance, a *Maronite* ſmelt him out, and under the pretence of giving him the Honour of his Converſion to the Catholick Religion, never left him till he had ſuck'd him dry, and turn'd the Channel of his Money. This *Maronite* Merchant before mention'd, whoſe Name was *Chelebi*, ſhew'd himſelf very zealous for the *Capuchins*, and he had reaſon enough; for the *Capuchins* of *Aleppo* had been very ſerviceable to him, and had help'd him in his Affairs when they were at the loweſt ebb. They were overjoy'd at his arrival at *Surat*, and gave it out immediately that it was he that had given them Money for the building their Houſe and Church. But when I came to look over my Accompts, I found that the Money that had pay'd for the Ground and a good ſhare of the building, came out of my Purſe; Father *Ambroiſe* having promis'd that I ſhould be reimburs'd upon my return to *Paris*. But I never heard more of my Money, nor indeed did I ever look after it.

The reaſon why the *Capuchins* were willing that the *Aleppo* Merchant, who never had disburs'd a Peny, ſhould own the Expences of their Houſe and Church, is this; becauſe no *Frangui* Chriſtian is permitted in the *Indies* to enjoy the propriety of Houſes, or to make any reparations of thoſe which they hire, without the leave of the Governour of the place. Both the *Engliſh* and *Holland* Companies are only *Leſſees* to the *Indians*; the *Great Mogul* having ſuffer'd from the Chriſtians in ſeveral places, where under pretence of repairing or adorning certain Houſes, which they poſſeſs'd by way of propriety, they have ſo well fortifi'd them, that when the Governours have come to require any Duties from them, they have made them good ſo long, till they have forc'd the Governours to yield to their demands.

So ſoon as the Deputies were landed at *Surat*, they preſently ſpread abroad a report, that there were ſeven or eight Ships belonging to the *French* Company that would ſuddainly follow them. The *Aleppo* Merchant was overjoy'd to hear the News, and was in great hopes, that by the favour of the *Capuchins*, and the advantage which he had of ſpeaking

ſeve-

ſeveral of the *Aſiatick* Languages, that the greateſt part of the *French* Merchandize would paſs through his hands. Upon theſe hopes he made great Treats, and preſented large Preſents to the Deputies, and maintain'd their Servants at his own Charges. He found the Deputies to be ſufficiently covetous, but he was ſtill in great expectations, that his civil Entertainments, and the Preſents which they receiv'd from him, would oblige them to acknowledge his kindneſs, and that one day he ſhould find himſelf repay'd by the management of their buſineſs; but he was foully miſtaken. For it coſt him above 1500 *Rupies*, part which he ſpent upon them himſelf at *Surat*, and partly what his Nephew furniſh'd them withall at *Agra* for their preſent occaſions.

Three or four days after their arrival at *Surat*, the *Engliſh* Preſident ſent to viſit them by ſome of his Council, and would have waited on them himſelf, but that he lay then ill of the Gout. The *Holland* Commander did the ſame with his Council, ſhewing all the civilities and kindneſſes that lay in his power; and a few days after invited them ſolemnly to a great Feaſt, with as many as they could bring along with them. In the midſt of their Jollity the King's Health was ſent about, and after that, the Proſperity of the *French* Company; which oblig'd *Boulaye* to begin another Health to the happy Progreſs of the *Holland* Company. But when it came to Mr. *Beber*'s turn to drink it, notwithſtanding all that *Boulaye*, and the reſt of the Company could ſay to him, they could not oblige him to pledge it. Nay, he did worſe then this, for he threw the Glaſs, Wine, and all at his Feet; and when he had ſo done, he roſe in a heat from the Table, and after a pitiful manner left the Company, and went home to his Lodging, though without any attendance. The *Hollanders* were ſo diſcreet as to take little notice of his folly, but remain'd very merry at the Table with Mr. *Boulaye* till Midnight. But they could not forbear telling their Friends, that they wonder'd, in regard there were ſo many diſcreet and ingenious Men in *France*, that the Company ſhould make choice of ſuch a Fool for the management of ſuch an important Affair as he was ſent about; and that they foreſaw he would do the Company no ſmall injury.

While the Deputies ſtay'd at *Surat*, the Governour of the place, at the requeſt of Father *Ambroiſe*, entertain'd them, and ſhew'd them all the reſpect that could be ſhew'd to Strangers. One day that they were in Diſcourſe together, he told them, that if they would follow his Counſel, he adviz'd them not to go to Court till their Ships were arriv'd. But ſeeing that they were reſolv'd to the contrary, he offer'd them Money, Horſes, and Souldiers, to attend them, with Letters of Recommendation to ſome of the Grandees of the Court. The *Chabander*, or Provoſt of Merchants, made them the ſame offers that the Governour had done; all which they refus'd very obſtinately. More then this, they behav'd themſelves very ill, in reference to the Preſents which the Governour and the *Cha-Bander* ſent them, for they gave their Servants that carry'd them not a *Doight*, which is look'd upon as a very dirty action in the *Indies*. For the *Indians* never give their Servants any other Wages, then what they get by carrying Preſents from their Maſters. And the more they have given them, the more Honour it is, both for him that receives, and him that ſends the Preſent.

The Deputies then being reſolv'd for *Agra*, hir'd their Waynes, and their Oxen to carry their Luggage, and five and twenty Souldiers for their

their Convoy. They likewiſe made a great noiſe, of their being honour'd from ſo Great a King, and ſo Noble a Company. Upon which ſcore, they ought to have had five or ſix Wains for their Baggage, every one their *Pallaquin* and a Led-horſe, and every one a Flag with their Arms or their Cyphers, which is the gentile way of Travelling in *India*, and as I was always wont to travel. But they took but five and twenty Souldiers, whereas they ought to have hir'd an hundred and fifty at the rate they talk'd.

But inſtead of ſo doing, three Days Journey from *Surat*, *Beber* began to quarrel with *Boulaye*, that they had too great a Train at their heels, for which he blam'd the Adviſe of Father *Ambroiſe* and the Merchant of *Aleppo*: That for his part he would pay for no more than four Souldiers, and that if he would not ſend the reſt back, he ſhould pay them himſelf. Upon which, they agreed to ſend back the ſix Souldiers which the Governour had order'd to attend them as far as *Brampour*; upon their diſmiſſment, not giving them ſo much as the Worth of a Pipe of Tobacco.

When they came to *Agra*, the Nephew of *Chelebi*, the *Aleppo* Merchant, fail'd not to wait upon them, and to offer them his ſervice. There was at that time a *French* Chirurgeon, whoſe Name was *James*, he ſpake good *Indian*, and was married in the Country to the Daughter of a *Portugal*: The *Nahab*, the King's Uncle and Grand Vizier, had a great kindneſs for this Chirurgeon; and by his procurement it was, that the Deputies had Audience of *Giafer-Kan*, for ſo was the *Nahab* call'd. They requeſted of him, that by his favour they might preſent a Letter from their King to the *Great Mogul*, as alſo that they might be admitted to treat concerning the Settlement of a *French* Trade in the Countrey. The *Nahab* told them, that he would ſpeak to the King, and take care that they ſhould be admitted to their Audience in a little time. With that he order'd them to be conducted to the Lodgings appointed for them, which they found ready furniſh'd with all neceſſary proviſion for the Belly; but their Lacqueys and Servants were to cook it themſelves; for it is not here as it is in *Perſia*, where the Meat is ſent ready dreſt out of the King's Kitchin to the Embaſſadors Table.

The *Nahab*, who underſtood that they had brought no Preſents, neither for him, nor any of the Grandees of the Court, nor for the King himſelf, was not over haſty to admit them to their Audience. So that it was above a Month before the Deputies could ſet Eyes upon the *Nahab* again, though the Chirurgeon, and other *Franguis*, us'd all their Intereſt in their behalf. Being very weary of this Delay, they gave it out, that they could ſtay no longer at *Agra*, in regard they were to be at *Surat* upon the Arrival of the *French* Veſſels. Upon which falſe Report, the *Nahab* ſent to them for the King their Maſter's Letter, that he might preſent it to the *Great Mogul* himſelf. Upon this Demand of their Letter, they were quite blank, not being acquainted with the manner how the Kings of *India* receive thoſe Letters which are brought them by Embaſſadors: For they never receive any with their own hands, but ſuch as come from the *Grand Signior*: All other Letters, according to the Grandeur of the Kings that ſend them, are put into the hands of the Grand Officers of the Court, who preſent them to the King: And the more potent the King is, from whom the Letter comes, through the fewer hands it paſſes before it is preſented

to the *Great Mogul*. For the preſent State of *Europe* and *Aſia* is very well known in the Court of the *Great Mogul*, and the Difference between the Soveraigns of both, in reference to their Grandeur and Puiſſance. Neither is there a Stranger that enters into the Kingdom, of whom the Governour of the Frontier Province does not give advice to the *Nahab*; and if he appear to be a perſon of Ingenuity, there's no help for't, but he muſt go to Court, where he is careſs'd, on purpoſe to get information of the Country from whence he comes.

But to return to the Deputies, they obſtinately refuſ'd to ſend the Letter to the *Nahab*: At which he was not a little troubl'd; fearing leſt upon the Arrival of the *French* Veſſels, it might be the occaſion of a Rupture, and hinder the concluſion of the Treaty of Commerce. Moreover he was not a little jealous, leſt they ſhould ſeize upon the *Great Mogul*'s Veſſels in their Voyage to *Mecca*, as *Hugh Lambert* the *Holland* Pyrat did, who took all the Baggage belonging to the Queen of *Viſapour*, when ſhe was going to *Mecca* and *Medina*. The *Nahab* having made theſe Reflexions to himſelf, ſo wrought with the King, that he conſented that the Deputies, contrary to cuſtom, ſhould be admitted into his preſence, there to give the Letter into the Hands of the Prime Miniſter, to be by him preſented to the King. This, as I ſaid before, was an unuſual favour; and yet the Deputies were ſo obſtinate, as to reject this Propoſition, ſaying, that they would rather return home, and carry back their Letters, then not preſent them to the King themſelves. This obſtinacy of theirs, to maintain their own conceited humour againſt the Cuſtom of the Countrey, was very much blam'd by all people, that admir'd at the patience of the *Nahab*, who at length ſent them word, they might take their own courſe, ſince they refuſ'd the Honours which he would have done them. After that, the Deputies ſtaid ten or twelve days in the City, flattering themſelves, that the *Nahab* would comply with their Folly; but they were deceiv'd. For the *Nahab* offended at their idle carriage, took ſuch order, that not one perſon living, either Merchant or other, went to viſit them all the while. So that they reſolv'd to return to *Surat*, in expectation of their Ships.

When they left *Agra*, they went and lay two Leagues off from the City in the Field, ſetting up one Tent apiece, (and thoſe pitiful ones Heaven knows) to ſerve for them and their Servants, whereas they might have lodg'd with more ſecurity in a fair Inn that ſtood not far off. Now it is the Cuſtom at the *Great Mogul*'s Court, that every Night ſome Prince or great Lord keeps Guard in his turn for a Week together, having under him five or ſix thouſand Horſe, that beat the Road for three or four Leagues round the place where the King quarters. A Party of theſe Horſemen ſcouting by the Deputies Tents, and enquiring whoſe they were, one of the Servants reply'd, that they were the Tents of the *French* Deputies: of which the Horſemen gave immediate notice to their Captain, at that time the Grand Provoſt of the Empire. A Perſon handſom, well endow'd, and a great Lover of Strangers, who had raiſ'd himſelf by his Valour, as being an *Abyſſin* by Nation. So ſoon as he underſtood that they were the *French* Deputies, he ſent one of his principal Officers, with fifty Horſe, to deſire them to give them leave to guard them that Night, becauſe they were in no ſecurity, and for that if they came to any miſchief the Head of their Captain

Captain muſt anſwer for it. But they very ill receiv'd the kind proffer of the Provoſt, proudly anſwering, that they were ſtrong enough to guard themſelves, and the firſt that came near them ſhould know whether the *French* had Courage or no, adding withal, that if their Captain were afraid, they would guard him, with a deal of other ſcurrilous riffraff which very much ſurpriz'd the Officers.

The next day they ſet up their Tents about a quarter of a League farther, becauſe they expected ſomething to be brought them from *Agra*. The *Conteval* or Grand Provoſt admiring they made ſuch ſlow journeys, and that they had now pitch'd in a more dangerous place then before, ſent the ſame Horſemen with the ſame proffer, or elſe that they would be pleas'd to lye in an Inn where they might be ſafe. *Boulaye* was of the mind that ſo kind an offer ſhould not be refus'd: but *Beber* gave them nothing but bad language; reviling their Captain, that he was afraid they ſhould go and lye with his wives, offering if he pleas'd to go and guard them. He ſpoke half Portugueſe, half Italian, which being a kind of *Lingua Franca*, ſome of the Horſemen made a ſhift to underſtand him, and having made a report to the Grand Provoſt of his Inſolent Anſwer, the Lord was not a little nettl'd at it, and therefore reſolv'd to be reveng'd. About midnight fourſcore or a hundred Horſe came and cut all the Cords of *Bebers* Tent, thinking to have let it fall about his ears. But he found a way to quit himſelf by the aſſiſtance of his Servant; and endeavour'd to eſcape to the Houſe of a *Dervich* on the other ſide of a ſmall Rivolet, nere the place where the Tents were ſet up. But the Moon ſhining as bright as day, he could not hide himſelf from the purſuit of the Horſemen, who ſhot at him, and with their Arrows wounded him in three places, once in the thigh and twice in the buttocks. *Boulaye* hearing the noiſe which the Horſemen made, peep'd out of his Tent, and ſeeing ſo many Horſemen in purſuit of *Beber*, was not a little daunted. He was afraid of running the ſame *riſco*; but not having long to conſider, he took his purſe of Duckets, and fled till he got about half a league off, where he lay all night under a great Tree. But by the conſequence he found that the Horſemen had nothing to ſay to him; being ſatisfi'd when they ſaw *Beber* fall, as believing him dead. For had they not thought him ſo, they would never have left him, till they had quite done his buſineſs. But to colour the buſineſs, that it might not ſeem a point of revenge they broke open all *Beber*'s Cheſts; that it might ſeem as if he had bin robb'd; but they found very little or nothing to enrich themſelves.

So ſoon as *Beber*'s boy ſaw that the Horſemen were gone, he ran to the Town for a *Pallanquin* to carry his Maſter thither. Being brought to the Town they laid him in the Jeſuits houſe, where *Boulaye* alſo arriv'd not long after and took up his Quarters, to the great conſolation of the Jeſuits, whoſe Revenues are but ſmall in thoſe parts, where there are no devout people to leave them Legacies. Their Ordinary was very ſparing; but it was ſuch as the Deputies muſt be glad of. Though it were a feaſt for *Boulaye*, who was not wont to make better chear. For a Sheeps head, of his own purchaſe, uſually ſerv'd him two meals. Which made him ridiculous to the *Franks*, who liv'd after a more ſplendid rate. At *Smyrna* and *Aleppo*, when he was not invited by the *Franguis*, he had recourſe to his Sheeps tongues, or a cold piece of double Tripe, which he carri'd to the poor *Cabaretts* of the *Greeks*, taking his Chopin of Wine

to wash it down: and such was his good husbandry that what was left was order'd to be set up for his supper. One day he had drank a little more then he had bled, and the *Franguis* found him a sleep in the street, about a hundred paces from the Cabaret. They had so much charity for him as to remove him to his lodging, lest other Nations should laugh at the choice which they had made of an Envoy to settle the Trade of such a considerable Company. As for *Beber*, who lov'd good Chear when it cost him nothing, as being a true exemplar of covetousness, he complain'd of the *Jesuits* entertainment, though they out-run the Constable to treat him like a Deputy. His man who had more wit than he, and plainly saw what a trouble he was to his Hosts, made them a merry relation of the Noble Table which his Master kept for him, how he had made provision of a Barrel of Herrings; which when Invitations fail'd, he warily fed upon, rubbing his bread with the tail to give it a *haut goust*. For my part, said the Boy, I am but a poor Servant, yet I have made a shift to spend an hundred and fifty Crowns which I had got in the service of the Consul of *Smyrna*. 'Twas my misfortune to be inveigl'd out of his service, for I was with a Noble Master where I got Money; but in this man's service I have eaten all that I had got before. Two days after I arriv'd at *Agra*, and heard of *Beber*'s being wounded and where he lay, and went to give him a visit. And as I never went unprovided in my travels with all things necessary, I had some Oyntments and Plasters, which were very serviceable to him.

It was an easie thing to observe that *Boulaye* was glad of the opportunity of *Beber*'s being wounded, that he might have the sole honour of giving the Letter to the King. For he pretended to be the true *Envoy* from the King of *France*, and that *Beber* was only sent to bear him company. *La Boulaye* therefore believing that the business would take effect, perswaded the Chyrurgion already mention'd to solicit the *Nahab* who had a kindness for him, so close, that thereby the *Nahab* permitted him to bring the Letter. But *Boulaye* who thought he should give it himself to the King, was much surpriz'd when he saw that the *Nahab*, who had got the Letter into his own power, gave it to one of the meanest Officers of his Court, who by the Prime Minister's order, gave it to another, and he to a third, who brought it back to the *Nahab*, who at length presented it to the King, but not in the presence of *Boulaye*.

And thus you see the Effect of the ridiculous pride of the Deputies, *Boulaye* was forc'd to stay in an outer Court, having two more to pass thorough before he came into the King's Quarter. Where, while he remain'd big with expectation, word was brought him, that the King would return an Answer to the King his Master, so soon as the Ships should be arriv'd; and so he was forc'd to go back to his Lodging with the melancholy dissatisfaction of a frustrate hope.

The wounded Gentleman being new cur'd, but still very lame, desir'd Audience of the *Nahab*, that he might have justice for the mischief done him by an Assassination and a Robbery. The *Nahab* readily admitted him, limping when he came into his presence worse then when he first left his bed. The first Compliment he made was of the Wounds he had receiv'd, and then he demanded satisfaction for the loss of his Blood, and the Goods which had bin stolen from him. The *Nahab* promis'd him to inform the King of the business, assuring him that he should have no wrong done him upon the high-way within the Territories

ritories where he had to do. Four or five days after, the *Nahab* ſent to *Beber* to know how much the Loſs which he pretended to have receiv'd amounted to. *Beber* brought in an account of four and twenty thouſand *Roupies*, or 12000 Crowns, and for the loſs of his Blood, he left it to the Kings Generoſity.

His Accompt he made out thus;

Imprimis. A Note for the value of ſix thouſand *Roupies* which he had lent a Merchant when he departed for *Marſeilles*, which Note was among the Papers he had loſt. As to that, the *Nahab* ask'd him whether the Notaries in *France* did not make an Entry of ſuch publick Acts as were ſign'd before them? *Beber* made anſwer, that he ſhould never be paid, if he could not produce the ſame Paper that had bin taken from him, and that he could not demand his Money without it. The *Nahab* replying, that that was contrary to the Cuſtom of all Nations, and that he knew it could not be ſo he ſaid, added withal, that he ſhould take no care for his ſatisfaction in that particular. After that he read on.

Item. Five thouſand *Roupies* in Gold and Silver Money.

Item. Four thouſand *Roupies* in Gold Lace and Galoon to trim his Clothes.

Item. Two Diamond Rings at two thouſand one hundred *Roupies*.

Item. Two other Rings, a Topaz, and another of ſea-green water, which coſt three hundred *Roupies*.

Item. His Clothes, his Linnen, and for a Cheſt of Medicaments, which might be worth 4000 *Roupies*; of which he had procur'd his Chirurgeon to give in a Bill.

Item. A Chain of Gold valu'd at 500 *Roupies*. In all amounting to 24000 *Roupies*, as I ſaid before.

Two or three days after, the King caus'd an Order to be deliver'd to him for the payment of his Money at the Treaſury-Chamber. Upon which Order, he agreed with a Merchant to be paid at *Surat*. And when he was ready to depart, the King commanded 12000 *Roupies* to be paid him for the loſs of his Blood. But that ſum he never receiv'd. For being in haſte to be gone to *Surat*, and failing to preſent the *Treaſurer*, he drill'd him out ſo long, that his patience was quite tir'd, and ſo he was forc'd to go without it.

I could never underſtand the Policy of the *Great Mogul* to pay *Beber* the ſum which he ſaid had bin taken from him; when the *Nahab* knew to a thread what he had loſt, and had given in an accompt thereof to the King; the whole not amounting to 2000 *Roupies*. And as for the *Franks*, ſo ſoon as they underſtood that he had demanded 4000 *Roupies* for his Chirurgeons Cheſt, they all cry'd out that it was a meer cheat. For a few days before *Beber* arriv'd at *Agra*, the Chirurgeon had receiv'd 200 *Roupies* by the Charity of the *Franks* to return to *Surat*, and he fell ſick the next day that this Bill was preſented to the *Nahab*.

After the *Mogul* had read the King of *France*'s Letter, the *Nahab* by order of his Maſter, order'd a Lodging to be provided for the Deputies, who never joy'd the Jeſuits, who were by that means rid of two very troubleſome Gueſts. As for *Boulaye*, in regard the King had ſignify'd his pleaſure, that he would not return any anſwer to the King's Letter till the arrival of the Ships, he never troubled himſelf any farther, but ſtaid till the waters were fallen, that he might go to *Bengale*, and from thence to *Golcovida* to ſettle a Trade in thoſe parts. But *Beber* mail'd like

a horſe, and did nothing but run to and fro, to know the King's pleaſure touching the ſettlement of Trade. But the *Nahab* either laugh'd at him, or took little notice of what he ſaid. For indeed by *Beber*'s outward appearance, and deportment, no man could make any other judgment of him, but that he was a poor ſpirited fellow, and one that knew not what it was to live. For all the *Europeans* that travel into *Perſia* and the *Indies* are always richly habited, nor would any of them keep *Beber* company, who by his Habit look'd rather like a Footman, than a Deputy of a Royal Company of Trade. At length a whim took him to make himſelf a ſuit of painted Calicut, after the *French* Faſhion, the like whereof had never been ſeen in the Country; the whole Suit not ſtanding him in above 13 *Livres* and 13 *Sous*. For the trimming of his new Suit he took off the Ribbands of his old Cloaths, which he was two days lathering, and ſmoothing with a Taylers Gooſe. When he had got this rare Habit upon his back, he went to viſit the *Nahab*, who was then attended by the Principal Lords of the Court. Who when they ſaw him enter, fell all a gazing upon him, and ask'd one another whether that *Frangui* were turn'd *Faquir*, or a *Dervich* of *Hoſſen Mamout*, which they uſually call the ragged *Saint*. For you muſt know, that all the *Faquirs* or *Derviches* that are of this Order, never apparel themſelves but with ſuch rags as they pick up in the ſtreets, and if they meet with any pieces better than other, they make of them a kind of Galoon to trim the reſt. They alſo carry half Pikes, with a great company of Tatters faſten'd to the end of them, to make a ſhew of their beggery. *Beber*'s Habit very much ſurpriz'd the *Nahab*, and all others that beheld him ſo ridiculouſly accouter'd. As he paſs'd one morning by my window, I bid him good morrow, telling him withal, that he look'd more ſpruce and gay than he us'd to do. He reply'd, that he had reaſon ſo to do, for that he had receiv'd Letters from *Surat*, by which he had advice, that the Country people upon the Coaſt of *Cape St. John* had decry'd four Veſſels out at Sea, which they could not make to be either *Engliſh*, or *Hollanders*, from whence he concluded that they were the Companies ſhips; and that he was going to the *Nahab* with the News. But I prevented him at that time, telling him that I had often obſerv'd that raſcally ſort of people to come both to the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, with ſuch kind of Intelligence, on purpoſe to get Money; when indeed they had never ſeen any ſuch ſight, and admoniſhing him not to believe Reports upon ſuch ſlight foundations. I ask'd him what date his Letters bore? he told me, thirty days ago. Then, ſaid I, if the diſcovery had bin true, the *Nahab* would have had notice of it in fourteen; and then he would certainly have told you of it, or my ſelf; for it is but two days ſince I took my leave of him. Thereupon he took my counſel and reſolv'd for *Surat* in a few days.

Three days after that the Chirurgeon had given in his Bill for the Cheſt of Medicaments that he had loſt among *Beber*'s Baggage, he was ſo touch'd in Conſcience, that he fell ſick, and dy'd in two days. Upon his death-bed he ask'd pardon of God for the Cheat which he had conſented to, to ask 4000 *Roupies* for that which was really worth but four hundred; 200 of which he had receiv'd from the Charity of the *Franguis*, the reſt upon the ſale of a Horſe.

For my part, finding that *Beber* was reſolv'd for *Surat*, I made what haſt I could out of *Agra*, to be quit of his company. But the ſecond day

day after my departure, having ſet up my tent by a Rivers ſide, juſt as I was going to dinner I ſpy'd *Beber* coming, nor could I get rid of him afterwards till I came to *Surat*. So that we were forc'd to travel together, though he committed a thouſand Impertinencies by the way. Among the reſt, he put one trick upon the Chief of the *Cheraffs* or Bankers at *Brampour*, not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

In regard the ways were bad, and that he had but one pitiful weak Chariot, and four weak Boys, which with the help of Oxen, were hardly ſtrong enough to help him out when he ſtuck in the mire, he ſeldom came to his journeys end till two or three hours after me. Now upon the report that ran of the *French* ſhips being ſeen out at Sea, and the general belief that *Beber* would be one of the Principal Truſtees of the Company, ſeveral, as I ſaid before, courted him, and ſought to engage his Friendſhip. Being arriv'd at *Brampour*, the Chief of the *Cheraffs*, attended by a dozen of his ſervants came to viſit us. Upon the firſt acquaintance *Beber* told him that he wanted a *Pallaquin* to go to *Surat*, whereupon the *Cheraff* civilly offered him his, and caus'd it to be trimm'd up for his better accommodation. *Beber* thought that trimming would have bin finiſht in one day, when indeed it requir'd three or four. The next day I order'd my Coach to be got ready, and order'd my *Pallaquin* to be carri'd away. *Beber*, who verily believ'd that the Company's ſhips were already in the Road of *Surat*, began to curſe and bann the *Cheraff*, who preſently came to him and endeavour'd to appeaſe him with good words. He told him, it could be no prejudice to him to ſtay a day or two; for by that time the Roads would be better, and he might travel the faſter. But *Beber*, being tranſported with paſſion, was ſo far from taking the *Cheraffs* reaſons for ſatisfaction, that ſnatching a Cudgel out of his Waggoners hands that ſtood next to him, he gave the *Cheraff* three or four good Licks croſs the ſhoulders. The Merchants and other people that were in the Inn, were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at ſuch a piece of rudeneſs, and ran out preſently, ſome with Stones, and others with Cudgels, making a hideous noiſe, and crying out, that they had never ſeen the like. They took it for a moſt enormous Crime, to ſtrike the Chief of the *Cheraffs*, above fourſcore years old, whoſe very age ought to have bin protection enough from ſuch an Affront. Good luck it was for *Beber*, after ſuch a raſh action committed, that I was well known at *Brampour*, having been there ten or twelve times, and in ſome of my Travels having dealt for above 200000 *Roupies*. There were none of the *Cheraffs* with whom I had not dealt by Letters of Exchange, and very few Merchants or Brokers who had not had ſome buſineſs or other upon my accompt. They cry'd out, ſpeaking of me; See there the Monſieur *Franqui*, with whom we have dealt ſo often, yet never heard him give us an ill word. Another good chance he had to meet there the *Coutevall*'s Lieutenant, and three Merchants of *Surat*; and thus between us, having diſingag'd *Beber* out of the Brabble wherein he had ſo ſillily bemir'd himſelf, we made him get into my Coach, and ſo packt him out of the City. I follow'd him two hours after: for had he ſtaid longer in *Brampour*, I believe the *Faquirs* and *Derviches* would have beat out his brains. For he was no ſooner gone, but a great number of that ſort of rabble came to the Inn, crying out, Where was that Dog of a *Cafer* that had beaten the *Cheraff*. Thereupon, ſeeing the Multitude encreaſe, I ſtole out of the Town, without ſaying a word, and rid on till

till I got three leagues from *Brampour*, to an old Town call'd *Badelpoura*, where I overtook *Beber*, who had hir'd a Coach made after the faſhion of the Country. It was but reaſon, that I ſhould have my own Coach to ſleep in in the night: For though in all places where you come to lye in the night, the *Indians* will offer you a little bed to lye on, yet in regard the rains were but juſt over, the bedſteads were ſo full of Punies, that there was no reſting. Theſe Punies are ingender'd by the moiſture which the rains, that fall for four months together, cauſe in thoſe Countries. Which being over, and the Sun recovering its wonted heat, the women carry forth their beds every morning, and beating them well with good big ſticks, never leave till the Punies fall to the ground, and there turning up their bellies preſently dye. Theſe beds conſiſt of four feet and four round ſtaves, as broad and as long as you pleaſe. To the ſtaves are faſten'd girths about four fingers broad, which are much more commodious than the bottoms of our beds that are plank'd with Deal or other wood. Over the girths they only lay a ſingle Coverlet or Sheet, which is a manner of lying eaſie enough, conſidering the heat of the Country.

The fourth day after our departure from *Brampour*, being near a great Town call'd *Semqueles*, in a flat Country, we perceiv'd all the Plain cover'd with Tents. It appear'd to be the Camp of one of the chief *Kans*, or Lords, whom the *Great Mogull* had ſent with 50000 men againſt the Rebel *Raja Sevagi*. This Lord, underſtanding who we were, very civilly ſent us Melons, and Mango's, and bid his Officers tell us withal, that we were out of all danger, and might ſafely purſue our journey. Whatever I could ſay to *Beber*, to perſwade him that it was but an act of civility and good manners, to wait upon the Prince, I could by no means engage him. I ſeeing his impertinency, ſhifted my habit, and ſent one of my ſervants to the Camp, to learn whether the *Kan* drank Wine; and underſtanding that he did, I took a bottle of *Spaniſh*, and another of *Schirus* Wine, and a ſmall pocket Piſtol delicately embelliſh'd with ſilver; and with this ſmall Preſent away I went to wait upon the General. Being come into his Preſence, I excus'd *Beber*, as not being well, and immediately preſented him the little Piſtol, which he took, and bid me charge, being deſirous to try it. After he had ſhot it off, ſaid he to his Lords that ſtood by, Now muſt we confeſs theſe *Franqui's* to be ingenious. This man ſees that I am going to the Wars, and preſents me wherewithal to defend my life. Then caſting his eyes upon the little Hamper, where the Bottles were, he ask'd what it was? They told him in his Ear. Oh, ſaid he, looking at the ſame time upon two or three *Mim Bachi's*, or Colonels that were preſent, This *Franqui* Gentleman has given me a bottle of Wine, well we muſt drink it; for I find I ſhall pleaſe him in ſo doing. When the *Mollah's* heard him talk of Wine, they ſlunk away; which made the *Kan* laugh heartily. Theſe are *Agi's*, quoth he; they have bin Pilgrims to *Mecca*, and never drink Wine after they come home again. Having taken my leave, he ſent me a *Pomerè*, which is a kind of Scarf that may alſo ſerve for a Girdle. It was made of white Sattin with flow'rs of Gold, and might be worth about a hundred *Roupies*. He that brought it, told me, I ſhould do the *Kan* a great kindneſs, to ſend him another bottle of Wine: thereupon I ſent him two or three, which was all my ſtore. He ſent me ſix Horſemen to conduct us three days journey, till we had paſs'd a great

great River that flows from the Mountains of the South, which waſhing the City of *Baroche*, from whence it takes its Name, falls into the Bay of *Cambay*.

When we came to our laſt ſtage, which is a great Town, call'd *Barnoli*, from whence it is but 14 Leagues to *Surat*, *Beber* ſent one of his Hirelings to give notice thereof to Father *Ambroſe*. When the News came, the Father went with the *Aleppo* Merchant, often already mention'd, to borrow the *Engliſh* Preſident's Coaches: and there were about 15 or 16 more Coaches all in a train, with ſeveral Horſemen and Merchant *Banians* that made haſt to meet the Deputy. This happen'd upon the firſt of *November*, 1666. They carri'd with them Proviſion enough to make merry, and every *Banian* had his Preſent ready. For my part, I as ſoon as I had ſaluted the Father Capuchin, I went directly to my Lodging, where I had left two Servants to take care of a Sum of Money which I had receiv'd of the King of *Perſia*, unwilling to hazard it upon the Road. For in whatever part of the *Indies* I came, I had credit enough to buy without Money. I only gave my Bills for payment at *Agra*, *Viſapour*, *Golconda*, or *Surat*, where I generally left my Money, as having receiv'd it there for the moſt part of the Lords or Kings of the Country.

As for *Beber*, he was no Changeling, the follies that he committed are too numerous to be related: but how he began the year 1667, is not to be omitted.

M. *Thevenot*, upon his return from *Madraſpatan* and *Golconda*, lodg'd in the Capuchins houſe. *Beber* going to viſit him, told him, that the Capuchins were the *Hollanders* Spies, and that he had often advis'd Father *Ambroſe* to break with them, and not to go any more to their Houſe. That while he frequented their Society, the *French* Company would be ſure to find ſome obſtacle in their Trade when the Ships ſhould arrive; and that if the *Hollanders* had not been at *Agra*, they might have done what they pleas'd with the King. That the hundred thouſand *Roupies* which they had preſented to the King and Grandees of the Court, had hinder'd them from obtaining what they deſign'd. By which it appear'd, he underſtood not the humour of the *Hollanders*; for they are not ſo liberal: nor would all their tricks, or preſents have any thing avail'd them, the *Great Mogul* being deſirous that all Nations ſhould be welcome to his Dominions, eſpecially Merchants, as well they that import little, as they that bring in much. M. *Thevenot* told him, that he had never obſerv'd ſo much of the *Hollanders* in all his travels; for if it were true, that they had ſuch a deſire to hinder the Trade of other Nations, they would not afford them paſſage in their Ships, or to put their Goods aboard, as they often did. Moreover, they ſend away many times one or two Ships according to the quantity, laden all with ſtrangers Goods, from *Maſlipatan* or *Surat*, in which Ships, there is not oftimes ſo much as one Bale belonging to the Company. And this, added he, is farther obſervable, That they afford their Freight cheaper then the *Engliſh*, or any other Nation, who have Ships in theſe parts. Thus Monſieur *Thevenot* endeavour'd to convince M. *Beber*; who would have had Father *Ambroſe* have fallen out with the *Hollanders*. But he knew better things then to diſoblige perſons to whom he was ſo much beholding as he was every day. For every week they allow'd the houſe a certain quantity of Bread and Meat, and upon Faſt-days ſent them Fiſh,

Eggs,

Eggs, Brandy, and Wine, which were no ſuch unkindneſſes to be quarrell'd with. Monſieur *Thevenot* at the ſame time told *Beber*, that he ſhould do well to repay Father *Ambroſe* the Money which he had borrow'd to pay for the Coach which he had broken to ſerve him, as alſo that which he had given the Seamen, for trying if they could diſcover the *Companies* Veſſels upon the Coaſt. But he turn'd his deaf ear to that diſcourſe, and would never be perſuaded to reimburſe the Money which Father *Ambroſe* laid out for him. Monſieur *Thevenot* perceiving his unwillingneſs, and preſſing him to do things handſomly, put him into ſuch a chafe, that he fell a ſwearing after ſuch a violent rate, in a Parlour, that was parted only by a thin board from the place where the Maſs was ſaid, that one of the Fryers, juſt ready to go to the Altar, came forth to deſire him to leave his blaſpheming. But *Beber*'s inſolence took his admonition ſo ill, that he very rudely beat the Fryer in Mr. *Thevenot*'s preſence; ſwearing, That had it not been out of reſpect to him, he would have knockt him o' the head. The Capuchin being ſo injuriouſly us'd, came to Me, being hardly able to ſtir his neck, by reaſon of one of the blows that *Beber* had given him. I chaft his neck with Oyl of Coco's, and wrapt it up warm: but we durſt not ſpeak a word of *Beber*'s idle action, for fear of expoſing our ſelves to the laughter of the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who would have made good ſport with it. Beſides theſe Enormities, he put away his Servant that had ſav'd his Life, and kept his Wages. After that he went to lye at an Apothecaries houſe, whoſe Name was *Mouillon*, who came from *Goa*, with a good quantity of *Portugal* Wine, and kept a Tavern at *Surat*. While he lay there he had a great Conteſt with the Merchant, who receiv'd the 24000 *Roupies*, which the King had given him for the loſs which he alleadg'd that he and his Chyrurgeon had ſuſtain'd. For the Merchant would acknowledge the receipt of no more then 23900 *Roupies*, the other Hundred being deducted for Fees of the Treaſury. He alſo maintain'd, That the Merchant had receiv'd the 12000 *Roupies* which the King had allow'd him for the loſs of his Blood: but it was known that the Grand Treaſurer would never pay that Money. Thus when he ſaw that his Cheats were diſcover'd to all the World, he began to bethink himſelf how to get away: and we obſerv'd, that he would fain have quitted *Surat* without noiſe. But there is ſuch good Order taken both by Land and Sea, that no perſon can go away without the knowledge and leave of the Governour. For as the Countrymen that come from the other ſide of the water cannot return unleſs they ſhew a mark in their hands made with red Earth at the Cuſtom-houſe; neither Horſe nor Coach can ſtir without a Note from the *Chabander*, and another for the *Radars*, who lye ſometimes two or three Leagues from the Town. *Beber* nevertheleſs had ſome aſſurance from his Vintner, that he might get into a Boat, by bidding the Boatmen carry him to *Reynel*, a large Town on the other ſide of the water. The Maſter of the Boat ask'd him for his Ticket, but *Beber* anſwer'd him with his Cudgel, forcing him forward, and telling him, he was not to demand Billets of ſuch a perſon as he was. As he was got half way the River a great number of Souldiers hollow'd after the Boatmen, to row the Strangers back aſhoar. But *Beber* laid his hand upon his Sword, and compell'd the Boatmen to go forward. That evening, *Beber* being return'd, the poor Boatmen were apprehended, and baſtinado'd till they were almoſt maim'd. The people

people cri'd out, that it was the *Frangui* that ought to be ſo ſerv'd, and not the poor Watermen, who had done nothing but by conſtraint.

Thus did this Envoy behave himſelf both in *Perſia* and *India*, to the great hindrance of the *French* Nation. Now let us ſee what became of both *Boulaye* and *Beber* after all their Extravagancies.

The *Sieur de la Boulaye*, according to the accompt given by the *Hollanders* that were at *Agra*, left the Town five or ſix days after my departure. Knowing I went to *Surat*, he had plaid his game ſo well with me, that he got a Hamper of twelve large bottles of Wine for 138 *Roupies*, though they coſt me more, for which he gave me a Note of his hand, that I have ſtill in my cuſtody, to be paid at *Surat*, upon the arrival of the *French* Companies ſhips. From thence he travell'd to *Patna*, where he ſtaid nine or ten days, partly with the *Engliſh*, partly with the *Hollanders*: from whence he departed for *Daca*, the Reſidence of the Governour of the Province. The Governour of the Province of *Bengale* was then the *Great Mogul*'s Uncle, whoſe name was *Cha-Eſt-Kan*, a potent Prince, who has always under his Command thirty or forty thouſand men.

At *Patna*, *Boulaye* had a project, that from thence he might eaſily paſs into *China*, and to that purpoſe he there embarqu'd with ſome *Perſian* Souldiers, who were going to liſt themſelves under *Cha-Eſt-Kan*. But after that, to this hour, it never could be certainly known what became of him: but by all probable conjectures, it is verily believ'd, that the *Perſian* Souldiers murder'd him and his little Slave, in hopes of ſome good booty. Of the truth whereof, the Obſervation that follows was no ſmall evidence. About a quarter of a mile from *Daca* lies a Town, where live ſeveral mungrel *Portugal* Officers, belonging to the Governour of *Bengale*, as Canoneers and Carpenters, and ſome of the ſame Nation that ſerve in the Cavalry of *Cha-Eſt-Kan*. There they have alſo a ſmall Church very well built, where an *Auſtin* Fryar officiates, to whom, about three months after *Boulaye*'s departure from *Patna*, a certain *Perſian* in the Habit of a Souldier, with two more companions, brought two large Books, the one in *Folio*, and the other in *Quarto* to ſell. The Fryar, who was a mungrel alſo, underſtood no *Latin*; but finding them not to be in the *Portugal* Language, would have ſtopp'd the Books as ſtoln from the *Hollanders*, had not the Souldier been too ſtrong for him. Theſe Books were thought to have been *Boulaye*'s; who, to my knowledge, had two Cheſts full, well bound; in reading whereof he ſpent the greateſt part of his time. His Avarice was his Ruine; for had he taken a Bark by himſelf, as I did when I went from *Patna*, and had oblig'd the Watermen to give him good ſecurity, he could have run no hazard. For my part I took one with four and twenty men; and every one, knowing I never ſpar'd for coſt, gave me excellent ſecurity. Theſe Barks are little Galliots, which will undertake to carry you to your journey's end, and name your own day. If you will lye aſhoar every evening, they will ſet up your Tents; and ſtop at any Town or City to take in Proviſions. I never made ſo pleaſant a Voyage in my life, nor with leſs trouble. For in theſe Barks, there is a Room where the Sun cannot come in, where you may repoſe in the day time, and ſit in the cool Air on that ſide from whence the Breez comes. There is another place cover'd for your Kitchin; and another little Garderobe for the private deeds of Nature. By the way I kill'd great

ſtore of large Geeſe, Cranes, and Crocodiles, which I gave the Watermen, who were very glad of them; for they ſold them in the Towns as they row'd along. The people in thoſe quarters are very good natur'd and officious. Dyet is little worth, as being the place where you may buy a hundred Pullets for a Crown: and for three or four Pence, you may buy a Fiſh of a prodigious length and bigneſs.

Beber's end was no leſs ſad. For when the *French* Companies Ships were arriv'd, M. *Caron*, who commanded them, and M. *Rambos*, with an *Armenian*, who had the management of the chiefeſt part of the buſineſs, had been acquainted with what had paſs'd at *Surat*, between *Beber* and the Capuchins. Preſently Affections and Intereſts parted. *Caron* and *Rambos* took *Beber*'s part; the *Armenian* held for the Capuchins, which was at length the ruin of *Beber* and *Rambos*. The *Holland* Commander going aboard to viſit the Sieur *Caron*, upon his return would not permit the Captain to ſtir out of his Cabin; ſo that *Rambos* and the *Armenian* took upon them to wait upon the Commander. Upon this Occaſion the *Armenian* took upon him to precede *Rambos*, and briskly threw himſelf before the *French*-man; who being provok'd at the Affront, gave the *Armenian* a ſwinging cuff o' the Ear before all the company. To be ſhort, the Sieur *Caron*, *Rambos*, and *Beber* holding all together, the *Armenian* found himſelf too weak to reſiſt: and in regard he had the Management of the Caſh, he was accus'd of Misbehaviour, and was condemn'd to be hang'd. But becauſe they could not execute the Sentence which they had given at *Surat*, they ſent him away to the Council Royal of the Iſland of *Madagaſcar*, of which M. *Mondevergue* was chief; who was ſo far from confirming the Sentence given at *Surat*, that he admitted the *Armenian* to juſtifie himſelf; and finding that he was not only innocent, but that he might be very uſeful to the Company, he ſent him back to *Surat* with more power then he had before. This put *Beber* and *Rambos* into a fit of Deſpair, to ſee the perſon whom they thought to have ruin'd, now above them. Thereupon they found a way to get 12000 *Roupies* a piece for their Wages, which they pretended to be due from the Company: and with that and 24000 *Roupies* which *Beber* had of his own they Embarqu'd both together for *Goa*. Where, being arriv'd, *Beber* dy'd ſoon after: But as for *Rambos*, he return'd home again through *Iſpahan*.

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
TRADE
OF THE
EAST-INDIES.

THat Nation which has a deſign to ſettle a Trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*, muſt be ſure in the firſt place, to poſſeſs themſelves of a convenient place in that Country, to carine their Ships, and ſhelter themſelves during the tempeſtuous Seaſons. This want of a good Haven is the reaſon that the *Engliſh* have not made thoſe advantages which otherwiſe they might have done; becauſe it is impoſſible that any Veſſel ſhould remain in thoſe Seas without being carin'd, or elſe eaten by the worms.

Therefore, becauſe it is a long way from *Europe* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, it would be requiſite to have a retreating place at the *Cape of good Hope*, to take in freſh Water and Proviſions, whether going or coming; but eſpecially in their return, in regard that the Ships being then laden, cannot take in Water for any long time.

The Road of the Iſland of *St. Helen's*, where the *Engliſh* have built a Fort, is a very commodious place: and if the Water be not ſo good upon the North-ſide, yet the Plain is an excellent ſpot of Ground to ſow, with convenience of all things neceſſary for human ſupport.

This advantage the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have depriv'd all other Nations of, by their Forts upon the *Cape of good Hope*, and *St. Helen's*. And therefore ſome River's mouth, near the *Cape of good Hope*, ought to be ſought for, for the ſame purpoſe, which would be far more convenient then the *Dauphin Iſland*, where there is no Trade but that of buying Cattel for their Hides; which being a Trade of ſo little conſequence, would ruin a Company to follow it.

The reaſon why I make this Propoſal is, becauſe that in the year 1648, two *Portugal* Veſſels being bound from *Lisbon* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and reſolving to touch at the *Cape*, to take in freſh Water, miſtook their juſt Depths, ſo that the Sea running high, they fell into a Bay, 18 or 20 Leagues from the *Cape*, upon the Coaſt that looks to the Weſt. In that

Bay they found a River, whoſe Water was very good; and the Blacks of the Country brought them Refreſhments of all ſorts of Fowl, Fiſh, and Bullock's fleſh. There they ſtaid above 15 days, and before they ſet ſail, they took two of the *Negro's*, which they carri'd along with them to *Goa*, to teach them the *Portugueſe* Language; on purpoſe to try if they could diſcover by them any knowledge of the Trade of the Country. The *Dutch* Commander at *Surat* deſir'd me, to inform my ſelf, when I went to *Goa*, what the *Portugals* had learnt from thoſe two *Negro's*. But one *St. Amand*, a *French* Ingeneer, who was Superviſor of the Fortifications of *Goa*, told me, That he could not make them learn one word of the Language; and that he could only gueſs by their ſigns, that they had ſome knowledge of *Ambergreece* and *Elephants Teeth*. The *Portugals* however made no queſtion but to meet with Gold, if they could find a way to trade higher up i' the Country. The Revolutions of *Portugal*, and their Wars with *Spain* have hinder'd them from making any more particular diſcovery of the Coaſt. Which it were to be wiſh'd the *French* would undertake, provided they gave no cauſe of jealouſie to the *Hollanders*, of what they were going about.

There is alſo a neceſſity of poſſeſſing, or at leaſt having the liberty of ſome place near *Surat*, to ride ſafe in, and to waſh and tallow in, in caſe they ſhould be ſtaid by the Rain-Seaſons. The reaſon is, becauſe that during that ill ſeaſon, at what time it is impoſſible to keep the Seas, the *Mogul* jealous of his Fortreſs of *Surat* ſuffers no Foreign Veſſel in the River, where nevertheleſs, the Ships being unladen, may ride ſecurely from the terrible Tempeſts that laſt for five Months.

The only ſecure place for the Companies Veſſels would be the Town of *Dia*, belonging to the *Portugals*.

The advantage of the ſituation is conſiderable for ſeveral reaſons. The circuit of the City contains almoſt 400 Houſes, and might be capable to receive a greater number of people, where the Ships would find all conveniencies during their ſtay. It is ſeated upon the Coaſt of *Guzerat*, upon a point of the Gulph of *Cambaye*, looking toward the South-eaſt. The form of it is almoſt round; and above half the Circle environ'd by the Sea. It is not commanded by any Hill; and the *Portugals* have begun thoſe Fortifications, which might be eaſily finiſh'd. It contains ſeveral Wells of very good Water, and a River which falls into the Sea near the City, whoſe Water is better then that of *Surat*, or *Swali*, and the Harbour is very commodious for Shipping.

The *Portugals*, when they had firſt ſettl'd themſelves in the *Indies*, kept there a Fleet compos'd of Galleys, Brigantines, and other light Veſſels, whereby they made themſelves Maſters, for a long time, of all the Trade of the Places we have treated of. So that no Ship could trade, without the Governour of *Dia*'s Paſsport, who made it in the Name of the Viceroy that liv'd at *Goa*. The Impoſition, which the Ships paid, was ſufficient to maintain the Fleet and Garriſon, and to enrich the Governour beſides.

When the Rain-Seaſons are over, that the wind ſits at North and North-eaſt, you may ſail from *Dia* to *Surat* in three or four Tides with light Veſſels; but great Ships that are laden muſt fetch a compaſs about the Bank.

The City has no Land belonging to it, but what it ſtands upon, yet it would be no difficult thing to agree with the *Raja*, or Govervour of the

the Province, and to obtain as much as ſhould be ſufficient for the Inhabitants.

Neither is the Land about it very fertile, and beſides, the people are the pooreſt in the whole Empire of the *Mogul*. Nevertheleſs the Country is ſo well ſtor'd with Cattel, that an Ox or a *Bufalo* will not coſt above two *Piaſters*.

The *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* make uſe of theſe Cattel to feed their People, and to ſpare the Proviſions of their Ships, while they ſtay at *Souali*.

But it is obſervable that the *Bufalo*'s fleſh in thoſe parts cauſes frequent Dyſenteries, which the Bullocks fleſh or Beef never does.

The *Raja* that commands the Country has only the Title of Governour for life. Which is common to moſt of the *Raja's* in the *Mogul*'s Empire, whoſe Anceſtours were Lords of Provinces, where now their Deſcendants only enjoy the Titles of Governours.

Having thus got poſſeſſion of a good Poſt; the next thing of Importance is to chooſe out two men conſiderable for their Honeſty, Prudence, and Skill in Trade, who are to be allow'd the full of their Expences.

Theſe two perſons are to ſerve the Company, the one in the nature of a Preſident, with a Council, conſiſting of a certain number of perſons, to aſſiſt him. The other in the quality of a Broaker, who muſt be an Idolater of the Country, and not a *Mahumetan*, in regard all the Workmen he has to deal with are Idolaters.

Civility and Faith of Promiſe are altogether requiſit to gain Credit among ſtrangers. And theſe particular qualities are requir'd in the particular Broakers, who are under the Broaker-General in the Provinces where the Factories are ſettl'd.

Good Intelligence is neceſſary for theſe two perſons, to underſtand the alteration of Manufactures.

This alteration happens either through the craft and ſubtilty of the Workmen and the Merchants themſelves, or by the correſpondence of the Broakers and Workmen.

Which alteration may cauſe ſo much dammage to the Company, that the Broakers ſhall gain ten and twelve i' the hundred by it.

If the Preſident and Broaker-General combine with the particular Broakers and Merchants, it will be a difficult thing for the Company to avoid being deceiv'd; but if theſe two perſons are but faithful and honeſt, the fraud may be eaſily remedi'd by changing the particular Broakers.

The Officers of a Company may be unfaithful to their Truſt in this reſpect:

When a Veſſel arrives in Port, the Preſident for the Nation receives the Company's Letters, and the Bills of Lading; upon which he calls his Council, ſends for the Broaker, and gives him a Copy of the ſaid Bills.

The Broaker ſhews them to three or four of the principal Merchants of the Country, who are wont to buy by whole ſale. If the Preſident and the Broaker hold together for their own profit, the Broaker inſtead of facilitating the ſale as he ought to do, adviſes the Merchants to be ſhie, and to offer only ſuch a price: Then the Preſident ſends for the Broaker and theſe two or three Merchants; and in the preſence of the Council he asks the Merchants what they will give for the Goods in the Bills of Lading mention'd. If the Merchants are reſolute to give

no

no more then ſo much; The Preſident puts off the ſale 15 days longer, more or leſs, as he pretends himſelf preſs'd to ſell. In the mean time he ſends for the Merchants ſeveral times for a ſhew, and at length, to avoid ſuſpicion, and to diſcharge himſelf, he asks the advice of the Council, and as they approve, orders the delivery of the Goods to the Merchant.

But though the Temptations be very great, to which theſe two Officers are ſubject, by reaſon of their pow'r, their frequent opportunities, and their diſtance from their Superiours, the Company, beſides their being wary in their Election, may remedy theſe diſorders by depriving them of that pretence, which the *Dutch* Commanders and Broakers have, of being conſtrain'd to ſell off preſently to the Merchants in groſs, to avoid the expences of delay.

The Errour which the *Hollanders* commit in this reſpect is, That their Officers beſpeak every year upon Credit all the Goods which they have occaſion for in the Empire of the *Mogul*, according to the Orders which they receive from *Batavia*.

The credit of this Advance coſts them ſometimes twelve, ſometimes fifteen *per Cent*; ſo that ſo ſoon as their laden Veſſels are arriv'd in the the Port where they are to be ſold, they are oblig'd to ſell them preſently off at the Merchants rate firſt offer'd to their Broakers, to make up a preſent ſtock to pay off their credit for the Goods beſpoke for their Ships to carry back again, and to get more credit for the next year. This is that which cheriſhes that confederacy between the Preſident, the Broaker and the Merchant, who makes advantage enough of this neceſſity of ſelling.

Whereas the better way were, for them that carry the ſame Commodities which the *Hollanders* do, to carry Money alſo to pay the Workmen for the Goods beſpoken for the next year.

The Company making this advantage ſhall not be put to pay that great Intereſt of 12 and 15 *per Cent.*: and beſides, they ſhall have better Goods, and better cheap. The Ships loading ſhall be ready before they arrive in Port; and being quick laden they may return before the bad Seaſon. Neither ſhall the Company be put to ſell their Goods at a low price; becauſe their Broakers will have time to ſtay for the coming of Merchants from other parts; or elſe becauſe they have time enough to ſend them to other places, where they are ſure of a quicker ſale.

Obſerve alſo, That it is far more profitable to carry to the *Indies* Gold and Silver in Ingots, rather then ready coin'd; for being coin'd the Money is valu'd only according to their Alloys; and there is always a defalcation made for the charge of Coinage.

The Broaker alſo, if he be diſhoneſt, may combine with the Maſter of the *Mogul*'s Mint, which is ſettl'd in ſeveral parts of the Empire, and put a lower value upon the Gold and Silver then it deſerves, by telling the Preſident and Council, that upon the touch it appears to be no more worth.

But it is an eaſie thing to avoid this deceit, provided the Preſident be a perſon of credit and prudence, by ſending for one of the Refiners of Gold and Silver, that live in the Country, who perfectly underſtand the Touch of Metals, and to let him Eſſay the Gold and Silver before the Broaker's face.

This is that which the Sieur *Walkenton* did for the *Holland* Company in

in their Factory at *Cafambazar*, where he bought every year ſix or ſeven thouſand Bales of Silk. For by this Eſſay he found, that his Broaker being in confederacy with the Maſter of the Mint, had cheated the Company of one and a half and two *per Cent.* in the value of the Gold and Silver which was brought him from *Japan*, as well coin'd as in barr, to a very conſiderable ſum of Money.

The Broaker alſo may confederate with the Maſter of the Mint to couzen the Merchant in weghing his Gold or Silver, by making uſe of falſe Weights or Scales unduly pois'd.

But that fraud is eaſily avoided, if the Preſident and his Council will be but ſo patient as to ſee their Metal weigh'd themſelves, and take care that the Weights be right, and the Scales true.

One of the moſt important Obſervations in reference to the Trade of the Company, and diſcipline of their Factories is this:

To prevent the Merchants or under-Merchants, Accomptants and under-Accomptants, who officiate under the Commanders and Broakers, from driving any particular Trade by themſelves, for they having a familiarity with the men of Manufacture, and finding by the Letters of Advice what Goods are likely to be moſt vendible next year, buy them up upon their own accompts, and find a way to lade them off in the Company's Veſſels, to the great dammage of the whole, though to the great gain of particular people

And this the Preſident permits them to do, either for his own Intereſt, or by connivance under the pretence of their ſmall Wages. The Captain of the Veſſel alſo winks at what they do, becauſe he has a ſpell for loading and unloading. And becauſe theſe people having no great Stocks, are deſirous to put off their Goods with the firſt opportunities, they give order to their Correſpondents to under-ſell the Company ten or twelve in the Hundred, which is the abſolute ruin of a Trade.

To remedy this diſorder there ought to be a Fiſcal, or King's Proctor, in every of the chief Factories belonging to the Company, to act in the King's Name, and by his Authority.

He is to be independent from the Preſident and the Broaker, in the Exerciſe of his Office; ſo that he may have an eye, as well upon their behaviour, as upon the demeanour of the under Officers.

He ought to be a perſon of good Credit, reſolute and vigilant; and he muſt have a ſtrength of men correſpondent to his Employment, and a Deputy to act under him.

He is to have good Information of the departure of all Ships when they are once laden, and when they are ready to ſet ſail for the Port whither they are bound. When he hears of the Arrival of any Ship, he ought to go himſelf, or ſend his Deputy with a ſufficient Guard, to take an Accompt of the Ship's Lading.

If it be a place near to which there are any ſmall Iſlands, or by-Nooks, it behoves him to take care that no Goods be privately convey'd aſhoar in thoſe private corners, where there are receivers a now ready: and whatever he finds thus privately unladen he ſhall have power to confiſcate.

He ſhall alſo confiſcate whatever he finds not Mark'd with the Company's Mark.

He may alſo diſcharge any inferiour Officers to whom any ſuch Bales

ſhall

ſhall belong; and for the ſuperiour Officers, he ſhall complain of them to the Company.

He ſhall have pow'r to open all private Letters, to inform himſelf of Prohibited Goods, and Private Correſpondencies.

This Prohibition of Private Trading cannot be too ſeverely impos'd, and it is obſerv'd with ſo much exactneſs in *Holland*, that when one of the Company's Ships is ready to ſet ſail from *Amſterdam*, a Burgomaſter gives the Captain and all the reſt of the Seamen their Oaths, that they ſhall be contented with their Wages, and meddle with nothing of Trade.

All the Officers of the Factory ſhould be advanc'd by degrees, ſo that a ſub-Accomptant may have hopes to be a Preſident; that the hopes of Advancement may oblige them to live with more credit, and cauſe them to ſtudy to make themſelves more capable of all the Intrigues and Subtilties of the Trade of the Country.

It is of great importance not to ſhew any favour in this particular of preferment, unleſs he have paſs'd through all particular Degrees and Offices beforehand. And thus much concerning the Diſcipline of the Factories.

OF

OF THE

COMMODITIES

WHICH ARE

Brought as well out of the Dominions of the GREAT MOGUL, *as out of the Kingdoms of* Golconda *and* Viſapour, *and other neighbouring Territories; And alſo of the* Weights *and* Prices *of the ſaid* Commodities.

Of their Silk.

Aſembaſar, a Village in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, ſends abroad every year two and twenty-thouſand Bales of Silk; every Bale weighing a hunder'd pound. The two and twenty Bales make two millions and two-hunder'd-thouſand pound, at ſixteen ounces to the pound. The *Hollanders* uſually carry away ſix or ſeven-thouſand Bales, and would carry away more, did not the Merchants of *Tartary*, and the *Mogul's* Empire oppoſe them: for they buy up as much as the *Hollander*; the reſt the Natives keep to make their Stuffs. This Silk is alſo brought into the Kingdom of *Guzerat*, the greateſt part whereof comes to *Amadabat*, and to *Surat*, where it is wrought up.

In the firſt place they make Carpets of Silk and Gold, others of Silk and Silver, others all of Silk: for the Worſted Carpets are made at *Vettapour*, ſome twelve leagues from *Agra*.

In the ſecond place they make Satins with ſtreaks of Gold and Silver; others plain: with Taffata's after the ſame faſhion.

In the third place they make *Patoles*, which are a ſort of Silk-ſtuff very thin, but painted with all ſorts of Flowers, the manufacture whereof is at *Amadabat*. They coſt from eight *Roupies* to forty the piece. This is a Commodity wherein the *Dutch* will not ſuffer any one of the *Hollanders* to trade in particular: for they tranſport it to the *Philippine-Iſlands*, to the Iſlands of *Borneo*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, and other neighbouring Iſlands.

The raw-Silk of *Kaſembaſar* is yellowiſh, as are all the raw-Silks that come from *Perſia* and *Sicily*; but the Natives of *Kaſembaſar* have a way to whiten it, with a Lye made of the aſhes of a Tree which they call *Adam's* Fig-tree; which makes it as white as the *Paleſtine*-Silk. The *Hollanders* ſend away all their Merchandize which they fetch out of *Ben-*

gala, by water, through a great Canal that runs from *Kaſembaſar* into *Ganges*, for fifteen leagues together; from whence it is as far by water down the *Ganges* to *Ouguely*, where they lade their Ships.

Of the Calicuts: and firſt of the painted Calicuts, call'd Chites.

Chites or Painted Calicuts, which they call *Calmendar*, that is to ſay, done with a Pencil, are made in the Kingdom of *Golconda*; and particularly about *Maſlipatan*. But there is made ſo little, that though a man ſhould employ all the Workmen that underſtand the Art of weaving Calicuts, he would hardly find enough to make three Bales.

The *Chites* which are made in the Empire of the Great *Mogul* are all printed; and nothing ſo beautiful, neither for the figures nor the fineneſs of the Linnen. Thoſe which are made at *Lahor*, are the coarſeſt, and conſequently the cheapeſt of all. They are ſold by *Corges*, every *Corge* conſiſting of twenty pieces, which coſt from 16 to 30 *Roupies*.

The *Chites* which are made at *Serongе*, are ſold from 20 to 50 *Roupies* the *Corge*, or thereabouts.

Theſe *Chites* ſerve for Coverlets for Beds, for Sofra's or Table-cloaths after the Country-faſhion, Pillowbears, Handkerchiefs, but more eſpecially for Waſtcoats as well for the men as women in *Perſia*.

The fine Calicut-*Chites* are made at *Brampour*; and are us'd for Handkerchiefs by thoſe that ſnuff Tobacco.

The women alſo, over all *Aſia*, make Veils of theſe Calicuts, to wear over their heads, and about their ſhoulders, which Veils are call'd *Ormis*.

The *Baſta's* or Calicuts painted red, blue, and black, are carri'd white to *Agra*, and *Amadabat*, in regard thoſe Cities are neareſt to the places where the *Indigo* is made that is us'd in colouring. They coſt from two *Roupies* to 30 or 40 a-piece, according to the fineneſs and the quantity of Gold at the ends, and ſometimes upon the ſides. The *Indians* have a way to dip ſome of theſe Calicuts in a certain water that makes them look like Water'd-Chamlets, which adds alſo to the price.

That ſort which is ſold for two *Roupies*, and ſo onward till ye come to twelve, is tranſported to the Coaſt of *Melinda*, and it is the greateſt Trade the Governour of *Moſambique* drives, who ſells them to the *Cafres*, that vend them again among the *Abyſſins*, and into the Kingdom of *Saba*: for thoſe people not underſtanding the uſe of Soap, need no more but only to waſh theſe Calicuts in water. That ſort which is valu'd from 12 *Roupies* upward, is tranſported to the *Philippine*-Iſlands, the Iſlands of *Borneo*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, and other adjacent places. Where the women wear no other clothes, then a ſingle piece of this Calicut. One part whereof, without cutting it, ſerves for a Petticoat; the other they wind about their ſtomachs and their heads.

White Calicuts.

White Calicuts come partly from *Agra*, and about *Lahor*, part from *Bengala*: ſome from *Brouda*, *Baroche*, *Renonſari*, and other places. They are brought out of the Loom to *Renonſari*, and *Baroche*, where they are whiten'd by reaſon of the convenience of their Meadows, and the great ſtore of Limons that grow thereabouts. For the Calicuts are never ſo white as they ſhould be, till they are dipt in Limon-water.

The

The Calicuts that come from *Agra*, *Lahor*, and *Bengala*, are ſold by the *Corge*, and they are of ſeveral prices, from ſeventeen *Roupies* to three or four-hunder'd, as the Merchant will have them wov'n.

The Calicuts that come from *Renonſari*, and *Baroche*, are one and twenty cubits long, new out of the Loom; but in the whitening they ſhrink to twenty cubits.

Thoſe of *Brouda* twenty cubits from the Loom, and ſhrink in the whitening to nineteen and a half.

All the Calicuts or *Baſta's* that come from theſe three Cities, are of two ſorts: for ſome are broad, ſome are narrow. The narrow are thoſe I have already mention'd, the prices whereof are various, from two *Mamoudi's* to ſix.

The broad *Baſta's* are a cubit, and one third part wide; the whole piece twenty cubits long. The uſual price of them is from five *Mamoudi's* to twelve: but a Merchant being upon the place, may cauſe them to be made much more large and fine, till they are worth five-hundred *Mamoudi's* a-piece. I ſaw two pieces ſold for a thouſand *Mamoudi's*.

The *Engliſh* bought one, and the *Hollanders* another, each Piece containing eight and twenty cubits.

Mahamed Alibeg returning into *Perſia* out of *India*, where he had been Embaſſador, preſented *Cha-Sef* the ſecond with a Coco-nut, about the bigneſs of an Auſtrich-egg, all beſet with Pearls: and when 'twas open'd there was taken out of it a Turbant that had ſixty cubits of Calicut in length to make it, the Cloath being ſo fine, that you could hardly feel it in your hand: For they will ſpin their thread ſo fine, that the eye can hardly diſcern it, or at leaſt it ſeems to be but a Cob-web.

Twiſted-Cotton.

COtton twiſted and untwiſted comes from the Provinces of *Brampour* and *Guzerat*. Untwiſted Cotton is never tranſported into *Europe*, being too cumberſome, and of little value; only they ſend it to *Ormus*, *Balſara*, and ſometimes to the *Philippine*-Iſlands, and the Iſlands of *Sinde*. As for the twiſted Cottons, the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* tranſport a good quantity, not of the fineſt, but of that ſort which is pric'd from fifteen to fifty *Mamoudi's*: It ſerves for wieks for Candles, for Packſaddles, and for the ground of Silk-ſtuffs.

Indigo.

INdigo comes from ſeveral parts of the Great *Mogul*'s Empire; and according to the diverſity of the places it differs in quality, and conſequently in price.

In the firſt place, it comes from the Territories of *Biana*, *Indoua*, and *Corſa*, a day or two's journey from *Agra*: which is eſteem'd the beſt of all. It is made alſo eight days journey from *Surat*, in a Village called *Sarqueſs*, two leagues diſtance from *Amadabat*. Here the flat *Indigo* is made. There is alſo *Indigo* little inferior in goodneſs and price, which comes from the King of *Golconda*'s Territories. The *Mein* of *Surat*, which contains 42 *Serre's*, or 34 and a half of our pounds, is valu'd from 15 to 20 *Roupies*. They make as good as this at *Baroche*. That which is made up about *Agra* is made up in half Balls, and is the moſt ſought for in all *India*.

It is ſold by the *Mein*, which in thoſe places contains 60 *Serres*, or 51 and three quarters of our pounds. The uſual price is from 36 to 40 *Roupies*. There grows alſo *Indigo* ſome 36 leagues from *Brampour*, about a great Village call'd *Raout*, and round about the neighbouring Towns in the road to *Surat*: Of which the Natives uſually make above a hunder'd-thouſand *Roupies*.

There comes *Indigo* alſo from *Bengala*, which the *Holland*-Company tranſports for *Maſlipatan*. But they buy this *Indigo*, and that of *Brampour* and *Amadabat*, cheaper by 24 in the hunder'd, then that of *Agra*.

Indigo is made of an Herb which they ſow every year after the rains are over: which when it is grown up, is very like our Hemp. They cut it three times a year; firſt when it is about two or three foot high; and they cut it within half a foot of the ground; the firſt cutting far exceeds the two latter. The ſecond cutting is worſe then the firſt by ten or twelve in the hunder'd. And the third worſe then the ſecond by 12 in the hunder'd. The difference is found by breaking a piece of the Paſte, and obſerving the colour. The colour of that *Indigo* which is made of the firſt cutting, is a Violet-blue, but more brisk and lively than the two others: and that which is made of the ſecond is more lively then the third.

When they have cut the Herb, they throw it into Pits which they make with Lime, which becomes ſo hard, that you would judg it to be one intire piece of Marble. They are generally fourſcore or a hunder'd paces in circuit; and being half full of water, they fill them quite up with the Herb. Then they bruiſe and jumble it in the water till the leaf, for the ſtalk is worth nothing, becomes like a kind of thick mud. This being done, they let it ſettle for ſome days; and when the ſetling is all at the bottom, and the water clear above, they let out all the water. When the water is all drain'd out, they fill ſeveral baskets with this ſlime, and in a plain Field you ſhall ſee ſeveral men at work, every one at his own basket, making up little pieces of *Indigo* flat at the bottom, at the top ſharp like an egg. Though at *Amadabat* they make their pieces quite flat like a ſmall cake. Here you are to take particular notice, that the Merchants, becauſe they would not pay cuſtom for an unneceſſary weight, before they tranſport their *Indigo* out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, are very careful to cauſe it to be ſifted, to ſeparate the duſt from it; which they ſell afterwards to the Natives of the Countrey to dye their Calicuts. They that ſift this *Indigo* muſt be careful to keep a Linnen-cloath before their faces, and that their noſtrils be well-ſtopt, leaving only two little holes for their eyes. Beſides, they muſt every half hour be ſure to drink milk, which is a great preſervative againſt the piercing quality of the duſt. Yet notwithſtanding all this caution, they that have ſifted *Indigo* for nine or ten days, ſhall ſpit nothing but blew for a good while together. Once I laid an Egg in the morning among the ſifters, and when I came to break it in the evening it was all blew within.

As they take the Paſte out of the Baskets with their Fingers dipt in Oil, and make it into Lumps, or Cakes, they lay them in the Sun to dry. Which is the reaſon that when the Merchants buy *Indigo*, they burn ſome pieces of it, to try whether there be any duſt among it. For the Natives who take the Paſte out of the Baskets to make it into Lumps, lay it in the Sand, which mixes with the Paſte, and fouls it. But when the Merchants burn it, the *Indigo* turns to Aſhes, and the Sand remains. The Governours do what they can to make the Natives leave their Knavery;

Knavery; but notwithſtanding all their care, there will be ſome deceit.

Salt-Peter.

GReat ſtore of *Salt-Peter* comes from *Agra* and *Patna*; but the refin'd coſts three times more then that which is not. The *Hollanders* have ſet up a Ware-Houſe fourteen Leagues above *Patna*, and when their *Salt-Peter* is refin'd, they tranſport it by water by *Ogueli*. A Mein of refin'd *Salt-Peter* is worth ſeven Mamoudi's.

Spice.

CArdamom, Ginger, Pepper, Nutmegs, Nutmeg-Flowers, Cloves and Cinnamon, are all the different ſorts of Spices known to us. I put Cardamom and Ginger in the firſt place, becauſe that Cardamom grows in the Territories of *Viſapour*, and Ginger in the Dominions of the Great *Mogul*. And as for other Spices, they are brought from other Foreign parts to *Surat*, which is the grand Mart.

Cardamom is the moſt excellent of all other Spices, but it is very ſcarce; and in regard there is no great ſtore in the place where it grows, it is only made uſe of in *Aſia*, at the Tables of great Princes. Five hundred pound of Cardamoms, are pric'd from a hundred to a hundred and ten Rials.

Ginger is brought in great quantities from *Amadabat*, where there grows more than in any other part of *Aſia*; and it is hardly to be imagin'd how much there is tranſported candited into Foreign parts.

Pepper is of two ſorts. There is a ſort which is very ſmall, another ſort much bigger; both which ſorts are diſtinguiſh'd into ſmall and great Pepper. The larger ſort comes from the Coaſt of *Malavare*; and *Anticorin* and *Calicut* are the Cities where it is brought up. Some of this Pepper comes from the Territories of the King of *Viſapour*, being vended at *Rejapour*, a little City in that Kingdom. The *Hollanders* that purchaſe it of the *Malavares*, do not give Money for it, but ſeveral ſorts of Commodities in Exchange; as Cotten, Opium, Vermilion, and Quickſilver; and this is the Pepper which is brought into *Europe*. As for the little Pepper that comes from *Bantam*, *Aſchen*, and ſome other parts toward the Eaſt, there is none of it carried out of *Aſia*, where it is ſpent in vaſt quantities, eſpecially among the *Mahumetans*. For there are double the Grains of ſmall Pepper in one pound, to what there are of the great Pepper; beſides that the great Pepper is hotter in the mouth.

The little Pepper that comes to *Surat*, has been ſold ſome years for thirteen or fourteen Mamoudi's the Mein; and ſo much I have ſeen the *Engliſh* give for it, to tranſport it to *Ormus*, *Balſara*, and the Red Sea. As for the great Pepper, which the *Hollanders* fetch from the Coaſt of *Malavare*, five hundred pound in truck brings them in not above thirty-eight Reals; but by the Commodities which they give in Barter, they gain *Cent. per Cent.*

The Nutmeg, the Nutmeg-Flow'r, the Clove, and Cinnamon, are the only Spices which the *Hollanders* have in their own hands. The three firſt come from the *Molucca* Iſlands; the fourth, which is Cinnamon, from the Iſland of *Ceylan*.

'Tis

'Tis obſervable of the Nutmeg, that the Tree which bears it is never planted, which has been confirm'd to me by ſeveral perſons that have liv'd ſeveral years in the Country. They related to me, that the Nutmeg being ripe, ſeveral Birds come from the Iſlands toward the South, and devour it whole, but are forc'd to throw it up again before it be digeſted. The Nutmeg then beſmear'd with a viſcous matter, falling to the ground takes root, and produces a Tree, which would never thrive were it planted. This puts me in mind of making one obſervation upon the Birds of Paradiſe. Theſe Birds being very greedy after Nutmegs, come in flights to gorge themſelves with the pleaſing Spice, at the ſeaſon, like Felfares in Vintage time; but the ſtrength of the Nutmeg ſo intoxicates them, that they fall dead drunk to the Earth, where the Emets in a ſhort time eat off their Legs. Hence it comes, that the Birds of Paradiſe are ſaid to have no Feet; which is not true however, for I have ſeen three or four that had Feet; and a *French* Merchant ſent one from *Aleppo* as a Preſent to *Lewis* the Thirteenth that had Feet; of which the King made great account, as being a very lovely Fowl.

But notwithſtanding all the *Hollanders* Projects, you may buy Cloves at *Macaſſar* without purchaſing them of the *Hollander*; in regard the Iſlanders buy them of the *Dutch* Captains and Soldiers, which the *Hollanders* have in thoſe places where the Cloves grow, giving them in exchange Rice, and other neceſſaries for the ſupport of life, without which they would ſtarve, being very ſadly provided for.

When the Natives of *Macaſſar* are thus furniſh'd of Cloves, they barter them in Exchange for ſuch Commodities as are brought them; ſometimes they give Tortoiſe-Shells in exchange, and Gold Duſt; by which the Merchant gains ſix or ſeven in the hundred, being better than the Money of the Iſland, though it be Gold, by reaſon the King oftimes enhances the value of it. The places where Cloves grow, are *Amboyna*, *Ellias*, *Seram*, and *Bouro*.

The Iſlands of *Banda* alſo, in number ſix, *viz. Nero*, *Lontour*, *Poulcay*, *Roſeguin*, and *Grenapuis*, bear Nutmegs in great abundance. The Iſland of *Grenapuis* is about ſix Leagues in compaſs, and ends in a ſharp point, where there is a continual fire burning out of the earth. The Iſland *Damme*, where there grows great ſtore of Nutmegs, and very big, was diſcover'd in the year 1647, by *Abel Taſman*, a *Dutch* Commander.

The Price of Cloves and Nutmegs, as I have known them ſold to the *Hollanders* at *Surat*, was as follows.

The Mein of *Surat* contains forty Serres, which make thirty-four of our Pounds, at ſixteen Ounces to the Pound.

A Mein of Cloves was ſold for a hundred and three Mamoudi's and a half.

A Mein of Mace was ſold for a hundred and fifty-ſeven Mamoudi's and a half.

Nutmegs for fifty-ſix Mamoudi's and a half.

Cinnamon comes at preſent from the Iſland of *Ceylan*. The Tree that bears it is very much like the Willow, and has three Barks. They never take off but the firſt and ſecond, which is accounted the beſt. They never meddle with the third, for ſhould the Knife enter that, the Tree would dye. So that it is an art to take off the Cinnamon, which they learn from their youth. The Cinnamon Spice is much dearer to the *Hollanders* then people think; for the King of *Ceylan*, otherwiſe call'd

King

King of *Candy*, from the name of his principal City, being a ſworn Enemy to the *Hollanders*, ſends his Forces with an intention to ſurprize them, when they gather their Cinnamon; ſo that they are forc'd to bring ſeven or eight hundred men together to defend as many more that are at work. Which great expence of theirs very much enhances the price of the Cinnamon. There grows upon the Cinnamon Tree a certain fruit like an Olive, though not to be eaten. This the *Portugals* were wont to put into a Caldron of Water, together with the tops of the Branches, and boil'd it till the Water was all conſum'd. When it was cold, the upper part became a Paſte like white Wax; of which they made Tapers to ſet up in their Churches, for no ſooner were the Tapers lighted, but all the Church was perfum'd. Formerly the *Portugals* brought Cinnamon out of other Countries, belonging to the *Raja's* about *Cochin*. But the *Hollanders* have deſtroy'd all thoſe places, ſo that the Cinnamon is now in their hands. When the *Portugals* had that Coaſt, the *Engliſh* bought their Cinnamon of them, and uſually paid for it by the Mein fifty Mamoudi's.

Drugs that are brought to Surat, *and brought from other Countries, with the price of every one by the Mein.*

Salt Armoniack, according to the uſual price, coſts by the Mein twenty Mamoudi's.

Borax, comes unrefin'd from *Amadabat*, as does Salt Armoniack, and coſts by the Mein thirty-five Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lack, ſeven Mamoudi's and a half.

Gum-Lack waſh'd, ten Mamoudi's.

Gum-Lack in ſticks of Wax, forty Mamoudi's.

There are ſome of theſe Sticks that coſt fifty or ſixty Mamoudi's the Mein, and more when they mix Musk in the Gum.

Saffron of *Surat*, which is good for nothing but for colouring, four Mamoudi's and a half.

Cumin White, eight Mamoudi's.

Cumin Black, three Mamoudi's.

Arlet ſmall, three Mamoudi's.

Frankincenſe, that comes from the Coaſt of *Arabia*, three Mamoudi's.

Myrrh, that which is good, call'd *Mirra Gilet*, thirty Mamoudi's.

Myrrh *Bolti*, which comes from *Arabia*, fifteen Mamoudi's.

Caſſia, two Mamoudi's.

Sugar Candy, eighteen Mamoudi's.

Aſutinat, a ſort of Grain, very hot, one Mamoudi.

Anniſe-ſeed groſs, three Mamoudi's and a half.

Anniſe-ſeed ſmall and hot, one Mamoudi and a half.

Oupelote, a Root, fourteen Mamoudi's.

Cointre, five Mamoudi's.

Auzerout, from *Perſia*, a hundred and twenty Mamoudi's.

Alloes Succotrine, from *Arabia*, twenty eight Mamoudi's.

Licorice, four Mamoudi's.

Lignum Aloes, in great pieces, two hundred Mamoudi's.

Lignum Aloes, in ſmall pieces, four hundred Mamoudi's.

Voz-Cabouli, a certain Root, twelve Mamoudi's.

There is a ſort of Lignum Aloes very Gummy, which comes to, by the Mein, four thouſand Mamoudi's.

Gum-

Gum-Lake for the moſt part comes from *Pegu*; yet there is ſome alſo brought from *Bengala*, where it is very dear, by reaſon the Natives fetch that lively Scarlet colour out of it, with which they paint their Calicuts. Nevertheleſs, the *Hollanders* buy it, and carry it into *Perſia* for the ſame uſe of painting. That which remains after the colour is drawn off, is only fit to make ſealing Wax. That which comes from *Pegu* is not ſo dear, though as good for other Countries. The difference is only this, that it is not ſo clean in *Pegu*, where the Piſmires foul it, as in *Bengala*, where it grows in a heathy place, full of Shrubs, where thoſe Animals cannot ſo well come at it. The Inhabitants of *Pegu* never make any uſe of it in painting, being a dull ſort of people, that are in nothing at all induſtrious.

The Women of *Surat* get their livings by cleanſing the Lake after the Scarlet colour is drawn from it. After that they give it what colour they pleaſe, and make it up into Sticks for ſealing Wax. The *Engliſh* and *Holland* Company carry away every year a hundred and fifty Cheſts. The price is about ten Pence the pound.

Powder'd Sugar is brought in great quantities out of the Kingdom of *Bengala*; it cauſes alſo a very great Trade at *Ougeli*, *Patna*, *Daca*, and other places. I have been told it for a very great certainty, by ſeveral ancient people in *Bengala*, that Sugar being kept thirty years becomes abſolute poiſon, and that there is no Venom more dangerous, or that ſooner works its effect. Loaf-Sugar is alſo made at *Amadabat*, where they are perfectly skill d in refining it; for which reaſon it is call'd Sugar Royal. Theſe Sugar Loaves uſually weigh from eight to ten pound.

Opium is brought from *Brampour*, a Town of good Trade between *Agra* and *Surat*. The *Hollanders* buy great quantities, which they truck for their Pepper.

Tobacco alſo grows in abundance round about *Brampour*; ſometimes there has been ſo much that the Natives have let vaſt quantities rot upon the ground, for want of gathering.

Coffee grows neither in *Perſia* nor in *India*, where it is in no requeſt; but the *Hollanders* drive a great Trade in it, tranſporting it from *Ormus* into *Perſia*, as far as Great *Tartary*, from *Balſara* into *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Meſopotamia*, and the other Provinces of *Turky*. It was firſt found out by a Hermite, whoſe name was *Sheck-Siadeli*, about twenty years ago, before which time it was never heard of in any Author either ancient or modern.

Deceits in Silk Wares.

PLain Silk Wares may be alter'd in length, breadth, and quality. The quality ſhews it ſelf when they are of an even thread, when the weight is equal, and when there is no Cotton thread in the Weft.

The *Indians* not having the art of gilding ſilver, put into their ſtrip'd Wares threads of pure Gold, ſo that you muſt count the quantity of Gold threads to ſee whether the Silk have its due number. And this alſo you muſt obſerve in your Silks wov'n with Silver. As for Taffata's, you are only to mind whether the pieces be all of a fineneſs, and to ſee by unfolding ſome of them, that there be nothing within to augment the weight, and then weighing all the pieces by themſelves, to ſee that they all agree.

The

The colours of thoſe Carpets which are made in *India*, do not laſt ſo long as the colour of thoſe which are made in *Perſia*; but for the workmanſhip it is very lovely. The eye of the Broaker is to judge of the largeneſs, beauty, and fineneſs of thoſe Carpets which are wrought with Gold and Silver, and whether they be fine and rich. But whether they be Carpets, or other Stuffs mix'd with Gold and Silver, it behoves the Buyer to pull out ſome of the Gold and Silver Threads, to ſee whether they be of the right value or no.

Deceits in the White Calicuts.

THe deceits uſually put upon Calicuts, are in fineneſs, length, and breadth. Every Bale may contain two hundred pieces; among which they will juggle in five or ſix or ten, leſs fine, or leſs white, ſhorter or narrower than according to the ſcantling of the Bale, which cannot be found out but by examining them piece by piece. The fineneſs is diſcern'd by the eye, the length and breadth by the meaſure. But the *Indians* practiſe a more cunning way, which is to count the number of threads which ought to be in the breadth, according to the fineneſs of the ſcantling. When the number fails, it is either more tranſparent, more narrow, or more courſe. The difference is ſometimes ſo difficult to be perceiv'd, that there is no way to find it out but by counting the threads. And yet this difference in a great quantity comes to a great deal. For it is nothing to couſen a Crown or two Crowns in a piece that comes but to fifteen or twenty Crowns. Thoſe that whiten theſe Calicuts, to ſave charges of a few Limons, will knock the Calicuts exceſſively upon a Stone, which does fine Calicuts a great injury, and lowers the price.

As for their Calicuts dy'd blew or black, you muſt take care that the Workmen do not knock them after they are folded, to make them look ſleek; for many times when they come to be unfolded, you ſhall find holes in the creaſes.

As for your painted and printed Calicuts, which are painted and printed as they come out of the Loom, the Merchant muſt take care that what he beſpeaks be finiſh'd before the end of the Rains, for the thicker the Water is where they are waſh'd, the more lively will the printed and painted colours appear. It is eaſie to diſtinguiſh between the printed and the painted Calicuts; and between the neatneſs of the work: but for the fineneſs and other qualities, they are not ſo eaſily diſcern'd; and therefore the Broaker muſt be more careful.

Cheats in Cotton.

THe cheat in the weight is twofold. The firſt, by laying them in a moiſt place; and thruſting in the middle of every Skain ſomething to add to the weight. The ſecond, in not giving good weight when the Broaker receives it from the Workman, or Merchant that delivers it.

There is but one cheat in the quality, that is by putting three or four Skains, of a coarſer Commodity then that which is uppermoſt, into one *Mein*. Which in a great quantity mount high; for there are ſome Cottons that are worth an hunder'd Crowns the *Mein*. Theſe two cheats

being often us'd by the *Holland*-Company, there is no way but to weigh your Commodity in the preſence of the *Dutch*-Commander, and his Councel, and to examin every *Mein* Skain by Skain. When this is done, they who are order'd to be at his examination, are oblig'd to fix to every Bale a ticket of the weight and quality: for if there be a faileur, they who fix the ticket are engag'd to make good what is wanting.

Deceits in Indigo.

I Have told you, that when the Work-men have made up the Indigo-Paſte int lumps, with their fingers dipt in Oil, they lay them in the Sun a drying. Now thoſe that have a deſign to cheat the Merchants, dry them in the ſand, to the end that the ſand ſticking to the Indigo, ſhould encreaſe the weight. Sometimes they lay up their Paſte in moiſt places, which makes it give, and conſequently renders it more heavy. But if the Governour of the place diſcovers the cheat, he makes them ſeverely pay for it: and the beſt way of diſcovery is to burn ſome pieces of Indigo, for the ſand will remain.

Indian Broakers.

THe Broakers are as it were the Maſters of the *Indian* Families; for they have all Goods at their diſpoſal. The Work-men chooſe the moſt aged and moſt experienc'd, who are to endeavour equal advantages for the whole Tribe they undertake for. Every evening that they return from their buſineſs, and that, according to the cuſtom of the *Indians*, who make no Suppers, they have eaten ſome little piece of ſweet-meat, and drank a glaſs of water, the eldeſt of the Tribe meet at the Broaker's Houſe, who gives them an account of what he has done that day, and then they conſult what he is to do next. Above all things, they caution him to look to his hits, and to cheat, rather then be cheated.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

F I N I S.